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L'ÉCOLE EN TEMPS DE PANDÉMIE

QUELS EFFETS
DANS LES DIFFÉRENTS
SYSTÈMES ÉDUCATIFS ?



**L'école en temps de
pandémie.
Quels effets dans les
différents systèmes
éducatifs ?**

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**L'école en temps de
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Quels effets dans les
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éducatifs ?**

**Romain Delès, Inés Dussel,
Elisabeth Hultqvist &
Filippo Pirone (coordonnateurs)**

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Dossier coordonné par Romain Delès, Inés Dussel, Elisabeth Hultqvist & Filippo Pirone, rédacteurs en chef invités

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Introduction

L'ÉCOLE DURANT LA PANDÉMIE : QUELS EFFETS DANS LES DIFFÉRENTS SYSTÈMES ÉDUCATIFS ?

Romain DELES,
CED, Université de Bordeaux, France

Inés DUSSEL,
Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas, Mexico

Elisabeth HULTQVIST,
Université d'Uppsala, Suède

Filippo PIRONE,
LIPHA, Université Paris Est Créteil, France

Que se passe-t-il dès lors que 150 pays dans le monde décident de fermer partiellement ou complètement leurs écoles, comme cela a été le cas pendant la crise sanitaire liée à la pandémie du Covid-19, où plus d'un milliard d'élèves, plus de 70% de la population scolaire mondiale, ont dû interrompre leur scolarité habituelle ?

Le premier élément visible à tous est le fait que dans presque tous les pays, pendant la période de confinement et dans la reprise progressive des écoles, la continuité scolaire a été à inventer. Avant toute chose, il a fallu trouver des moyens de l'enseignement à distance. Très inégalement, quand cela était possible, l'école a pu partiellement avoir lieu en ligne. L'espoir suscité par le numérique a pu alors donner l'illusion que l'école physique pouvait être remplacée par une sorte de grande expérience d'éducation virtuelle (Zimmerman, 2020). Mais cet espoir a été de courte durée, tant la crise sanitaire a permis de mettre en évidence des dimensions fondamentales de l'éducation, que l'enseignement à distance ne peut pas reproduire.

Il a ainsi fallu redessiner les contours des relations entre l'École et les familles, ce qui a entraîné des mutations précipitées dans le fonctionnement de ces deux instances majeures de la socialisation, dans leur organisation respective et dans les représentations et les pratiques de leurs acteurs. Ces mutations des routines ordinaires (Barrère, 2002) ont concerné tant les enseignants, que les responsables de la gouvernance des établissements ou encore les décideurs des politiques éducatives. Mais l'enseignement à distance a aussi produit des modifications profondes dans les pratiques d'apprentissage des élèves, dans l'accompagnement scolaire des familles et même dans les relations entre parents et enfants. En effet, que ça soit pour enseigner, apprendre, ou accompagner les apprentissages, il a fallu faire avec de nouveaux outils et supports didactiques, des nouvelles pratiques pédagogiques et leurs dispositions préalables, notamment l'autonomie (Durler, 2015). Il a aussi fallu faire sans : sans les sociabilités entre élèves, sans le présentiel et l'échange direct entre enseignants et élèves, sans la classe « réelle »,

Dès lors que l'on s'intéresse aux processus d'évolution de l'École, on peut se focaliser sur les éléments qui dans une « longue durée » peuvent perdurer ; ou bien, dans une perspective de « continuité relative » et en comparant des époques historiques différentes, on peut se focaliser sur les reconfigurations éducatives ; enfin, avec une attention sur les processus de « co-construction quotidienne », on peut observer comment les invariants et les discontinuités scolaires s'articulent entre eux dans les situations éducatives (Rockwell, 2000). Mais le caractère inédit de la crise sanitaire et l'obligation de reconfiguration et de réadaptation immédiates qui ont suivi appellent les chercheurs à adopter une nouvelle approche pour étudier les mutations scolaires récentes. En effet, l'étude de ce moment historique inédit nécessite, premièrement, la mise en place de protocoles de recherche capables de photographier l'instantanéité d'une situation en constante évolution. Deuxièmement, il est opportun de distinguer, pour chaque mutation, les caractères éphémères voués à disparaître partiellement ou complètement avec l'évolution de la situation de crise, des éléments qui potentiellement pourraient perdurer dans le temps et constituer ainsi des innovations en éducation. Pour comprendre cette distinction, il sera alors important de comprendre si et dans quelle mesure ces mutations observées répondent à des besoins éducatifs (Langouet, 1985) qui excèdent ceux immédiatement liés à la crise, en satisfaisant les intérêts multiples des

différentes composantes de la communauté (Akrich, Callon et Latour, 2006) éducative, ou d'une partie d'entre elles. Troisièmement, il est important de distinguer les différents types de processus de diffusion de ces mutations : s'agit-il d'un processus top-down, c'est-à-dire partant « du haut » des choix politiques, vers « le bas » des territoires locaux ? Ou bien a-t-on affaire à un processus bottom-up, c'est-à-dire caractérisé par un essaimage d'expériences locales dans le reste du système éducatif (Cros, 2017) ? Ou encore, s'agit de l'articulation de ces deux processus, par le biais de la contextualisation des politiques éducatives (Ball, 2006) et des arrangements, négociations, bricolages et appropriations de la part des acteurs locaux (Muller, 2018) ? Cette distinction est d'autant plus importante que ces différents processus n'entraînent pas les mêmes effets. En effet, les mutations peuvent être « extensives », dans la mesure où elles peuvent s'étendre au sein de la totalité d'une région ou bien d'un système éducatif sans pour autant modifier profondément le fonctionnement normal de la communauté éducative ; ou, au contraire, elles peuvent être « intensives » (Terigi, 2013), si elles agissent en profondeur, mais sans s'excéder l'échelle locale (un établissement, un réseau d'établissement, une région circonscrite).

Ce numéro spécial de la revue internationale *Éducation Comparée* s'intéresse aux mutations entraînées par la crise liée à la pandémie de Covid-19 sur le fonctionnement habituel des systèmes éducatifs. La crise sanitaire actuelle ouvre en effet des opportunités d'enquête privilégiées, notamment dans une perspective comparative. Premièrement, il peut être en effet opportun de comparer les mutations au sein d'un même système éducatif, ou au niveau local, dans le temps, en s'intéressant aux modes de fonctionnement de l'École et des pratiques de la communauté éducative, en temps normal et en temps de crise sanitaire. Mais, dans la mesure où il s'agit d'une pandémie, c'est-à-dire où quasiment tous les systèmes éducatifs du monde ont été déstabilisés, il peut être ainsi judicieux, deuxièmement, de comparer les mutations ayant eu lieu au niveau international ou interrégional, car, face à un événement similaire, chaque pays et/ou chaque région produit des solutions, des arrangements institutionnels et sociaux ad hoc. Ces variations géographiques peuvent dépendre de la combinaison de plusieurs facteurs : des traditions locales et de leur évolution, de l'état des relations entre les familles et l'École, de la culture professionnelle des enseignants, des modes de management des

établissements, des configurations de la politique éducative, du niveau d'autonomie des élèves, des compétences en coéducation des parents, des conditions matérielles des foyers,

Avec 5 premiers articles présentés ici, ce numéro d'*Éducation Comparée* invite à une réflexion spécifique sur les mutations induites par la crise sanitaire au sein du système éducatif de 10 pays différents en Europe et dans les Amériques. Plus particulièrement, en questionnant une partie spécifique des mutations liées à la crise sanitaire, chaque contribution participera à éclairer scientifiquement trois questions principales : quels types de mutations ont été observés au cours de la crise sanitaire au sein des systèmes éducatifs en question ? Dans quelle mesure ces mutations sont-elles destinées à perdurer, en laissant des traces plus ou moins profondes ? Qu'est-ce que ces mutations nous disent-elles des spécificités de chaque système éducatif observé, hors-temps de crise ?

L'intérêt de ce numéro ne réside pas seulement dans la richesse des contextes éducatifs internationaux questionnés, mais aussi dans la variété des approches méthodologiques et des niveaux d'échelle d'analyse. En effet, pour certaines contributions, il s'agira d'une monographie à l'échelle d'un établissement scolaire, par les biais d'observations in situ et d'entretiens ; pour d'autres, de l'analyse des données quantitatives issues de questionnaires au niveau national ou international, ou encore des analyses discursives des politiques éducatives ; enfin, pour d'autres encore, les auteurs développent une discussion entre ces différents types d'approches méthodologiques.

Les contributions à ces numéros spéciaux 26-1 et 26-2 d'*Éducation Comparée* sont regroupées en trois parties, chacune centrée sur un thème de recherche :

- 1) Des mutations structurelles dans les systèmes éducatifs : politiques et fonctions de l'École ;
- 2) Des mutations dans les pratiques scolaires à la maison : des élèves et des parents sans École ;
- 3) Des mutations dans les pratiques enseignantes : les nouveaux défis de l'enseignement à distance « forcé ».

1) Des mutations structurelles des systèmes éducatifs : politiques et fonctions de l'École

La première partie du dossier (n°26-1) s'emploie à identifier les mutations au sein des systèmes éducatifs à une échelle structurelle. Les auteurs et autrices analyseront les choix des politiques éducatives pendant la crise, soit comme des révélateurs de ce qui est le plus valorisé dans les fonctions de l'école, soit en articulant ces choix à l'analyse des variations dans les processus de production des inégalités éducatives.

Le dossier débute avec l'article de Marta Cordini et Carlotta Caciagli qui dresse un tableau des modèles nationaux de gestion de la crise sanitaire et de leurs implications sur le rôle attribué à l'école dans la crise. A partir d'une analyse des recommandations institutionnelles dans quatre pays (Angleterre, Espagne, France, Italie), l'article tente de caractériser la position spécifique de chaque cas national en termes de politique scolaire de gestion de crise.

Irena Smetáčková et Stanislav Štech ont la démarche originale de proposer une mise en perspective des éléments structurels du système éducatif tchèque avec la situation de crise sanitaire. Sur la base d'un questionnaire, rempli par plus de 5000 parents, les auteurs testent chacun des traits distinctifs du système tchèque dans la situation de confinement.

À partir d'une enquête auprès de 36 établissements scolaires au Mexique, Inès Dussel et Ariadna Acevedo-Rodrigo montrent le nouveau processus de « bureaucratisation » et « taskification » (mise en tâche) du travail scolaire lié au contexte sanitaire. Elles montrent comment ces évolutions ont en partie entretenu voire renforcé les inégalités sociales devant la scolarité.

Enfin, deux articles, celui de Leopoldo Cabrera, Gabrielle Sicilia, Gustavo Marrero, Carmen Pérez et Carlos Bethencourt d'une part, et celui de Alejandra Birgin et Patricia Ferrante interrogent les effets du recours massif aux pratiques numériques pendant la crise sanitaire dans deux contextes scolaires où les habitudes numériques sont encore peu développées : en Espagne et en Argentine.

[Les deux parties suivantes composent le numéro 26-2 d'*Éducation Comparée*]

2) Des mutations dans les pratiques scolaires à la maison : des élèves et des parents « sans » École

Cette partie constituée de quatre contributions sera consacrée à la compréhension des changements dans les pratiques éducatives à la maison, dans la perspective de saisir les évolutions, d'une part, dans les relations Ecole-familles, et, d'autre part, dans les relations familiales, au sein des foyers.

L'article de Leonor Lima Torres, Bruno Dionisio et Mariana Gaio Alves est centré sur l'analyse des mutations dans la perception de l'école de la part des familles portugaises pendant le confinement. En rappelant que les relations entre l'Ecole et les familles en temps normal sont souvent traversées par des malentendus, les auteurs font remarquer à quel point le processus de « colonisation » progressive de l'Ecole de la sphère familiale a atteint son summum pendant la crise sanitaire.

Séverine Chauvel, Aksel Kilic et Anne-Caludine Oller se focalisent sur l'analyse des mutations dans les relations affectives au sein des foyers français pendant la crise, à l'aune de l'étude de la différenciation des « parentés pratiques » (Weber, 2013), c'est-à-dire des variations des pratiques parentales, selon les conditions matérielles dans lesquelles évoluent les enfants et selon les relations concrètes des parents avec leurs affiliés.

Ida Lidegran, Elisabeth Hultqvist et Mikael Borjesson s'intéressent aux compétences d'autonomie mobilisées par les élèves des Lycées (Gymnasiet) suédois. L'enquête montre l'hétérogénéité des adaptations des élèves, dans un contexte scolaire où l'autonomie est trop souvent considérée comme étant « spontanée ».

Le dernier article de cette partie, par Patrick Rayou, Pascale Ponte et Julie Pelhate se fonde sur une analyse monographique d'un collège de REP+ situé dans la banlieue parisienne. L'article met en évidence le lien entre les considérations matérielles et pédagogiques, d'autant mieux révélées par le contexte de confinement.

3) Des mutations dans les pratiques enseignantes : les nouveaux défis de l'enseignement à distance « forcé »

La troisième partie (qui sera également publiée dans le numéro 26-2 de la revue) est consacrée aux mutations dans les pratiques des enseignants. Natacha Duroisin, Romain Beauset, Laurie Simon et Chloé Tanghe s'intéressent à l'évolution des pratiques d'évaluation en Wallonie, prises en tenaille entre la réforme récente qui réaffirme le principe de différenciation pédagogique et les exigences de la continuité pédagogique belge pendant le confinement.

Philippe Tremblay pose la question de la continuité en contexte de crise sanitaire du dispositif de « co-enseignement », largement diffusé dans les écoles secondaires au Québec. Avec l'enseignement à distance, la question de l'espace de l'enseignement et celle de la répartition des tâches d'enseignement se posent avec acuité.

Enfin, Séverine Chauvel, Romain Delès et Filippo Pirone montrent la spécificité des pratiques d'enseignement en éducation prioritaire en France et insistent sur les changements de postures professionnelles augurées par le confinement.

Ces deux numéros spéciaux (26-1 et 26-2) présentent donc une grande variété de problématiques et de cas nationaux. Ainsi, si les questions posées ne se répondent pas termes à termes, il est néanmoins possible de dégager au moins quatre « descripteurs transversaux » permettant d'appréhender les proximités et les différences entre les systèmes éducatifs dans la gestion de la crise et dans ses conséquences :

- La gestion de la crise : quelles décisions d'urgence ont été prises dans chaque pays considéré (fermeture de toutes les écoles, de certaines écoles ? recours au distanciel et au numérique ?) ;
- L'accompagnement des élèves (quelle nature des relations entre l'école et les familles ? à quel point les parents ont-ils été pris pour des relais de l'action pédagogique ?) ;
- Le travail des enseignants (quelles recommandations pour les enseignants ? quelle liberté pédagogique ? quelle « aisance » dans la continuité pédagogique ?) ;

- Plus généralement, comment les grandes fonctions associées à l'école ont-elles été maintenues (socialisation, lutte contre les inégalités) ?

Comme on le voit à la lecture des différentes contributions de ce numéro, à ces éléments de comparaison, chaque pays propose une réponse unique, idiosyncrasique, dont on a encore du mal à rendre intelligible la « cohérence » nationale.

Ainsi, il apparaît que les typologies comparatives habituelles, celles qui insistent tantôt sur le poids des traditions d'état providence, sur les régimes sociétaux, sur les modèles de capitalisme apparaissent à première vue peu opératoires. Si ces approches ont démontré leur intérêt dans l'analyse comparée des structures des systèmes éducatifs, elles trouvent leur limite dans l'étude de l'école face à des choix politiques d'urgence. Les effets de conjoncture politique, la configuration de l'expertise sanitaire dans chaque pays, l'acceptation sociale des restrictions sont autant de facteurs propres à la situation de crise et peu prévisibles, qui viennent interférer avec les structures des systèmes éducatifs en bouleversant les analyses comparatives habituelles.

Pourtant, ce chantier mérite d'être ouvert : comment les écoles recouvrent-elles leur fonctionnement « normal » ? Après la crise, ce que l'on nomme, de manière quelque peu galvaudée, la « résilience » des systèmes éducatifs est-elle la même dans tous les pays ? Que peuvent nous apprendre les typologies classiques dès lors qu'on les met en perspective avec le « retour à la normale » des écoles dans les différents pays ?

C'est à la lecture de ce numéro spécial et de celui à venir que l'on peut entrevoir les nouveaux chantiers comparatifs.

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SOCIAL REPRESENTATION OF SCHOOLING IN PANDEMIC TIMES : COMPARING NARRATIVES IN POLICY DISCOURSE

Marta Cordini
Polytechnic of Milan

Carlotta Caciagli
Polytechnic of Milan

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article explore les narrations à travers lesquelles quatre pays européens ont géré la crise de la pandémie de Covid-19 dans les écoles. Les auteures ont analysé les principaux documents institutionnels et normatifs publiés pour aborder l'urgence sanitaire pour la réouverture de l'école entre mai et septembre 2020. Le but était de révéler les différences et les similitudes entre les pays. Outre la cartographie des politiques, l'article donne un aperçu du pouvoir des récits et de la pertinence de la représentation sociale de l'école dans chaque pays.

MOTS CLÉS

École – Représentation sociale – Pandémie de Covid 19 – Étude comparative – Analyse du discours.

ABSTRACT

The article explores the narratives about school that have been developed in four European countries during the Covid-19 pandemic crisis. It analyses the main policy documents issued to approach the health emergency in May-September 2020. The aim is to revealing differences and similarities among countries, as well as the findings from interviews with key informants. Besides mapping policies, the paper provides insights on the power of narratives and the relevance of the social representation of schooling in each country.

KEYWORDS

School – Social representation – Comparative study – Discourse analysis – Covid-19 Pandemic

Introduction

This article explores and compares the representation of schooling that emerges from policy documents related to the emergency measures put in place by four European countries to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic crisis. It analyses the narratives that shape the official documents elaborated by Italy, France, Spain, and England to regulate the closure and re-opening of primary schools. Our main argument is that, as the pandemic forced governments to issue documents that gave orientations to schools and families, similar measures were put in place all over the Europe, yet the documents also showed diverging narratives and representations of schooling. By adopting a discourse analysis approach, our research question is to understand the social representation of schooling in different countries.

The Covid-19 pandemic has challenged educational systems worldwide. As UNESCO (2020) has pointed out, such situation was totally new. Schools were closed in most countries and, when they reopened, they had to strongly change their daily practices and rules. They had to rethink themselves not only in their teaching activities, but also in the relational and emotional dimension. Therefore, the guidelines took into account different aspects related to school. Hence, these “pandemic documents” represent a magnifying glass on the understanding of the social representation that each country develops and sediments on schooling. By the social representation of school, we are referring to the widespread narratives around school that emerge from official documents. We consider official documents as a privileged point of view because of two reasons : they are the product of the existing relations in the societal field ; and they play a crucial role in reproducing social relation and integration of educational institutions with and into society. To this extent, they contribute to create and to reproduce the hegemonical understanding of the role of educational institutions in our societal field. As argued by Bourdieu, schooling is a mechanism of social reproduction and distinction : it reflects and shapes the power relations that operate in society (Bourdieu 1980). In this sense, schooling can be considered an institution with its regulatory mechanisms and a space of relations that interconnects with other spaces of political and social relations, corroborating or challenging a societal order. For the purpose of this research, we focus on official

documents on the school because they allow us to look at the stratification of meanings and narratives that are expression of broader power relations. Indeed, we are not interested in exploring the “objective” role of schooling, but instead the mainstream discourse around schooling as the main instrument to reproduce (or overturn) its social role.

Despite the difficulties in setting the boundaries of the notion of the social representation of schooling - both from an empirical and a conceptual perspective -, we consider it as mainly related to the centrality assigned to the educational institution on three dimensions : the pedagogical dimension, the relationship with the territories in which schools are inscribed, and the role in the socio-economic development of the country. The first dimension refers to the personal, individual level, and involves the effects that schooling is supposed to have on pupils’ personal development. This level considers not only the curricula designed by educational authorities but also the relational and emotional dimension that plays a relevant role in school activities. The second dimension entails the local environment in which the schools are inscribed, and the role it gains in policy discourses. Schooling is at the core of local micro-system of relations : schools are workplaces for teachers and school-workers, daily life spaces for families, an emotional and meaningful space for children, and a community hub. They represent microcosmos that shape many local and family dynamics, for example by conditioning housing trajectories (Butler & Hamnett 2011) and mobility. Nevertheless, public discourses stress the multidimensionality of school differently. The third dimension concerns the long-term perspective and it has to do with the weight schooling has in political, public discourses and authorities. The importance attributed to schooling in different countries can be deduced in part from the organization of the national educational system, but it is also determined by the narratives produced around policy measures and reforms. The official documents that were produced to respond to the Covid emergency deal with these three dimensions of the social representation of schooling. Our research aims to shed light on each of them and on how they are tangled up. The comparison of the documents from four countries suggests that, despite the similarities on the measures, there are important divergences in the way through which they have been communicated, the actors involved

in the communication and the style of documents, which point to significant differences in the social representation of schooling.

Even if our research is exploratory, it can contribute to the academic debate in two ways. Firstly, it offers inputs to further understand the relationship between schooling and society, including what might happen beyond the pandemic era. Secondly, it can provide directions for further research on this topic.

The paper is organized as follows. The following section presents the theoretical premises of our research, namely grounded theory and discourse analysis. The third section outlines the methodology applied, while section four provides an overview on the similarities of measures and explores the differences in terms of broadcasting, actors involved and the style of policy documents. The fifth section is dedicated to discussing the emerging narratives. The sixth section sums up results providing also preliminary conclusions.

Theoretical Premises

The two main lens of analysis through which the research has been conducted are composed by grounded theory (Mattoni 2014, Glaser and Strauss 1965) and the critical discourse and frame analysis (Fairclough 2001 ; Snow 2004 ; Phillips and Hardy 2002).

Grounded theory assumes a crucial role in this research mostly for theoretical reasons. Indeed, it is not only a method for conducting qualitative research, but also a framework through which concepts are constructed and challenged. The rationale of this method entails that research questions and concepts emerging from empirical data (Mattoni 2014 : 21) define an approach instead of simply validating one. Grounded theory allows to “elaborate explanatory abstractions but very grounded in the empirical data” (ibidem), that is particularly valid in exploring new objects of study for which complete theories had not been yet elaborated. The adoption of this theoretical approach allowed us to deduce the three analytical dimensions composing the notion of social role of schooling directly from the document analysis instead of applying them a priori.

The grounded theory approach lays on the constructivist idea about the role of language and discourse in shaping realities (Johnson 2014) and, more so, in reproducing social relations. Jameson (1981) conceptualizes narratives as a key epistemological category through which we gain knowledge of the world but also through which the world is constructed: narratives are ways of presenting and re-presenting the world. To this extent, by exploring discourse we aim at inquiring on the public and social representation of schooling as created from the interconnected linguistic and narrative practices.

Discourse analysis consists both in a theoretical approach and a methodological one. It is based on a comprehensive theory of discourse, from Habermas to Foucault and Laclau and Mouffe (Atkinson et. Al. 2011): discourse is capable of shaping reality. Notably, Bourdieu speaks of discourse as a “structuring structure” and also as a “structured structure” (Bourdieu 1980), which is the result of power relations shaping the social, economic and political fields. Document analysis reveals to be a practice able to shed light on social and cultural structures that are pervasive of school systems in each country. Linguistic forms and rhetorical operation are constitutive of the social world. Policy discourse, in particular, is embedded in institutions and organization and plays an important role in structuring the power relations between them (Fairclough 2001).

Nevertheless, not all discourses play the same role in a given social field. Those ones pronounced by authorities are performative, which means that they have the power to create social reality (Bourdieu 1975), for example the language of law. According to Atkinson et al. (2011), discourse determines what can be legitimately included in and what is excluded from political and policy practices. For the purposes of this research we focused mainly on discourses on schooling in official documents related to the pandemic crisis. The process of framing is usually associated with relatively stable repertoires, which are used to convince population to support alternatives they put forward (Beland 2005). In the cases here considered, the new and urgent situation forced the policy makers to find a balance between their usual quest for support and the need to implement effective measures to contain the spread of the virus. Then they had to convince population of their policy

alternative and used known repertoires (based on shared assumptions), while asking to accept very unpopular measures for the common good. In doing that, these documents reveal clearly how schooling is represented, its functions and its goals, the principles leading the organization of the school system as well its final scope. While the contents of these documents are characterized by the novelty introduced by the pandemic event (new rules, new habits...), the narratives usually confirm the rhetoric already existing, not only in pandemic times, showing the hegemonic discourse that contributes to support the institutional educational system.

Not only what is said is relevant to the construction of a narrative : omissions are relevant as much as what is made explicit (Sam 2019). This can easily emerge in the comparative exercise. Discourses are also able to create power relations (Foucault & Gordon 1980), shaping hierarchies and borders for the institutional categorisation and the management of populations. Official discourse usually ends representing those power relations that are the product of a historical, cultural, and social formation and, by consequence, are easily taken for granted (Luke 2019). As Ball (2015) points out, policy discourses provide us ways of thinking and talking about our institutional ourselves. "In other words, they form regime of truth" that offers the terms that make self-recognition possible. Indeed, policies as discursive strategies – set of texts, events, artefacts, and practices- speak to wider social processes of schooling, such as "the production of the student," the "purpose of schooling," and the construction of the teacher (2015, p. 2). What counts as school is made up of groups of statements that constitute the discursive formation of the school as a neoliberal institution. The pandemic situation overproduced discourse around schooling in which we can observe, as in a magnifying lens, the overall picture described above.

Methods

The research combined two sources for gathering data :

- Discourse analysis of public documents (protocols, guidelines) where measures and devices to be implemented for the reopening of schools are described (issued between March and September 2020).

- Interviews with key informants such as school managers and experts in each country.

Texts taken into consideration are likely to show the narrative about school as well as the adjustments requested to the local institutions, in terms of space and time management, practices, and behaviours, information and communication. Focusing on the way through which measures have been communicated and framed to be accepted, we can piece together expectations placed in school as they emerged from the narratives of each country. In this way, we can reconstruct the corresponding social representation of the role of schooling. According to the purpose of this article, we dealt mainly with two types of documents : official documents issued by the central governments or, if needed, by the local authorities in the four countries regarding anti-pandemic measures in schools (Annex 1). After a preliminary exploration of the documents, we compared the issues that emerged as the most relevant and common ones. In line with grounded theory, we did not make an a priori selection but we let be ourselves guided from the documents themselves.

The interviews with key informants such as school managers or experts allowed us to understand aspects of policies and discourses that cannot be fully grasped through the document analysis. The interviews also helped to contextualize the narratives within wider public discourses, and to check if the discourses around schooling emerging from the pandemic documents represented a turning point or a confirmation of a broader social representation of schools sedimented in time.

Among the key informants, we interviewed one school manager and one expert for each country, with a total of 8 interviews (Annex 2). School managers were interviewed to understand not only the impact of the issued measures on daily practices but also how the discourse shared by policy documents was embedded, interiorized and approved or, on the contrary, resisted or not accepted by schools. Experts' interviews aimed at understanding the educational ideologies and systems in which the policy documents were framed. The combination

of these two sources is likely to provide the comprehension of the social role of schooling that emerged during times of crisis.

Exploring pandemic documents

By exploring the policy measures in these four countries, three main issues were present in all the documents and were thus relevant to compare : the contents of the policy measures, the communication strategies, and the structures of each document. We looked at each of these three issues to reconstruct the social representation of the school as reproduced in public and political discourses. According to the contents, the guidelines of each country are developed around four main dimensions : (a) space, (b) time, (c) information, communication, and training, and (d) recommended practices. In the documents, it is possible to observe substantial and strong similarities among the policy measures that have been adopted. Nevertheless, the frameworks in which these measures have been inscribed are strongly different. In documents and interviews, crucial distinctions emerge on the modes of communication of the policy measures, on the narrative of what the school community is and should be, and on the role of schooling in the process of policy making. In the next section, we further explore these similarities and differences.

Comparing the measures in four countries : Weaknesses and strengths

The four dimensions (space, time, information, communication, and training, and recommended practices) are the fulcrum through which safety is promoted in each country. As far as space and time are concerned, all the four countries have foreseen to work on them to create sorts of cluster (usually overlapping with the class) in order to trace contacts. Spaces have been reshaped usually through what has been called “light architecture” (i.e. creating separations through furniture) and have promoted the use of external areas. To the contrary, all the school activities that were presumed to be carried out in a closed space that could not be modified have been suspended. Time has been fragmented to avoid massive simultaneous arrivals or departure of students and families. In England, where schools re-opened in May 2020, time was also used to create alternate class attendance.

Space and time are crucial also in promoting new behaviours and practices. Indeed, they have followed the principles of social distance (except for nursery, kindergarten, and lower primary school) that can be realized through interchanging pupils in space or time. Hygienization is crucial in all countries. On the contrary, the use of masks has been approached differently : it is compulsory at different ages and for different groups of people. For example, England discourage the use of the mask for pupils and teachers in the same class, but this is not the case in Italy or Spain. This is largely explained by different understandings of the virus but also different understandings of the pedagogical and learning relationships between teachers and pupils. For instance, the Italian Piano Scuola, referring especially to the lower grades, states that “the organization of the various moments of the educational day has to be calm and respectful of the typical modalities of child development, so that children can express themselves with no constraints” (IT1). Nevertheless, looking at the practices, we found a common trend intertwining personal and collective practices, giving more importance to the latter ones ; for example, there is a prohibition for pupils to hug each other is not applied to pupils in the same class, but rather to pupils from different classes.

Another important commonality is related to the crucial role given to communication, information, and training, especially for teachers. This area has been declared to be a core issue and a pivotal point in all the countries. Despite its centrality, this point results to be controversial, because none of the guidelines specify the modes or the people that should take in charge the communication with families. At the same time, there are few indications for communication practices, and teachers training is widely left to schools, despite its evident and declared importance. Moreover, all the guidelines give much more importance to communication within the school, instead of taking care of communication with families and local communities. In this sense we find in all the documents detailed instructions about how to inform pupils about the paths to reach the bathrooms for example through visual warnings, or explain students how to deal with sneezes and cough.

All these largely shared measures are based on a practice that is common to all the countries, which is the attempt to limit as much as possible the access to external people, including parents. The rationale is not just to limit the number of people simultaneously present in a closed space, but also to trace contacts in case of infections between workers and pupils. This hinders the development of extra-curricular activities that imply the presence of external professionals. All the guidelines share these sort of measures.

Differences among measures: comparing communication and structures in each country

Despite these similarities, we observed relevant differences in the modalities of communicating the measures. Time also got a crucial but controversial role. National governments approached the closure of schools in very different ways. Since the very first steps, the Italian government arranged the closure of schools for all the pupils notwithstanding the specific needs of school populations. To the contrary, in England schools were never closed for children of essential workers or with special needs, as well as for those ones with attested difficulties in following the class on-line. Moreover, exception made for Italy, the re-opening of schools occurred gradually for all the other countries.

Communication between schools and authorities represented a critical point in all the countries, even if with different nuances. In Italy, schools were closed at a national scale on March 9, but the first official document with detailed guidelines concerning the educational activities was published on June 24 (Piano Scuola 2020-2021, accompanied by technical reports of civil protection) foreseeing the opening of the schools in September 2020. This document was followed by another official text issued at the end of July and another at the end of August.

On March 16, 2020, French schools were closed, and the “Protocol Sanitaire” (Health Protocol) was released on April 19, which provided a set of very detailed guidelines for the re-opening foreseen on May 10 and on a voluntary basis. In France, the closure of schools, as testified by several interviews, happened without any warning, leaving families, teachers, and school managers in a sort of void with no instructions :

In March we received the instructions suddenly, in a very brutal way. On Thursday, the minister said that schools would be open, while on Friday he said that schools would be immediately closed. So we had to arrange things quickly. (Int FRc)

In the last two weeks of June 2020, the attendance became mandatory and by the end of July an official guide was issued by the Ministry of Education for returning to schools in September. Since the first moment, the Minister of Education was on the stage with other three main political actors, the President, the Prime Minister, and the Chief of the Health Office. He reached the educational community especially through his Facebook account (FRb).

England closed the schools on March 20, 2020. By mid-May, a Guidance was issued that established a gradual opening from June 2, starting with nursery and primary schools, and a complete reopening by June 15, 2020, including all school grades. On September 17, a second guidance was released with instructions for a full opening.

In Spain, schools were closed from May 13, and did not open until September 2020. Some autonomous communities decided to reopen before, such as Galicia, with a document issued on the April 22, 2020.

Besides the timing, communication strategies differed also in the accessibility to documents and their structures. Italian and French documents are downloadable from institutional websites. The Italian ones are structured as reports, while the French ones seem to follow a more schematic structure with several subtitles and bullet points indicating precise actions to be taken to contain the virus. The Italian document introduces several macro-themes discussing the role of education, such as to confront inequality and promote inclusion. England guidelines are accessible on the Department of Education website and the reader can easily navigate them according to the topics of interest. They are in fact structured as a list of topics to be clicked on. Moreover, citizens can be easily updated by signing up to a newsletter. Spanish documents are published in the official government bulletin (*boletín oficial del estado*) and are accessible in the government websites. Nevertheless, because of the large number of documents available at

the same link, finding them is not easy. The policy documents produced by the autonomous communities can be found in their own websites, such as that of the *Xunta de Galicia* (department of school, university and professional training).

Looking at the guidelines from an overall perspective, all the documents underestimate the importance of a prompt communication with the school managers and teachers, while they give much more room to the sensibilisation of families and pupils. Moreover, no specific guidelines are provided to help schools to deal with these novelties. We can infer that an overall strategy to face schooling in pandemic crisis is mostly missing in the official policy documents. Nevertheless, this shared trait is embodied in different narratives that enlighten different social representation of school and education in different countries. In the following section we explore these social representations.

From documents to narratives. Exploring the social representation of schooling in each country

France

Documents issued in France are characterized by a strong operative style. They provide very precise instructions to school managers, teachers, families, and students. This is translated into very detailed guidelines (i.e. handwashing instructions). As in France the school system is highly centralized, these documents were applied to each reality through a vertical approach, from the central government to the local schools. In the interviews, key informants reported that having such detailed information could be reassuring, but many school managers often found themselves in paradoxical situations when applying measures that were not suited to their context. This aspect sheds light on the highly hierarchical system that characterizes France and the very reduced autonomy that school managers have. Because of their functional goal, documents are very schematic, divided into thematic cards. In the first document issued in April 2020, "*Protocole sanitaire. Guide à la réouverture et au fonctionnement des écoles maternelle et élémentaires*" (FR1), some general principles are repeatedly recalled at the beginning of each thematic card, and there are abrupt shifts to explain the broader inspiring rationale at its core. The re-opening of

schools in May, even if not compulsory, was accompanied by the slogan that “we have to make every single student come back to school,” in the name of the struggle against inequalities (FRb).

Since the attendance in May was not compulsory, many families decided not to send their children back to school, because of a sort of “cacophonía” in the messages that were sent by the President and political actors (Fra). Suddenly, from one week to another, the school was opened again to reduce the risk of strengthening education inequality, but there was no new information on the pandemic trends, and this was confusing to many families. By June 2020, when the attendance returned to be compulsory, families were stressed and tired, and accepted to send their children to school (FRb). At the end of July, a second document appeared (FR2) that collected the guidelines for the re-opening of schools in September. This text is directly accessible online and it is friendly to readers. These documents emphasise the inclusive goal of education, confirming the rhetoric already present in previous policy documents. Indeed, as pointed out by an interviewee “since the ‘90s, the success in school for everybody is the most quoted slogan in French educational system” (FRb). The repetition of the word “tous” is significant. Some highlighted sentences recall the idea that education has to be for everyone : “*Tous les élèves reprennent l’école dès le 1^{er} septembre*” (All students will start school on Sept 1), “*Protéger tous les élèves et les adultes et assurer l’éducation pour tous*” (Protecting all students and adults and ensure education for everyone). These are the subtitles introducing the last two documents mentioned above. On this purpose it is also provided “*le livret pour le familles*” (the handbook for families) (FR3) stating :

C’est avec vous et grâce à la responsabilisation et la vigilance collectives que nous assurerons l’éducation pour tous, en protégeant les élèves comme les adultes. [It is with you and thanks to your responsibility and the collective supervision that we will ensure education for everyone, protecting both students and adults.]

Beside these slogans (such as “ensemble, nous réussirons,” that is “Together, we’ll make it”), the document is four-pages long, with images and bullet points, and it appears as a very simple and immediate document, explaining what will happen to students during their school

days, and the recommended practices and behaviours to protect them and the community.

This kind of document signals a strategical communication policy that places families with their children at the centre of the community in the challenge of containing the spread of the pandemic. Along with corroborating a rhetoric on schooling, this type of communication also reveals the sedimented representation of education as a central asset in societal development. Indeed, more pedagogical materials are provided here, with a recognition for the teachers who “ensure the face-to-face courses.” The narrative of French policy documents provides the representation of a school whose first goal is to be inclusive and must guarantee education for everybody. School is narrated as strongly embedded in the community, a school which shares the responsibility towards the collective or the common good (in this case about the containment of the pandemic) with the families.

The principle of equality (*égalité*) is at the centre of the educational system in France, and this is so embedded in the discourse that has made it difficult to tackle the issue of educational inequalities, at least in two ways. The research of equality has been translated into a vertical management foreseeing a uniform setting for everybody, regardless of the local and individual features. This has made unfeasible any kind of individualized path, underestimating that the measures ran the risk of creating more exclusion for individuals and in different territories. The trade-off between narrative and reality is testified by this interviewee :

The political discourse is so wide, so general, that it has to work for everybody, and in fact it does not work for anybody. (FRa)

From this and other interviews, it emerged that the issue of inequalities has gained attention in the media, at least for a short period, but it has not lasted long, since it has been replaced by the pressure of citizens to return to work. The issue of conciliation, in fact, prevailed over the topic of inequalities and attracted the attention of the public opinion and the political interest.

An interesting and unexpected consequence of the pandemic is linked to online teaching. Despite its limits, this modality has broken the hierarchical relationship between teachers and students, which is

particularly strong in the French upper secondary school, according to one of our key informants (FRb). This relationship is in fact characterized by a high degree of rigidity and formality, and it tends to “create a strong scission and to prevent the creation of a community” (FRa), with negative consequences on the pedagogical relations.

In this sense, on the one hand, in France the pandemic policy documents are the result of a shared and strong social representation of schooling, but on the other hand they have opened possibilities and new paths for different representations, less linked to the equality umbrella and more dependent to the needs of families and the relationships between school and families.

Italy

The first document issued in Italy is “Piano Scuola” (School Plan). It is a very dense text containing not only guidelines but also the general values in which the policy measures are inspired. The guidelines emphasize the agency of schools :

the role of school will be essential in applying the guidelines to each specific context, to define concrete and feasible solutions taking into account the complex scenario of variables. (IT1)

The Piano Scuola strongly emphasized the relevance of the cooperation between different territorial actors, alongside with the concept of subsidiarity and educational co-responsibility. The idea that lies behind the text is a common vision sustained and realized through the implementation of measures suitable to the territorial differences. This first document was accompanied by a technical document (FR5) edited by the Civil Protection Agency and written by a Technical and Scientific Committee. This text goes far beyond the first one, offering guidelines for the resumption of school activities including a premise that states the relevance of schools in fighting inequalities (with figures on the different forms of disadvantages). Also, this text recalls the role of schools and their autonomy :

The indications here provided can only be of general nature to guarantee the coherence with the essential measures for containing the pandemic, representing mostly a list of criteria to be contextualized in the specific school realities. Schools will play a pivotal role in placing the indication in the specific contexts...in the certainty that only who lives and works daily in schools with competence and passion can drive to the definition of concrete and feasible solutions.

The pandemic is depicted rhetorically as an opportunity for change :

It will be needed to transform the difficulties linked to this historical moment into a trigger for a new beginning and innovation. (IT1)

Rhetoric narratives are evident also in the references to school workers as key actors in defining successful measures and to the role of schools in hindering inequalities and promoting inclusion.

The premise also collects data about the pandemic and recommendations from Unesco and other organizations, especially to legitimize the closure of school buildings. This is followed by a chapter about the scholastic sector in Italy, with data on teachers, students, building conditions, and so on. This is very peculiar to the Italian case, since nothing similar has been found in the policy documents in the other countries considered in our analysis. Policy measures were not presented and explained in a schematic way, but on the contrary, they were contextualized and often put in relation with more structural features of the school system. While this can be interesting from an academic and scientific point of view, it makes the text hardly readable and not immediate for comprehension and translating it into action. This is not surprising considering the public debate on schooling in Italy, which often detaches educational structural features and problems from broader social issues.

The IT1 document issued at the end of June 2020 mostly addressed primary schools and the upper cycles, giving very limited attention to kindergartens and totally neglecting nurseries : 0-6 childcare services were still in a limbo concerning timing and modalities of the re-opening in September. Once again, this is not surprising as Italy does not consider early childhood education as part of educational policies but as part of welfare policies. Therefore, no common strategy or universal access have been developed in Italy for kindergartens. In Italy, there is

a widespread representation that childcare is a personal, familiar business. A document called "Guidance document for the resumption of in-presence activities of kindergartens and primary schools" was published at the end of July 2020. This document (IT2) is very similar to the previous one, with some exceptions regarding the peculiar emotional and relational needs of 0-6 students. This document stresses particularly the pivotal role of the alliance between families and childcare services in monitoring the spread of the virus ; parents were expected to sign an "educational co-responsibility pact."

After one month, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education published a document entitled "Operational indications for managing Sars-CoV-2 cases and outbreaks in childcare and educational services and schools". Even in this case, the main issue considered was the timing. It was launched on August 21, 2020, just two weeks before the re-opening of nurseries and kindergarten and three weeks before the re-opening of schools. As our interviews highlighted (ITa), this strict timing left several services and schools unable to start in adequate conditions at the established day. Nevertheless, this document appears as the less rhetorical one : it is detailed and answers to the need to organize activities in childcare services and schools in order to follow the indications issued by the previous document and, in addition, how to deal with Sars-Cov-2 cases. Therefore, it is widely usable by school managers and teachers. This part is followed by the core of the document, which makes recommendations for the managing of different scenarios considering the manifestation of Sars-Cov-2 among students, teachers, or other school workers, at school and at home, and their test results.

The final chapter stresses the relevance of information for families and training for teachers. Actions are suggested to reach families, and there is a reference to a platform where courses will be offered for teachers. The training here concerns the so called Covid Referee, which are teachers in charge to deal with suspected or confirmed Covid cases. In relation to online teaching training, according to our key informant (ITa), each school was in charge, under the reception of ministerial funding, of buying and providing teacher training. It is noteworthy that this training was not mandatory and it clashes with three features of the

Italian school system : the high turn-over of teachers, especially during the first days of school, the age of teachers, who are in a great number reluctant to learn new modalities of teaching, and the lack of skills needed to fulfil the task of school autonomy from a great part of school managers (ITa, ITb).

However, in Italy the late arrival of indications and the considerable autonomy of school managers has left more room to individual initiatives. The issue of arranging the space to respect social distancing has been addressed through creative solutions, giving the impossibility of implementing structural changes to the building because of time and funding constraints. One example comes from an interviewed school manager who has invented, alongside with his staff, the “additional classroom.” This room is used for those classes where the physical distancing rule can’t be followed due their size. A couple or more students are moved into this additional class where a computer for the online teaching is set, and they can follow the class. Students rotate in attending the additional class so that everybody attends the frontal class almost as always. These initiatives seem to be quite spotless and not supported from a central authority, but on the contrary are threatened by the high fragmentation characterizing the school system :

Narratives about school in Italy is characterized by a lot of rhetoric, but unfortunately there is no a project and a vision for building a coherent discourse about education. Teachers are not aware about their role ; they are not able to represent themselves as a category of workers or as a potential intellectual lever for the country. (ITb)

Spain

In Spain, the official policy documents appear bare and lack operative prescriptions. This is because primary schools are overseen by the autonomous communities, which have been the main authorities during lockdown. The large part of the national documents is devoted to explaining the relationship between the government, the autonomous communities, and the schools, stressing the attention on the collaborative nature of the policy measures. Documents often mention the “territorial cooperation” as an important resource for facing school issues during the pandemic. This point is addressed when

documents suggest to school managers how to find the hygienic materials (masks, soap, disinfectants) that are to be placed in school spaces in case that the national provisions would be not enough. This assumes the relevance of making effective and efficient the autonomy of the schools. Indeed, while the large independence of the schools could be framed as positive because it allows managers to effect policy measures that match the needs of the schools (ES1), the lack of a central organization risks that it ends up being disorganized and scattered. In this sense, the Spanish documents communicate the attempt to outline a shared framework to deal with the pandemic.

Despite the vagueness of the guidelines, the languages and the mentioned issues point to the main features of the Spanish narrative around schooling and the prevailing representation of the role of schools. The policy measures that the autonomous communities, and in turn the schools, are pushed to implement are related not just to the safety of children and teachers according to the pandemic but also to ensure their right to schooling. Differently from other countries, in Spain the documents stress the attention to the right of pupils to receive a high-level instruction despite the changes in modalities. Indeed, according to the guidelines, efforts should be made to not penalize pupils because of the new methodology. As can be read in the texts, “[i]n no case pupils can be penalised because of the difficulties related to the changes in academic methods”. It is interesting to note that the online school is defined as a “methodological change” rather than a substantial one. In this sense, while pandemic changes are given a considerable space, these changes are approached as temporary ones.

Nevertheless, due to the emergency, documents underline that the health of pupils, families and teachers is a top priority in onsite schooling, which is the best option to guarantee the right to schooling. (ES1). Indeed, the guidelines suggest rescheduling the program in order to take care of the broad difficulties of pupils rather than to cover all the didactic goals. Teachers and managers are invited to take in charge those pupils for whom online schooling is more challenging. This indicates that, in a first stance, the kind of difficulties considered are mainly those related to the possible technological gaps among pupils rather than to differences in socio-economic backgrounds and physical and psychological discomfort. Indeed, the first set of issues are often

made explicit in the text, while the socio-economic background is almost never mentioned. Also, few words are spent to push for a fast re-opening of the school, at least for specific categories.

Since education is mainly in charge of autonomous communities, we explored the documents issued by the authorities from Galicia, in the northwest of the country. Indeed, this autonomous community was one of the first to reopen school buildings. This document shows a completely different trend, even if the protocols developed by the autonomous communities are compulsory for the schools. On the base of the very operative issues that are presented, the document seems to be made for school managers -indeed they are hard to find on web for common citizens-, and the recommendations are provided without justifying or explaining the reasons of the policy measures to readers. It mostly offers a compendium of best practices for organizing the presence of children at school. For example, it recommends staggering the entry of pupils in the schools, or how to manage the classes to reduce contacts among students. The writing style is concise, and the document easy to consult because it is organized in short sections.

Concerning the contents of the documents, some interesting points emerge. First of all, a large attention is dedicated to the safeguarding of school workers. Documents spend many words giving insights around the management of vulnerable workers, the protocols to put in place once a pupil gets sick and how to manage the right of teachers to not work or work in a completely safe environment. This aspect covers the largest part of the text ; on the contrary, few pages are dedicated to set guidelines for online schooling. Nevertheless, documents deal with online schooling according to a very delicate issue: the privacy dimension that needs to be guaranteed for teachers and pupils. This issue is not mentioned in the national documents, and it seems to be absent also in other countries' guidelines. In the Galicia document, the point is addressed also when a pupil or a teacher gets Covid-19. According to the document, schools must guarantee privacy to the infected people. A second remarkable aspect concerns the recommendations on the modes through which schools must communicate with families. The Galicia guidelines are much more focused on giving inputs to schools for making clear to parents the protocols adopted by the schools, instead of telling families how they

need to relate to the school. Indeed, the prescriptions for individual actions are presented at the end of the document.

England

England's national guidelines are orientation documents, presented as a "framework for school leaders" that "does not create any new legal obligations." Nevertheless, it is to be read also by parents and citizens that are out of the educational provision. As said above, the documents are easy to find and news can be received by e-mail after subscribing to a mailing list. It can be considered a broad but operative document that, besides explaining the rationale at the core, sets the purposes and practices to reach them. The document says clearly that during the pandemic, a more specific approach is demanded from the school managers, who are better situated than the national government for knowing their districts' needs. Nevertheless, the suggested guidelines to deal with the emergency are preceded by some broad reflections on the rationale of England's policy measures. These premises are an outline of the social representation of schooling that is prevalent in that country.

Despite the very operative nature of the text, an extensive, initial part of the document is dedicated to point out why the return to school for all the pupils is crucial. Unlike other countries, the explanation of the "reasons why" is crucial in England. The sanitary issue has a very marginal role in relation to the negative aspects of closing school buildings. Based on, and quoting, recent studies, English guidelines corroborate the possibility to open the school for all the children because there is no evidence of the effective risks of Covid-19 in the school. On the contrary, the bad effects of online schooling are demonstrated and evident. Indeed, in developing the anti-Covid policy measures, the document always gives priority to the educational dimension, saying that this aspect could never been put at the second place. To reaffirm the priority role of pedagogy and education, in various parts of the document there are sentences like this one :

protective measures for children and staff, which also ensure that all pupils receive a high quality education that enables them to thrive and progress. [...] Returning to school is vital for children's education and for their wellbeing. Time out of school is detrimental for children's cognitive and academic development, particularly for disadvantaged children.

Yet through the document, the main reason to keep schools open are economic, rather than pedagogical ones. Indeed, the benefits of getting back to schools are described as a priority for all the country. First of all, the closure of schools caused problems to the working families and this, in turn, worsened the economic endurance of England. Therefore :

For many households school closures have also affected their ability to work. As the economy begins to recover, we need to remove this barrier so parents and carers can return to work.

According to this perspective, the English document is the only one in which school is explicitly recognized as having a role in allowing parents to go to work. In this sense, its educational and pedagogical role is assumed as intertwined with its care function. What is particularly interesting of this document is the long-term approach to explain why to open school is important, a level that is almost absent in the other countries, which are mainly focused on the extraordinary, short-term dimension. Indeed, the text clearly says that :

Lower academic achievement also translates into long-term economic costs due to having a less qualified workforce. This affects the standard of living that today's pupils will have over the course of their entire life.

Thus, personal level is immediately connected with the collective one. Accordingly, it is stressed that school is important for all the children. Policy documents in England relate the education of pupils to the economic development of the country, being the only one in all the selected countries to state it so clearly.

Contrary to the national guidelines of the other countries, in England lesser specific attention is dedicated to the disadvantaged pupils. The issue is not approached in a specific way, but it is mentioned to reinforce the need to deal with pandemic without closing schools again. Nevertheless, we can witness some controversies between the narrative

and the implementation. Despite the great role that schooling is considered to have in the socio-economic life of England, no additional funds are given to schools to manage the emergency. We can read that *“There are no plans at present to reimburse additional costs incurred as part of that process.”*

According to the specificity of measures, the document appears less detailed than the policy documents of the other countries. Indeed, it does not list a set of best practices, but it suggests a broad approach to guarantee a safe presence at school for all people involved. In this framework, a large part is dedicated to the synergies that need to be created at the local level to manage the emergency times, as done by Spanish governmental documents. The text stresses the importance of constructing a collaborative environment between schools, parents, school workers and trade unions. Accordingly, documents devote some space to make clear the role of supply teachers and the modes through which they can be engaged. The document also points out the right of teachers to work from home in case of health problems. Relevant space in the guidelines is dedicated to the transport of children to school, pointing out the need to separate public transport from school transport. This suggests the awareness of linkages between schools and surrounding environments. Finally, a possible inconsistency between the narrative and the implementation level can be seen in these guidelines. The document explicitly says that schools are not given additional financial instruments to remain safely open. Therefore, the document shows a broad approach to schooling that emphasizes its relevance mostly on economic terms, but it is not possible to grasp the concrete or real will to implement this declared approach.

Concluding notes

Through the discourse analysis of policy documents, we can highlight four analytical dimensions that allow for a comparison among the four countries considered in our research. First, the balance between the right to education and the right to health : all documents had to solve the tension between these two rights. Second, differences appear also in the way some exception were applied to particular groups of students and families. Third, a very relevant issue, even if not always openly

discussed, was the degree of autonomy of school and the structure of governance. Lastly, in the communication dimension there were divergent strategies that speak to different representations of schools and communities.

The contents of the policy documents can be mapped along these four dimensions, depicting different understandings of schooling and its role in the broad social field. In the following table we provide a summary of these differences :

		Italy	France	Spain	England
<i>Right to education/right to health</i>		Balancing	Balancing	+ Right to health	+ Right to Education
<i>Differentiation and exceptions</i>		None	Schools could be opened for some disadvantaged categories	Starting from May some autonomous communities re-opened the schools	Schools have always been open for certain categories (low income and CWSN)
<i>Autonomy</i>		Autonomy is stressed as the basis for flexibility and efficiency.	No autonomy. School managers are forced to apply national prescriptions.	Practices are set by autonomous communities. School managers have a small room for decisions.	School managers are responsible for practices and specific measures.
<i>Communication</i>	Lack of operativeness and clarity, richness of details and background discourses.	Very operative, schematic and detailed documents.	Governmental documents are general and written for insiders. Galicia's documents are detailed and operative, easy to be read, but not specifically addressed to families of pupils.	Interactive, easy to be found and read, and very direct in explaining the rationale.	

The comparison of the texts makes visible a different representation of schooling and its role in the wider society. More in detail, there appear to be differing expectations and priorities regarding the school system. Looking at the different positioning of the documents in relation to the four analytical dimensions, we outline specific narrative typologies for each country.

The high levels of rhetoric of Italian documents provides a message of *universalism and inclusion*, with school playing a role of democratization of the whole society. These trends emphasise a common vision and

make scarce room for territorial differences. These ideas clash with the complexity of the documents and with a lack of a communication strategy towards schools and families. While the approach of French documents is more pragmatic as a dissemination strategy, the central notion of their narrative is *equality* : equality not only for all families but also between schools. The neglect of local diversities and differences is one of the specific traits of the French approach. The Spanish approach is, instead, characterized by what we have called a sort of *conservatism* : it is the only country, in fact, that prioritized the right to health over that to education. Moreover, pandemic changes are addressed as methodological changes and not as substantial ones. Finally, English documents focus on the role of schools as drivers for economic growth. The relevant rhetoric is the need of re-opening school for the sake of the country's economy in the short and long term. This goal emerges also in the communication strategy ; documents are easy to be found and to be read for families, which are supposed to be the workers of the country.

It is noteworthy that these narratives are mostly political strategies to legitimize the policy measures implemented. The effects of these documents on the policies have been controversial and, although our analysis does not shed light on this issue, our interviews suggest at least a considerable gap between the political approach and the local implementation. To this extent, this research aims to be a first step into a broader analysis of the social representation and role of schooling in each European country that goes beyond the narratives, and we hope that further steps be taken in this direction.

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Annex 1. Analysed documents

Id doc	Issue date	Original title	Translated title	Issued by
FR1	April 2020	Protocole sanitaire. Guide à la réouverture et au fonctionnement des écoles maternelle et élémentaires	Health Protocol. Guide to the re-opening and functioning of kindergarden and primary schools	Ministry of Education and Youth
FR2	July 2020	Rentrée 2020. Modalités pratiques	Re-opening 2020. Practices	Ministry of Education and Youth
FR3	July 2020	Livret pour le parents	Brochure for parents	Ministry of Education and Youth
IT1	June 2020	Piano Scuola 2020-2021	School Plan 2020-21	Ministry of Education, University and Research
IT2	July 2020	Documento di indirizzo e orientamento per la ripresa delle attività in presenza dei servizi educativi e delle scuole d'infanzia	Guidance document for the resumption of in-presence activities of kindergartens and primary schools	Ministry of Education, University and Research
IT3	August 2020	Operational indications for management	Operational indications for management of Sars-CoV-2 in schools and childcare services	Ministry of Education, University and Research with Ministry of Health, Health Superior Institute
ES1	April 2020	Orden EFP/365/2020, de 22 de abril, por la	Orden EFP/365/2020, de 22	Ministry of Education and

		que se establecent...	de abril, por la que se establecent...	professional formation
ES2	May 2020	Resolucìon pola que se reinicia a actividade lectiva...	Instruction for getting back to school	Xunta de Galicia, Conselleria de education, universidade e formacion profesional
EN2	July 2020	Actions for schools during the Coronavirus Outbreak -guidance for full opening schools	Actions for schools during the Coronavirus Outbreak -guidance for full opening schools	Ministry of Education
EN2	May 2020	Supporting vulnerable children and young people during the coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak - actions for educational providers and other partners	Supporting vulnerable children and young people during the coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak - actions for educational providers and other partners	Ministry of Education
EN3	June 2020	Coronavirus (COVID-19): implementing protective measures in education and childcare settings	Coronavirus (COVID-19): implementing protective measures in education and childcare settings	Ministry of Education
EN4	July 2020	Actions for schools during the Coronavirus Outbreak -planning guide for primary schools	Actions for schools during the Coronavirus Outbreak -planning guide for primary schools	Ministry of education

Annex 2. Experts' interviews

ID interviews	Role	Country
FRa	Lectures in Sociology	France
FR	Lecturer in Training Science	France
FRc	School managers	France
ITa	School manager	Italy
ITb	Expert	Italy
ESa	Expert	Spain
ESb	Expert	Spain
ENa	Expert	England
ENb	Research fellow	England

LES ÉLÉMENTS STRUCTURELS DU SYSTÈME ÉDUCATIF TCHÈQUE FACE A LA CRISE SANITAIRE : RUPTURE OU CONTINUITÉ ?

Stanislav Štech
Irena Smetáčková

Université Charles –
Faculté de l'Éducation,
République Tchèque

RÉSUMÉ

Au printemps 2020, *l'école à la maison* a permis d'examiner avec plus d'acuité les caractéristiques saillantes du système scolaire tchèque – le poids extrêmement élevé de la famille dans la réussite scolaire des élèves et la sélection précoce. Celle-ci a lieu au moment de la transition au premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire. En s'appuyant sur les données de l'enquête auprès de plus de 5.000 parents dont près de 2.500 parents d'élèves du primaire, l'article constate que les inégalités significatives du soutien parental aux élèves existent en amont, dès l'école primaire qui défavorisent les familles au statut socio-économique bas. Pour faire face aux exigences de l'école d'autres facteurs ont été identifiés liés à l'interaction des parents avec les demandes de l'école.

MOTS CLÉS

Enseignement distanciel - École primaire - Communication famille – école – Engagement parental – Inégalités scolaires

ABSTRACT

A survey among 2 500 parents of primary school pupils has made it possible to examine more clearly the salient feature of the Czech school system – dependence of educational performance on family background and early selection in lower secondary education. The authors note that significant inequalities in parental support for pupils exist at primary school linked to the level of education of parents and the material and cultural conditions of the family. Parents' successful coping with teachers requirements depends on adequacy of the curriculum, self-perceived parents competencies and parental practices. Yet, exchanges of parents with teachers could be a turning point – they were much more frequent, regular and individualized.

KEYWORDS

Home education – Primary school – Family and school communication – Parental engagement – Education inequalities

Introduction

En mars 2020, en raison de la situation sanitaire 130 000 élèves de plus de 4 000 écoles primaires et secondaires tchèques ont trouvé leur école fermée, l'enseignement devant se poursuivre à la maison avec l'aide des parents. Ceux-ci se sont soudainement retrouvés dans un tout nouveau rôle.

La transition vers l'enseignement à distance a représenté un défi tant pour les familles que pour les écoles. Ainsi, cette situation a permis d'observer de plus près le rôle joué par les familles dans la socialisation scolaire des enfants. Les conditions matérielles de la famille, les attentes des parents à l'égard de la scolarité de leur enfant, les pratiques parentales d'aide aux enfants, les modes et la qualité de la communication entre les parents et les enseignants ont surgi comme sous la loupe.

Certes, même durant l'enseignement présentiel l'école a toujours structuré la vie des familles, imposant ses temporalités et ses exigences. Néanmoins, l'école à la maison a mis en évidence les inégalités des conditions et des pratiques des familles pour faire face aux exigences scolaires. En même temps, certains éléments structurels du système scolaire, les pratiques pédagogiques et la nature des exigences des enseignants ont émergé avec plus d'acuité.

Les enquêtes internationales (OECD, 2016) ainsi que les recherches au niveau national constatent deux caractéristiques qui singularisent le système éducatif tchèque. C'est d'abord la sélectivité précoce qui est associée à la réussite ou à l'échec potentiels des élèves fréquentant les filières différentes fondées sur la division des élèves par aptitude durant leur scolarité obligatoire. La seconde est représentée par la forte dépendance de la réussite scolaire des élèves de l'origine socioculturelle de la famille (Katrňák & Simonová, 2011). Les inégalités en matière d'éducation sont généralement étudiées au moment de la transition des élèves entre les établissements du secondaire inférieur et ceux du secondaire supérieur ou entre les écoles primaires et les écoles du secondaire inférieur (niveau collège en France). Ce qui se passe durant la fréquentation de l'école primaire et influence le choix de filière au moment de la transition des élèves au secondaire inférieur n'attire pas l'attention particulière des chercheurs.

Cependant, le début de la scolarité est absolument essentiel pour l'ensemble du parcours scolaire de l'enfant. Durant cette période, les élèves développent des outils cognitifs importants pour réussir dans leur scolarisation ultérieure. Dans le même temps, ils développent des attitudes envers l'école et envers l'apprentissage qui déterminent leur motivation d'apprendre et leurs ambitions éducatives pour l'avenir.

Selon une enquête de l'OCDE, les premières années de scolarisation sont essentielles dans la réduction des inégalités éducatives et sociales (cf. Garcia & Weiss, 2017). C'est pourquoi nous avons décidé de nous concentrer sur le rôle que joue l'enseignement/apprentissage à l'école primaire dans la naissance (ou dans l'atténuation) des inégalités.

Notre étude porte sur les relations écoles – familles pendant le confinement. Néanmoins, nous allons d'abord présenter brièvement ce que les résultats des recherches nous disent de la sélectivité précoce liée à la reproduction du statut socioéconomique de la famille en Tchéquie et du poids des familles dans la réussite scolaire de leurs enfants.

Ensuite, en nous appuyant sur les données de notre recherche nous allons montrer si les inégalités dans la gestion des exigences de l'école primaire existent et comment elles se produisent au sein des familles (ce que l'on appelle « l'engagement parental ») et entre les familles et l'école (processus appelés la « participation des parents », cf. Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005).

Le système scolaire tchèque – filières différenciées, sélection précoce, inégalités croissantes en fonction du milieu familial¹

Après le changement politique en 1989, le système scolaire tchèque s'est profondément transformé. Durant la décennie 1990, en réaction à l'école unique du régime précédent confondue avec le projet idéologique „communiste“ le paysage scolaire devient très différencié qui correspondrait mieux au principe méritocratique adopté par la nouvelle classe politique.

¹ Ce chapitre puise en partie dans le texte *L'enseignement distanciel en République tchèque – le miroir familial des inégalités scolaires* (Štech & Smetáčková, 2021).

L'argument du retour aux lycées longs² d'entre les deux guerres à l'appui, la devise „à chacun la trajectoire de scolarisation correspondant à ses dons“ justifie cette décision (Štech, 2009). Certes, l'école de base³ publique reste dominante quant aux effectifs qui la fréquentent. Cependant, elle est mise en concurrence avec les écoles publiques aux classes spécialisées destinées aux enfants aux dons divers (sélectionnés à huit ans), avec les établissements privés et avant tout avec les lycées longs qui absorbent une partie de la cohorte des élèves de onze ans. Pourtant, l'argument initial de la finalité des lycées longs reposait sur l'idée d'intégrer autour de 5% d'élèves de chaque classe d'âge⁴.

En réalité, le départ de 10 % à 25 % des élèves de onze ans chaque année vers les lycées longs dans certaines régions (à Prague un quart des élèves à la fin de l'école primaire quitte ainsi l'école de base) ne correspond pas à l'objectif initial. Cette migration des élèves décidée par les parents est rendue possible par le respect peu rigoureux de la sectorisation et par l'extrême autonomie des établissements. Le poids de négociation entre les parents et les directeurs des établissements et celui de la compétence des parents en la matière n'en est que renforcé⁵. Les recherches montrent que cette migration reflète plutôt le statut socio-économique des parents, leurs aspirations et projets familiaux avec leur enfant, ainsi que leur détermination et leur capacité à investir dans la préparation aux examens d'entrée, à payer le tutorat, etc. (Matějů & Straková, 2006 ; Straková & Greger, 2013).

2 La trajectoire de scolarisation qui dure huit ans (de 11 à 18 ans) et qui ne demande pas un examen d'accès à l'enseignement secondaire supérieur. Les élèves (et les parents !) étant assurés dès 11 ans d'aller jusqu'au baccalauréat. L'examen d'entrée en première année (appelée „prima“) de ce lycée étant d'autant plus sélectif.

3 L'école de neuf ans correspondant à l'école primaire de cinq ans (appelée „premier degré de l'école de base“) et l'école du premier cycle du secondaire de quatre ans (cette dernière appelée „second degré de l'école de base“ équivalente du collège en France). Cependant, pour des raisons de l'économie d'expression nous employons les termes „l'école primaire“ et „le collège“ tout au long de ce texte.

4 Cet argument institutionnel s'appuie sur la conception de la psychologie individuelle de la distribution normale des aptitudes intellectuelles (la courbe de Gauss) qui indique entre 3% et 5% d'individus capables des performances très au-dessus de la moyenne (3e déviation standard).

5 Le pouvoir des directeurs de l'établissement en matière de l'embauche du personnel, des contenus et des méthodes d'enseignement et de l'inscription des élèves étant des plus extensifs parmi les pays de l'OCDE (Schleicher, 2018).

Les analyses de l'enquête internationale PISA ont confirmé le poids de l'environnement familial dans la performance scolaire des élèves tchèques : le statut socio-économique des familles explique environ 40 % à 45 % de la dispersion des résultats dans les tests de mathématiques, de lecture et de connaissances en sciences contre environ 30% dans les autres pays européens (PISA, 2018).

Les recherches effectuées avant la crise sanitaire constatent les effets négatifs suivants des caractéristiques du système scolaire qui mettent en relief le rôle du milieu familial et l'échec des pratiques pédagogiques notamment dans la communication avec les familles défavorisées et dans le soutien fourni aux élèves appartenant à ce milieu.

Après avoir supprimé l'école unique au début des années 1990, les différences des résultats des élèves entre les écoles augmentent. Un nombre croissant d'écoles de base au niveau du secondaire inférieur (niveau collège) accumulent des élèves des familles ayant le statut socio-économique inférieur, socialisation pro-scolaire non soutenue et qui sont moins motivés à apprendre. Les enseignants de ces écoles doutent souvent que les élèves puissent obtenir d'excellents résultats scolaires. Par conséquent, la qualité de l'enseignement dispensé dans ces écoles diminue progressivement (PISA 2018).

Par rapport à d'autres pays de l'OCDE non seulement les résultats, mais la motivation des élèves tchèques à la fin de leur scolarité obligatoire (classe de 3e en France) de continuer leurs études dépend avant tout de l'établissement qu'ils fréquentent. Ainsi, l'enquête PISA 2015 montre que les élèves fréquentant l'école de base sont nettement moins susceptibles que leurs pairs dans les lycées longs de vouloir accéder à l'enseignement supérieur à l'avenir, même s'ils atteignent le même niveau de connaissances dans les tests (PISA 2015 in ČŠI, 2018).

Le départ d'une proportion non négligeable d'élèves vers les lycées longs entraîne chez les enseignants des écoles de base⁶ où les élèves à plus faible statut socio-économique des familles sont concentrés une

⁶ Désormais, dans des régions les plus touchées par le départ des élèves ces écoles sont appelées « écoles résiduelles » par l'opinion publique bien qu'elles continuent à scolariser autour de 80% des élèves de chaque classe d'âge de onze à quinze ans au niveau national.

baisse d'optimisme quant au potentiel d'apprentissage des élèves qui « restent ».

Les résultats de l'enquête TALIS (2013) montrent que les enseignants tchèques de l'école de base ont très peu de confiance en leurs compétences professionnelles de motiver les élèves et d'être efficaces avec les élèves ayant des difficultés d'apprentissage. La culpabilisation des familles de ces élèves par les enseignants de ne pas créer des conditions nécessaires au travail scolaire à domicile et de ne pas communiquer de manière efficace avec les enseignants va de pair. Par ailleurs une étude de l'Inspection générale tchèque confirme que la communication insuffisante et peu satisfaisante entre les familles et l'école constatée auparavant (ČŠI, 2013) s'est encore approfondie durant la fermeture des écoles (ČŠI, 2020a).

L'enseignement distanciel survient donc au moment où le système scolaire tchèque est caractérisé par les trajectoires de scolarisation obligatoire diversifiées et relativement étanches, par l'impact significatif du statut socio-économique (SES) de la famille sur la réussite scolaire des élèves, et par la communication entre les enseignants et les parents qui laisse à désirer.

L'école à la maison a-t-elle confirmé ces constats ou a-t-elle atténué l'impact du SES familial et des pratiques parentales sur l'apprentissage des élèves ? Les inégalités d'occasions d'apprendre existent-elles déjà au niveau de l'école primaire considérée toujours comme „école unique“ ? Si oui, en quoi consistent-elles ?

L'enquête, l'échantillon et les questions de recherche

Notre enquête en ligne par questionnaire composé de 80 items inspirée par les chercheurs de l'Université de Bordeaux⁷ et adressé aux parents d'élèves a d'abord suivi *les caractéristiques de la famille* : le niveau de diplôme des parents et la modalité de pratiquer leur emploi pendant le confinement, les conditions matérielles de la famille, y compris l'équipement numérique, le niveau de réussite scolaire de l'enfant selon

⁷ Romain Delès et Filippo Pirone, enseignants-chercheurs en sociologie à l'Université de Bordeaux.

les parents et les attentes des parents quant à l'avenir de la scolarité de leur enfant⁸.

Ensuite, nous nous sommes intéressés aux *exigences de l'école* concernant l'apprentissage à la maison, aux modes et à la fréquence de communication avec les enseignants. Les données sur les pratiques d'accompagnement et de soutien parental, sur les obstacles à l'apprentissage à domicile et sur le niveau de leurs compétences pédagogiques déclaré par les parents d'aider leur enfant à remplir les exigences de l'enseignant ont aussi été recueillies.

Enfin, nous nous sommes également concentrés sur *l'évaluation de la communication* avec l'école par les parents et sur l'effet de celle-ci sur le sentiment de maîtriser la situation, ainsi que sur les préoccupations des parents au sujet de l'avenir scolaire de leurs enfants (Štech & Smetáčková, 2020 ; Smetáčková & Štech, 2021).

Nous avons recueilli les réponses de 5016 parents, dont 50% étaient les parents d'élèves de l'école primaire, 30% ceux dont l'enfant fréquentait le collège, 9% dont l'enfant était scolarisé au lycée long et 11% de parents d'élèves des écoles secondaires du second cycle.

Les analyses de l'effet de la famille sur la réussite scolaire de l'enfant s'appuient sur le niveau de l'éducation du parent (niveau de diplôme atteint). Dans notre échantillon 15 % de nos répondants n'avaient pas atteint le bac (< Bac), 38 % étaient bacheliers et 47 % avaient décroché un diplôme du supérieur (Bac +)⁹. Leur répartition qui combine le niveau de l'éducation du parent avec le degré ou type d'école que fréquente leur enfant se trouve dans le tableau 1. Notre échantillon

8 Nous n'avons pas construit le SES des familles en reliant les variables qui le composent : niveau de diplôme du parent, son emploi, activités culturelles des parents avec les enfants et la qualité de l'habitat (le rapport entre le nombre des membres de la famille et le nombre de pièces). Nous allons travailler avec la variable „niveau de diplôme du parent“ et „la modalité de son emploi“ tout au long de ce texte.

9 En République tchèque, la proportion estimée de ces catégories des parents d'élèves à la fin du collège selon le niveau d'études atteint étant 20 % (< Bac) - 40 % (Bac) - 40 % (Bac +) selon PISA 2018. Dans notre analyse, la catégorie „Bac +“ comprend les diplômés des instituts équivalents des IUT en France (Bac + 3) et tous les LMD universitaires (de Bac + 3 à Bac + 5, et même Bac + 8 pour les diplômés du doctorat). Pour parler du niveau de l'éducation des parents nous allons employer les termes « < Bac », « Bac » et « Bac + » tout au long de ce texte.

contient donc 5 % de moins des parents au niveau d'études limité (< Bac) et 7 % de plus de diplômés du supérieur (Bac +) par rapport à leur répartition dans la population. Deux données sont frappantes - deux tiers des parents dont les enfants fréquentent le lycée long sont diplômés du supérieur, alors que ceux dont les parents n'ont pas atteint le baccalauréat y sont rares (3%). Ainsi, notre échantillon confirme l'hypothèse du lycée long comme filière pour les enfants de l'élite intellectuelle. Un autre constat, les enfants de l'école primaire ayant les parents diplômés du supérieur sont plus nombreux (47 %) que les enfants fréquentant le collège et le deuxième cycle des écoles secondaires. Ce fait reflète le nombre croissant des diplômés du supérieur parmi les cohortes démographiques âgées entre 25 et 40 ans.

Tableau 1

Composition de l'échantillon selon le niveau de diplôme des parents et le degré de l'école fréquentée par leur enfant

Enfant fréquente	École primaire	Collège	Lycée long	Secondaire supérieur
Niveau < Bac	15,4	24,4	3,0	28,3
d'étude Bac	37,7	44,4	29,9	45,9
s du parent Bac +	46,9	31,2	67,1	25,7

Les questions de recherche ont été formulées de la manière suivante :

1. Les pratiques parentales de soutien et de suivi des élèves de l'école primaire diffèrent-elles selon le niveau de diplôme des parents ? Les variables subjectives telles que les attentes (ambitions) parentales de l'avenir scolaire de leur enfant, l'image qu'ils ont de leur enfant comme élève, le sentiment de compétence pédagogique du parent diffèrent-elles en fonction des conditions matérielles de la famille ?

2. Quelles étaient les perceptions parentales des exigences des enseignants selon leur niveau de diplôme ? Et comment les parents et les enfants ont-ils réagi pour répondre à ces exigences ?

3. Quelles formes les relations famille – école ont-elles pris ? Comment les parents - en fonction des conditions de la famille et des pratiques des enseignants - ont-ils évalué l'enseignement distanciel et la communication avec l'école ?

Les familles : pour assurer l'apprentissage, les conditions matérielles et « psychologiques » sont très inégalement distribuées

Nous allons d'abord décrire trois aspects des conditions matérielles : l'espace pour l'apprentissage (p.e. l'existence du „coin tranquille“), l'équipement numérique et la forme de l'exercice de l'emploi par les parents.

Il est évident que le confinement conduit à la présence simultanée plus fréquente des membres de la famille. Le rapport entre le nombre de personnes vivant au foyer et le nombre de pièces détermine l'espace disponible aux activités individuelles. Et le manque d'espace individuel conduit plus souvent au stress avec des conséquences pour l'efficacité de l'apprentissage de l'enfant. La moitié des parents ont déclaré que le nombre de personnes dépassait le nombre de pièces. Les familles des parents « < Bac » vivaient dans des appartements à l'espace plus serré. Ce n'était quasiment pas le cas des familles aux parents diplômés «Bac+».

En même temps, moins de familles « < Bac » étaient connectées à Internet, la connexion et l'équipement numérique disponible pour l'élève uniquement posaient problème bien plus souvent. Ils étaient presque trois fois plus nombreux que les familles des parents diplômés « Bac + » à avoir déclaré cet obstacle à l'enseignement distanciel même si la grande majorité des familles (92 %) disposaient de l'équipement informatique¹⁰.

La modalité d'exercer l'emploi durant le confinement montre une différence importante entre les familles. C'est un facteur qui détermine la disponibilité du parent pour suivre l'enfant au travail scolaire. Les différences statistiquement fort significatives entre les familles « < Bac » et les familles « Bac + » montrent que les parents moins diplômés quittent la maison pour aller travailler ou, s'ils restent au foyer, ils sont licenciés ou vivent grâce à la „prestation covid“ (représentant 60% du salaire). Ils sont trois fois plus nombreux que les diplômés « Bac + ». Ces derniers profitent du travail à la maison (*home office*), éventuellement,

¹⁰ Pas de connexion ou une connexion instable étaient déclarées par 3 % de parents diplômés « Bac+ », 4 % de parents bacheliers, mais par 8 % de parents « < Bac ».

ils peuvent combiner les deux modalités de l'emploi ce qui leur offre une flexibilité d'organisation de leur temps tout en assurant la totalité de leurs revenus d'avant le confinement.

Tableau 2
Modalité de l'emploi selon le niveau d'études des parents

Niveau d'études du parent	< Bac	Bac	Bac +
Inactifs, au foyer	50 %	28 %	16,1 %
Travail exclusivement à la maison (home office)	5 %	13 %	29 %
Travail exclusivement au lieu de travail	39 %	32 %	19 %
Combine travail à la maison avec les déplacements au lieu de travail	6 %	26 %	36 %

Deux catégories contrastées de parents émergent. La première catégorie peut être désignée comme „familles en difficultés“. Les parents sont moins disponibles à se consacrer à l'enfant, ils ont un niveau d'étude limité (< Bac), vivent dans des conditions spatiales serrées qui forcent l'enfant à partager son coin ou sa table avec d'autres, occupent des emplois qui les contraignent à se déplacer au travail, une partie d'eux se trouve sans l'équipement informatique suffisant. Fatigue, souci de couvrir les frais de vie, peu de temps pour suivre le travail de l'enfant, tensions – telles sont les conséquences de la situation. Elle est caractéristique des familles des élèves de l'école primaire aussi bien que de celles des collégiens. Certes, ces conditions existent hors confinement aussi, mais leur effet est mis en relief par la fermeture des écoles.

En revanche, les familles des parents « Bac + » que l'on peut désigner comme « familles favorisées », non seulement disposent des espaces et de l'équipement informatique suffisant, mais elles profitent du temps nécessaire qui les rend flexibles pour accompagner l'apprentissage de leur enfant. Toutefois, il faut préciser que la présence physique à la maison du parent n'implique pas le temps d'accompagnement scolaire de l'enfant plus élevé – nous n'avons pas trouvé de différences dans les heures passées à l'accompagnement entre les parents « < Bac » et les

parents « Bac + ». Ce qui fait la différence entre les deux catégories, c'est la disponibilité et la flexibilité du parent.

Il est bien connu que les caractéristiques du statut socio-économique de la famille n'expliquent pas à elles seules la réussite scolaire de l'enfant (Buerkle, Whitehouse & Christenson, 2009 ; Smetáčková & Štech, 2021). Elle dépend des pratiques de soutien parental, celles-ci étant le résultat de la confiance qu'ont les parents en enfant comme apprenant et des compétences qu'ils s'attribuent. Trois facteurs psychologiques du côté des parents nous paraissent importants pour fournir le soutien efficace à l'apprentissage de l'enfant. D'abord, pour la réussite scolaire de l'enfant, la conviction des parents que leur enfant est un bon élève affecte sa motivation et ses résultats (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997 ; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005). Ensuite, les attentes de la réussite scolaire future de l'enfant participent de l'effort fourni par le parent. Enfin, le sentiment de compétence scolaire du parent influe sur l'investissement du parent dans le soutien et dans le suivi de l'enfant (cf. Deslandes & Bertrand, 2004).

Le tableau 3 montre que le degré de réussite scolaire de l'enfant formulé par les parents (*quel élève votre enfant est-il ?*) dépend fortement de leur niveau d'études. Les parents « < Bac » considérant leur enfant comme „excellent élève“ sont deux fois moins nombreux que les parents « Bac + ». Et parler de son enfant comme d'un élève médiocre caractérise trois fois plus de parents „< Bac“ que de parents „Bac +“. En nous focalisant sur les parents des élèves de l'école primaire, la situation s'avère encore plus contrastée : les parents „< Bac“ sont sept fois plus nombreux à considérer leur enfant comme élève médiocre.

La corrélation entre l'idée que les parents ont de leur enfant comme élève et les aspirations qu'ils formulent quant au niveau de l'éducation que leur enfant devrait atteindre était très élevée.

Tableau 3
Quel élève votre enfant est-il ? Et quel niveau d'études votre enfant devrait-il atteindre ?

Niveau d'études des parents	< Bac	Bac	Bac +
Catégorie d'élève selon les parents :			
Excellent élève	23,7 %	39,2 %	47,8 %
Bon élève	34,1 %	39,6 %	39,0 %
Elève plutôt médiocre	42,1 %	21,2 %	13,2 %
Niveau de l'éducation à atteindre par l'enfant :			
< Bac	24,3 %	3,5 %	0,8 %
Bac	57,7 %	45,3 %	12,4 %
Bac +	18,0 %	51,1 %	86,8 %

Compte tenu de l'importance du soutien parental à l'apprentissage au début de la carrière scolaire de l'enfant à l'école tchèque, on constate que les enfants à risque d'échec scolaire viennent le plus souvent des familles où les parents ont un niveau d'études limité (cf. Matějů & Straková, 2006 ; Gorčíková & Šafr, 2016). Dès le début de la scolarité de l'enfant ils sont beaucoup plus convaincus que leur enfant est un élève faible et ils sont très minoritaires à formuler l'espoir de le voir atteindre un niveau d'études plus élevé. D'autant plus, qu'ils manifestent très peu de confiance en leurs compétences pédagogiques et scolaires.

Pendant l'enseignement distanciel le sentiment d'être scolairement compétent dépend de la capacité à maîtriser les technologies informatiques. Les parents des familles en difficultés dont l'enfant fréquente l'école primaire – à condition d'avoir une connexion stable à Internet et l'équipement numérique suffisant - se sentent bien moins compétents à se servir des technologies informatiques pour aider l'enfant à faire face aux exigences de l'école (73% déclarent cette compétence contre 96% parmi les parents « Bac + »). Il faut dire que dans les familles en difficultés la compétence informatique des parents reste de loin plus élevée que leur compétence auto-déclarée dans la langue étrangère (30 % contre 80 % des parents « Bac + »). Elle est plus élevée

en mathématiques (77 % contre 89 %) et en langue maternelle (76% contre 90 %), mais leurs compétences sont significativement moins élevées par rapport aux parents « Bac + ». Toutefois, le plus grand désarroi règne quand il s'agit d'aider l'enfant à apprendre (comment s'y prendre pour comprendre la consigne, expliquer le contexte de la tâche ou du savoir, comment structurer les activités, etc.). Le même vaut pour „l'incompétence“ dans l'art de motiver l'enfant et maintenir sa concentration au travail. D'ailleurs, c'est la compétence que les parents « Bac + » déclarent, eux aussi, maîtriser beaucoup moins que dans d'autres domaines (matières). Et ils sont pratiquement aussi nombreux que les parents „< Bac“ à le dire. Ces données ont été collectées à la fin de la période de la fermeture des écoles sans avoir à notre disposition les données indiquant le niveau des compétences des parents avant le confinement pour pouvoir parler d'une éventuelle transformation de la confiance dans leurs compétences pédagogiques.

L'analyse des conditions de l'apprentissage efficace au sein des familles éclaire la situation compliquée d'une partie des familles en difficultés. Ceux qui en début de la scolarité de leur enfant vivent dans des conditions matérielles précaires, pensent que leur enfant est un/e bon/ne ou excellent/e élève, formulent les attentes de le voir aller très loin dans les études et se rendent compte de leurs compétences pédagogiques insuffisantes expriment de fortes préoccupations concernant l'avenir de leur enfant.

Pour mieux articuler les conditions matérielles des familles avec les caractéristiques « psychologiques » des parents, nous nous référons à notre analyse statistique publiée ailleurs (Smetáčková & Štech, sous presse). Quant aux pratiques concrètes d'accompagnement familial l'analyse factorielle a montré l'existence de trois facteurs/formes d'accompagnement : contrôle direct, soutien indirect et supervision à distance. Les parents au SES bas ont adopté significativement plus souvent les pratiques du contrôle direct, incluant leur présence physique pour aider l'enfant à expliquer la tâche et la consigne (« *je suis assis à son côté tout le temps pour l'aider* », « *je vérifie si mon enfant se consacre assez longtemps au travail et je lui pose des questions pour vérifier s'il a bien appris sa leçon* »). En revanche, les parents au SES élevé ont déclaré de pratiquer significativement plus souvent le contrôle à distance. Cette pratique consiste à rappeler la structure de la tâche pour

ensuite laisser à l'enfant l'autonomie et la responsabilité de procéder indépendamment du parent (« *je vérifie quel est le type de tâche qu'il (elle) va faire tout seul* », « *je contrôle et je corrige ses devoirs après coup* », « *je lui offre des tâches plus complexes qui demandent de relier les connaissances de plusieurs matières* »). Ces parents ont aussi été ceux qui offraient des activités non-scolaires destinées à contribuer au développement personnel de l'enfant.

Nous pouvons conclure que l'école à la maison a rendu visibles les conditions matérielles et „psychologiques“ des familles pour assurer l'apprentissage efficace de leurs enfants. En amplifiant la voix des parents – obligatoirement devenus enseignants – certaines pratiques de soutien parental et des facteurs participant du suivi (peu) efficace ont été dévoilés qui restaient dans la pénombre avant le confinement.

Apprendre à la maison à travers les regards croisés des parents, des élèves et des enseignants

Nous avons déjà constaté que dans la comparaison internationale les élèves tchèques des écoles de base présentent à la fin de la scolarité obligatoire un niveau très bas de motivation d'apprendre et que cette motivation et l'intention de poursuivre leur scolarité à des niveaux plus élevés dépendent du degré de l'école (école primaire où la motivation et les espoirs de la réussite scolaire des enfants ne seraient pas encore entamées en comparaison avec le collège) et du type de l'école (collège comparé au lycée long) fréquentée¹¹.

La motivation dans l'apprentissage se rapporte à la forme et l'intelligibilité des consignes des enseignants pour les élèves et leurs parents et dépend donc de la fréquence, de la forme et du contenu de la communication avec les enseignants. Nous allons montrer comment nos parents ont perçu la communication avec les enseignants pendant l'enseignement distanciel. Ensuite, nous allons confronter nos données avec les résultats de l'enquête réalisée à la même période que notre

¹¹ L'enquête TIMSS 2019 indique que les élèves à l'école primaire tchèque sont encore relativement motivés pour apprendre et leurs enseignants ont une confiance en leurs compétences pédagogiques bien plus élevée que les professeurs du collège. Ces indicateurs sont de loin plus positifs dans les lycées longs (TIMSS 2020).

enquête par l'Inspectorat scolaire tchèque qui avait interrogé les élèves et les enseignants¹².

Les laissés pour compte de l'enseignement distanciel

Malgré le fait que la quasi-totalité des parents prétend être équipé pour l'enseignement en ligne pour permettre à leurs enfants de suivre les cours, selon seulement 50% des parents la communication avec le groupe-classe avait lieu chaque jour ou plusieurs fois par semaine. Fait frappant – 29 % parmi eux déclarent qu'elle n'a eu lieu jamais ou presque jamais. Il faut rappeler que l'enseignement avec le groupe-classe facilite l'organisation des apprentissages, offre des références aux performances des pairs et soulage les parents du souci de remplacer l'enseignant.

En ce qui concerne la communication individuelle (le face à face entre l'enseignant et l'élève), 23% des parents confirment qu'elle avait lieu chaque jour ou plusieurs fois par semaine. Néanmoins, plus de la moitié des parents interrogés répond „presque jamais ou jamais“. Il semble que la situation est différente quand il s'agit des familles des parents « <Bac > » (cf. le tableau 4).

¹² L'enquête de l'Inspectorat permet des comparaisons limitées avec les données de notre recherche. La composition de l'échantillon (1767 élèves et 602 enseignants des 66 écoles de base) est différente et la méthodologie aussi (questionnaire plus court complété par des entretiens auprès de 356 enseignants). Nous nous servons de ces données faute de ne pas avoir à notre disposition en République tchèque les données présentant le bilan de l'école à la maison par les élèves et par les enseignants.

Tableau 4
Fréquence de communication des enseignants avec les élèves de l'école primaire selon le niveau de l'éducation du parent

Niveau d'études du parent	< Bac	Bac	Bac +
<i>Communication individuelle avec l'élève :</i>			
Chaque jour ou plusieurs fois par semaine	31,0 %	22,4 %	20,7 %
Une fois par semaine	26,5 %	26,4 %	24,5 %
Jamais ou presque jamais	42,6 %	51,3 %	54,8 %
<i>Communication avec le groupe-classe :</i>			
Chaque jour ou plusieurs fois par semaine	40,6 %	47,2 %	54,6 %
Une fois par semaine	17,6 %	22,2 %	22,1 %
Jamais ou presque jamais	41,8 %	30,6 %	23,3 %

En croisant les réponses concernant les deux formes de communication on constate que 19 % d'élèves de l'école primaire n'avaient presque aucun contact – ni avec le groupe-classe, ni individuel, avec leur enseignant. Mais, cette absence de communication touche beaucoup plus les familles avec les parents « < Bac » (30% contre 18% de familles « Bac + »). Tenant compte de l'importance des retours (réactions) immédiats du professeur aux activités des élèves en début de la scolarité et de l'effet réduit de l'enseignement en ligne avec le groupe-classe, l'absence d'interaction individuelle durant le confinement nous semble mettre en danger tous les élèves en cette situation. Compte tenu des conditions familiales analysées ci-dessus, il est clair que les élèves des familles en difficultés avec les parents « <Bac» se trouvent dans une situation particulièrement difficile, laissés pour compte.

À l'autre bout de l'échelle, comment interpréter le fait que les familles en difficultés affirment que leur enfant entretient la communication individuelle avec l'enseignant beaucoup plus souvent que les enfants dans les familles « favorisées » ? Est-ce que cela vient de la difficulté de distinguer les deux formes de contact par les parents ? Ou alors cette

différence témoigne-t-elle d'une plus grande volonté de soutenir les enfants des milieux défavorisés ? Ce contact est apprécié par les parents, mais quelle est sa forme concrète et son contenu ? S'agit-il d'une communication à valeur pédagogique et dans quelle mesure elle mobilise les activités cognitives de l'enfant ?

Selon l'enquête de l'Inspectorat scolaire les élèves des écoles de base confirment que c'étaient les cours directs en ligne (plus à l'école primaire – 38 % qu'au collège – 26 %), les messages électroniques, les sms-texto (dominants au collège – 42 % par rapport à l'école primaire – 25 %) et les devoirs écrits envoyés aux familles (ou à récupérer à l'école par les parents – 17 % à l'école primaire et 16 % au collège) qui représentaient la forme dominante d'enseignement préférée par leurs enseignants. Les émissions télévisées adressées aux élèves des écoles primaires étant aussi souvent citées. Dans le cas où il s'agissait de cours en ligne, l'emploi du temps de l'enseignement présentiel a été la solution fréquente, néanmoins épuisante pour les élèves, souligne le rapport (ČŠI, 2020b).

Pour compléter l'image, ce même rapport communique les réponses des enseignants aussi. Ils disent que 25% des élèves n'ont pas pu être contactés pour pouvoir parler d'une relation véritablement pédagogique. Plus de la moitié mentionne l'usage des plateformes digitales (MS Teams, Google classroom etc.), mais ils confirment l'usage dominant des messages électroniques ou « consignes-papier » (77%) et les contacts par téléphone ou par les sms-texto (42%) comme moyens de communication pédagogique (d'enseignement ?) préférés.

Toutes les formes d'enseignement qui prévalent ont un dénominateur commun – elles laissent trop souvent les enfants des familles défavorisées à se débrouiller sans soutien continu et systématique du professeur et à faire feu de tout bois avec l'aide des parents – ou à se résigner à suivre l'enseignement.

Consolider les connaissances ou apprendre les contenus nouveaux ? L'apprentissage à la maison peut-il être le même qu'à l'école ?

La fatigue et la résignation des parents dans les familles en difficultés qui – malgré leur déplacement au travail - investissent autant d'heures

d'accompagnement pour contrôler et suivre les activités scolaires de leur enfant que les parents diplômés qui travaillent à la maison sont en rapport avec les exigences de l'école jugées „inadéquates“. Leur mobilisation n'aboutit pas et ces parents voient le problème ailleurs. Ils qualifient le curriculum et la quantité des devoirs à remplir comme „exagérée“ (20 % parmi eux contre 11 % seulement dans les familles « favorisées », la différence étant statistiquement significative). Ces parents vivent la situation comme conflictuelle – ils ont l'impression de ne pas avoir assez de temps, pourtant ils se mobilisent et l'effort de surmonter cet obstacle résulte dans le sentiment d'échouer dans leur nouveau rôle. Il n'est pas étonnant alors de lire leur désaccord avec le curriculum (trop étendu) et avec le nombre de devoirs imposés à leurs enfants.

Les données qui décrivent la nature des activités des élèves viennent du rapport de l'Inspectorat. Les élèves des écoles de base reportent la prépondérance des activités dites passives (regarder les vidéos ou la télévision, écouter la leçon par le professeur, etc.) typiques des élèves de l'école primaire, ainsi que des activités individuelles (lire, apprendre et reproduire le texte ; faire un dessin ; élaborer un protocole) qui prévalaient au collège. Les formes plus actives ou interactives en ligne ou travail en groupe d'élèves étaient très rares.

En ce qui concerne les contenus, la grande majorité des enseignants avoue continuer à enseigner selon les programmes définis pour l'enseignement présentiel. Même si la situation ne le facilite pas, ils présentent de nouveaux contenus, et ne mettent pas assez l'accent sur la consolidation des connaissances. *„Une telle approche du curriculum durant l'enseignement distanciel s'avère très problématique pour beaucoup d'élèves et leurs familles“*, constate le rapport (ČŠI, 2020b, p. 15).

Notre enquête reflète la situation à travers l'évaluation de la situation par les parents. La majorité parmi eux apprécie la structuration flexible du temps d'apprentissage, les réactions immédiates des enseignants en cas d'enseignement en ligne et la mise en valeur de nouvelles sources du savoir dans l'espace digital.

A l'exception d'une partie des familles en difficultés dont les parents se sentent désemparés, non seulement fatigués et peu compétents, mais aussi perdus et incertains (beaucoup plus que durant le présentiel,

disent-ils). Leurs enfants sont majoritairement forcés à travailler sur des activités individuelles, hors ligne, sans temps structuré. Les contenus d'enseignement sont perçus comme trop chargé, enseignés sans temps suffisant pour des révisions, répétitions, exercices de consolidation de connaissances, sans explications supplémentaires et conduisent à baisser la motivation d'apprendre ... Discipliner les enfants sans motivation pour qu'ils deviennent „élèves“ à la maison devient une mission impossible.

On peut émettre l'hypothèse que c'est le cas dans de nombreuses familles en difficultés en temps „normal“. Seulement, l'école à la maison en reléguant la responsabilité des enseignements en grande partie aux parents leur permet de le dire à haute voix. Le distanciel a-t-il donc pu changer les relations famille – école ?

Les relations famille – école : les obstacles au partenariat efficace et les occasions à l'horizon

La fréquence de la communication individuelle des enseignants avec les parents était relativement élevée. 23% de parents indiquent les échanges avec les enseignants chaque jour ou plusieurs fois par semaine. Aucun contact ou presque est signalé par 20% des parents. Selon le niveau d'études du parent, les différences sont statistiquement significatives. Les enseignants communiquent plus souvent avec les parents „< Bac“ (cf. tableau 5). Les enseignants n'ont donc pas évité le contact avec ceux auxquels l'apprentissage posait problème, au contraire.

Tableau 5

Fréquence de communication des enseignants avec les parents selon le niveau de l'éducation du parent

Niveau d'études du parent	< Bac	Bac	Bac +
Chaque jour ou plusieurs fois par semaine	30,1 %	21,9 %	21,1 %
Une fois par semaine	54,5 %	57,2 %	58,6 %
Jamais ou presque jamais	15,4 %	20,8 %	20,3 %

Néanmoins, ce sont les retours ou les réactions aux questions des parents qui reflètent mieux la finalité de la communication. La moitié des parents a constaté que les enseignants avaient évalué, commenté, corrigé ou expliqué aux parents le travail de leur enfant chaque jour ou plusieurs fois par semaine, seulement 13% déclarent „presque jamais ou jamais“.

La fréquence de la communication, même pédagogiquement centrée, ne signifie pas automatiquement que les parents sont rassurés dans leur rôle d'assistant pédagogique. Nous nous sommes intéressés à la clarté des consignes de l'enseignant selon les parents. La grande majorité des parents (92%) ont déclaré que les consignes étaient parfaitement claires. Néanmoins, nous avons trouvé un paradoxe lié à la communication avec les enseignants. Les parents „< Bac“ ont considéré les consignes et les commentaires comme peu compréhensibles ou trop compliqués. En même temps, ces parents ont été moins critiques en appréciant la fréquence des échanges avec les enseignants. Il semble donc qu'ils ont probablement attribué le manque de clarté des consignes à eux-mêmes. S'agit-il d'une source supplémentaire d'auto-culpabilisation qui s'ajoute au sentiment d'incompétence pédagogique et à la disponibilité limitée de ces parents ?

Les parents « Bac + », eux, échangent moins fréquemment avec les enseignants, mais sont paradoxalement plus critiques quant au contenu des échanges et à la qualité des retours. On peut émettre l'hypothèse que les enseignants considèrent leurs enfants comme suffisamment « dotés » du capital culturel et ne se sentent pas obligés de communiquer pour leur expliquer le travail à rendre. Néanmoins, ces parents, nous l'avons dit, visent le développement de leurs enfants au-delà des tâches scolaires prescrites par les enseignants. Ils offrent à leurs enfants les tâches supplémentaires, plus complexes qui les incitent à relier les connaissances de plusieurs matières. Et sont donc critiques à l'égard des enseignants qui se limitent aux activités scolaires « standard ».

Deux tiers des parents sortent de l'école à la maison plutôt rassurés avec le sentiment de maîtriser la situation – seulement 13% de parents avouent être incertains, voire même exaspérés. Néanmoins, parmi les parents «< Bac » 28% expriment leur inquiétude par rapport à l'avenir de leurs enfants contre 15 % des parents « Bac + ». Cette inquiétude est en rapport avec l'utilité perçue des échanges avec les enseignants. Là

où les commentaires des enseignants ont été clairs et les matériaux envoyés aux élèves compréhensibles pour les parents, les parents exprimaient leur satisfaction avec l'enseignement.

Quelle leçon pour la relation entre famille et école peut-on en tirer ? Pendant des années, les critiques de l'école de base tchèque qualifient cette relation comme peu fréquente, unilatérale (l'école tient une position dominante), avec peu de détails pédagogiques clairs et concrets, bref - sans que les deux parties fonctionnent comme partenaires (Rabušicová et al, 2004). En s'appuyant sur nos données force est de constater que la période de l'enseignement distanciel a été marqué par les échanges des enseignants avec les parents intensifiés par rapport à la situation habituelle. D'une part, les enseignants se rendent mieux compte de la situation spécifique des élèves dans les familles en difficultés. D'autre part, les parents voient pour ainsi dire à travers les yeux de l'enfant les contenus, les consignes et les critères d'évaluation des apprentissages. Cependant, le partenariat invoqué par certains demanderait à fournir aux parents des appuis et des repères pour se sentir compétents et efficaces ne serait-ce que pour savoir poser la bonne question aux enseignants.

Les résultats de notre recherche ont confirmé deux éléments-clés du soutien parental à la réussite scolaire des élèves identifiés par Deslandes et Bertrand (2004). Le premier met en relief les pratiques des parents et leur sentiment de compétence (home-based involvement). Le deuxième souligne la qualité de la communication et de la coopération entre les parents et les enseignants (school-based involvement). Les parents avec le niveau d'études inférieur au bac ont fait état d'un sentiment des compétences nettement inférieur par rapport aux parents diplômés (Bac+), tant en ce qui concerne leur aptitude d'aider leur enfant à maîtriser les technologies informatiques, les contenus des principales matières scolaires, ainsi que les pratiques d'apprentissage. Ils étaient moins satisfaits de la communication avec les enseignants dont les exigences leur semblaient exagérées et manquer de clarté.

Conclusion

L'école à la maison s'est-elle inscrite dans la continuité, ou amorce-t-elle une rupture par rapport aux caractéristiques du système scolaire tchèque mentionnées ci-dessus ?

Premièrement, l'enseignement distanciel a souligné l'importance des prérequis familiaux de la réussite scolaire. Les inégalités de conditions et d'occasions d'apprendre (et des résultats par la suite) apparaissent dès l'école primaire. Les écarts se creusent et il est possible que le distanciel va apporter des „preuves“ de la légitimité de l'existence des filières différenciées et de la sélection précoce pour „mieux correspondre“ à l'environnement familial varié des élèves, „naturalisé“ en potentiel d'apprentissage de l'élève.

Deuxièmement, l'école à la maison a dévoilé certains facteurs qui réduisent la motivation et l'envie d'apprendre des enfants – notamment dans les familles en difficultés. Contenus trop chargés, connaissances qui ne sont pas suffisamment consolidées, travail individuel autonome qui amplifie les différences de la qualité du soutien familial. Et pour ceux qui ne peuvent pas en profiter cette „autonomie“ aboutit à la résignation.

Enfin, il se peut qu'un tournant s'esquisse dans les relations famille – école. Les échanges auxquels l'école à la maison a obligé les uns et les autres sont de loin plus fréquents que pendant l'enseignement présentiel. La communication en ligne devient un moyen légitime d'échange. Les parents ont commencé à mieux mesurer les exigences du travail enseignant notamment pour motiver et discipliner les enfants. Néanmoins, pour rendre leur relation efficace, il faut développer des pratiques qui prennent davantage compte des conditions des familles. Et atténuer leurs effets en offrant aux parents des occasions de poser les bases d'une compétence pédagogique ou des sorties de l'impasse qu'ils vivent que ce soit en adaptant les contenus et surtout le caractère des tâches à l'adresse des élèves ou en orientant les parents plus souvent que d'habitude vers des assistants pédagogiques, auxiliaires de la vie scolaire et centres de support extérieur à l'école.

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**DEEPENING INEQUALITIES AND
WEAKENING THE PUBLIC IN SCHOOLS**

**POLICIES, TECHNOLOGIES, AND “TASKIFICATION”
DURING THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC IN MEXICO**

Inés Dussel
(DIE-Cinvestav, Mexico)

Ariadna Acevedo-Rodrigo
(DIE-Cinvestav, Mexico)

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article traite les effets de la fermeture des bâtiments scolaires au Mexique pendant la pandémie de coronavirus. Il est basé sur des recherches effectuées dans 36 écoles publiques et analyse des documents politiques et des entretiens avec des enseignants, des étudiants et des familles. On soutient que certains des enchevêtrements à long terme entre les politiques, les configurations locales et les inégalités ont été approfondis et actualisés avec de nouvelles formes de bureaucratisation et la « taskification » du travail scolaire, reproduisant ainsi les inégalités entre les familles, appauvrissant les apprentissages, et affaiblissant potentiellement la légitimité de l'éducation scolaire.

MOTS CLÉS

Éducation et pandémie – Mexique – Inégalités – Relations État-société – Travail scolaire

ABSTRACT

This article discusses the effects of the closure of school buildings in Mexico during the coronavirus pandemic. It is based on research in 36 public schools, and analyzes policy documents and interviews with teachers, students, and families. It argues that some of the long-term entanglements between policies, local configurations, and inequalities were deepened and updated with new forms of bureaucratization and the 'taskification' of school work (travail scolaire), thereby reproducing inequalities between families, impoverishing learning, and potentially weakening the legitimacy of school education.

KEYWORDS

Education and pandemic – Mexico – Inequalities – State and society relationships – School work

Introduction

As in many other countries, in Mexico the Covid-19 pandemic brought the closure of school buildings. The measure forced 37.7 million students and 2 million teachers to work from home, and it lasted longer than in many European countries, starting in March 2020 and formally ending in August 2021 but with absenteeism still high in late 2021. To ensure the continuity of schooling, public policies relied heavily on TV, radio, and digital learning platforms. Yet most students connected through their cellphones (INEGI, 2020) and remote education tended to be more local and dispersed than what the broadcast streaming and central coordination had initially foreseen. While these local arrangements are linked to complex social dynamics of state institutions and social configurations that predate the pandemic, we would like to argue that during the pandemic some significant shifts took place, which deserve further scrutiny, such as the intensification of trends toward the individualization of school work, what can be called the bureaucratization and “taskification” of pedagogies, and the weakening of the public dimension of schooling, all of which we will discuss below.

We examine these shifts and continuities through a study of 36 public schools in Mexico, in which we interviewed teachers, students, and families to document their experience during the pandemic¹. With a qualitative design, we consider the interactions between educational policies, technological infrastructures, pedagogical traditions, and inequalities in different localities. The focus on the intersections between technical infrastructures and pedagogies is grounded on a socio-material, ecological approach to education that takes into account the assemblages between humans and non-humans (Latour, 2005; Gourlay, 2015; Dussel, 2018; Alirezabeigi, Masschelein & Decuyper, 2020). Our research asks how teachers and students from disadvantaged urban and rural schools interacted with remote educational arrangements, and the effects of these arrangements on school work or *travail scolaire*, an analytical category we borrow from

¹ The research, “Reception, experiences and practices of the policy strategy “Aprende en casa” during the COVID-19 emergency. Studying heterogeneity,” was a collective project led by the Pedagogical University of Mexico and in which one of the authors was a principal researcher.

Barrère (2003, 2018). We assume that all practices are situated and contextual, and can thus not ignore the specific political, social, and technological environments of remote emergency education.

Schools were selected considering their location (in 12 states or provinces from northern, central and southern Mexico), school level (one preschool, primary, and secondary school for each state), and socioeconomic background (marginalized urban, semi-rural or rural, at least one of each per state). During fieldwork, we interviewed 39 teachers, 29 school principals, and 21 parental figures (only one male) in-depth, and had extensive discussions with one key informant in each state (school inspectors or state officers). The content of the interviews was organized in grids with a multiplicity of dimensions and analyzed through a close reading focused on the links between "political imaginations, rationalities, technologies, infrastructures and agents" (Savage, 2020, p. 328) and "the subtle and contingent mechanisms of power and knowledge production" in daily practices (Simons et al, 2009, p. vii). We also collected 202 records made by students (short audios or videos and written texts), prompted by an exercise in which we asked them to talk, write about or draw their school experience addressing an imaginary friend. We reached the students through their teachers and therefore had no access to those who were disengaged from schools.

Due to confinement, research was conducted remotely, through different platforms such as Zoom, GoogleMeet, Jitsi, and WhatsApp; in spite of the limitations of distance and of our sample of schools, the narratives and materials that we recorded allow for a form of access to, and visibility of, the experiences of several actors during the pandemic in Mexican schools.

In the first section of the article, we introduce some long-term trends of the Mexican educational system, looking at the entanglements between state policies, local configurations, and inequalities. We claim that state policies have been successful in transferring to the communities the costs of school expansion and maintenance, in a regressive distribution of resources that punishes the poorer. In the second section we look at educational policies during the pandemic, particularly the program *Aprende en Casa*, and their interactions with

a heterogeneous and unequal sociotechnical infrastructure, which enhances the regressive character of the previously described transfer of costs. In the third section, we analyze the pedagogies developed in these conditions, looking at the “taskification” and bureaucratization of school work or *travail scolaire*². Our concluding remarks focus on those aspects of the entanglements among policies, infrastructures, and pedagogies that have been brought to light by the pandemic in highly unequal societies with a potential weakening of the legitimacy of public education.

Educational inequalities in Mexico in *the longue durée*

The effects of the pandemic in schools have been compared to earthquakes, wars, and revolutions, stressing the quick and abrupt change that the health emergency brought. However, we argue that there are also continuities, particularly in terms of long-standing inequalities and state-society relationships, and that some of these inequalities have deepened during the closure of school buildings with its concomitant loss of the school as physical public space.

Educational inequalities are part of a broader picture of long-term social inequalities. From the mid-twentieth century to the present, the Gini coefficient and other measures of inequality show, for Mexico, noticeably worse results than those of other Latin American countries such as Argentina or Colombia (Campos, Chávez and Esquivel, 2014). In terms of school enrolment, despite the growth experienced in the last decades, Mexican education still falls behind the region’s average, particularly at the preschool and upper-secondary school levels (IIPE-UNESCO, 2021).

Public policies to alleviate educational inequalities have tended to focus on access, i.e. the creation of new schools in underprivileged areas or direct allocation of resources through scholarships (Blanco, 2020),

² We discuss this notion in the third section of the article. The translation of ‘*travail scolaire*’ into English is not simple, as ‘schoolwork’ tends to refer to school assignments. Barrère’s use of the concept links it to work done in the school, that includes but also exceeds the notion of tasks or assignments, and relates it to shifting political and cultural debates around the ethics and value of work, i.e. the shift from the Protestant ethics of work to the hedonistic view that is prevalent in late capitalism (Barrère, 2018).

and they have been conceived as actions impinged on social actors that are external to state operations. Yet, the boundaries between state and society have been more "elusive, porous and mobile" than discourses of and about the state lead us to believe (Mitchell, 1991, p. 77). Recent state theories have underlined this porosity, allowing us to consider the relative "weakness" of specific states not as signs of a perennial underdevelopment, or chronic corruption, but as the result of complex historical processes that cannot be measured against an evolutionary standard (Migdal, 2001 ; Gupta, 1995).

In Mexican education, the porosity of the distinction between state and society has been directly connected to the state's limited capacity to redistribute resources in favor of the least advantaged. Local societies have tried to make up for what the state will not. During the twentieth century primary schooling reached most of the Mexican population. At the same time, and contrary to the principle of free education enshrined in the Constitution, in many rural regions (where educational infrastructure has been the worst and least stable, and the literacy rates and the number of years of education completed have been the lowest in the country), parents have often paid fees for public schools, and adults in local communities have contributed their resources and labor to build or repair school buildings or teachers' lodgings. Parents and teachers have emptied their pockets to pay for school materials, and in some cases teachers and local authorities have raised donations from local residents. These local efforts have had regressive effects, as the burden on the poorest is greater (Acevedo-Rodrigo, 2019 ; Rockwell, 1994, p. 171).

By the 1990s, the strength of this generally informal but often crucial support by local societies, not just in rural areas but also in marginalized urban settings, was not overlooked by savvy federal reformers, who turned such support into a formal component of targeted social policies. With the ostensible aim of democratizing policy implementation, civil society's active participation was encouraged, including once more, for example, local residents' free labor for building schools or basketball courts (Bascones, 2002). Dressed as 'new' forms of social participation, inequalities continued to be reproduced. Nowadays, new public management policies have meant diminished school budgets and the need to tap into parents' (and particularly mothers') resourcefulness for

things as basic as repairing windows. Families organize raffles, food selling, film projections and all manner of activities on a regular basis, with the whole community invited to contribute with a fee (Gómez Tagle, 2017).

By highlighting these continuities we suggest that from the late-nineteenth to the early twenty-first centuries, and in spite of the levelling discourse of the 1910 revolution, the Mexican state has had a low-capacity fiscal infrastructure and limited social provision but an ability to appropriate society's efforts and to present outcomes as the success of state policy. This works out cheap for central government and the wealthy, but dear to impoverished rural and urban populations, who pay a high price for very modest progress (Acevedo-Rodrigo, 2019, pp. 675-676).

The weakness of public infrastructures is partially compensated by the political power to mobilize social resources. As shown below, the experience of teachers, students and parents during the Covid-19 pandemic may be seen as yet another instance in which Mexican civil society's efforts became crucial in a context of chronically underfunded public education. For teachers in pandemic conditions, inequalities were palpable. The closure of schools and the need for children and youth to study from home was perhaps the most glaring regressive mechanism: the public space of the school was lost and with it, the opportunity for a more level playing field for the students. In what follows we give examples of the interaction of technological infrastructures and forms of school work that speak to the persistence of these same patterns of state/family relationships.

Centralized policies and heterogeneous infrastructures

The closure of school buildings in Latin America led to different arrangements that went from the actual deschooling of some groups to the intensive use of platforms and social media (CEPAL, 2020). In Mexico, the government launched a string of policies to address the challenges brought by the pandemic. First it extended the Easter break, hoping that the pandemic would soon be over, but as it became clear that the emergency would not be short, it launched the program *Aprende en Casa* [Learn at Home] and signed agreements with Google

and Microsoft to give teachers and students access to their email and learning platforms and to provide short training on digital tools. As a consequence, around 50% of the teachers (937,000) and 30% of the students (11.5 million) created new email accounts in these platforms, and over 500,000 teachers received training from the tech corporations (Secretaría de Educación Pública, Boletín 290, 2021 ; Torres Hernández, 2020). These figures reflect the huge advance of private tech corporations into public education, but in the context of the health emergency this privatization has mostly escaped criticism and been presented instead as a good market solution for the state's deficiencies (see Cone et al, 2021, for a similar analysis of five European countries).

From April 2020 to the end of 2021 *Aprende en Casa* produced over 175 programs a week for preschool, primary, and secondary school students, and included radio programs and digital materials as supplements. The strategy of privileging TV as the media through which educational content would be delivered assumed that the TV broadcast would be friendlier and more accessible for low-income families, who only have access to internet through mobile phones with limited and expensive data. Also, educational TV sounded like a good strategy as there is a solid tradition in Mexico in this area, with the *Telesecundaria* being a well-established modality that receives one third of secondary schools' enrolment and has over 50 years of accumulated experience.

There is no doubt that the effort to produce educational materials for remote teaching was impressive, and that government officials worked day and night to support the continuity of school actions. In a bulletin issued in late 2021, the Mexican government reported that the program had produced 12,385 educational resources for TV, 1,854 radio capsules, and registered 574 million visits on its portal. One noteworthy development in an educational system traditionally monolingual and structured around racist hierarchies was the fact that the TV and radio materials for mother tongues (*Lengua Materna* in the curriculum, which since 2017 can be either Spanish or an indigenous language) were translated to 32 indigenous languages (Secretaría de Educación Pública, Boletín 290, 2021). The work with community radios in indigenous languages was also remarkable.

However, these strategies were not as successful as their designers wanted them to be, for reasons that show the entanglement of infrastructures and pedagogies. One important limitation was that the technological infrastructure was insufficient, unequal, and in several cases obsolete, including analog TV equipment that could not receive digitalized streaming. Connectivity was limited : it was not always affordable, and when it existed, it could be unstable, or simply lost to power cuts. Figures show access to computers and connectivity in Mexico is lower than in some other Latin American countries (Cohen and Mata-Sánchez, 2021 ; Limón-Vázquez et al, 2020).

Not only connectivity but the type of digital device that families owned became relevant, as they allowed for a great disparity of uses. It was clear that digital inequalities were not a clear-cut gap, with some fully included and others in complete exclusion, but a sinuous and multidimensional process with a dense topography (Burrell, 2012). In November-December 2020, the Institute for National Statistics completed a survey on the availability of technological devices and connectivity in households with school-age children : smartphones accounted for 70% of the devices available for primary and secondary school students, and laptops were the dominant media only in higher education. Even when they had a TV device at home, just 6.7% of primary school students reported to use TV as the main medium to take classes. Additionally, the percentage of ownership or exclusive use of a digital device was low. In primary schools, 74.6% shared the device (mostly smartphones) with other members of the family, a figure that decreased to 52.6% for secondary students. That is, most primary and secondary school students did not have a device for their exclusive use for school purposes. Only in tertiary education were the students with exclusive access to their devices the majority of their age group (67.7%).

This heterogeneous and unequal technological infrastructure severely constrained students' possibilities to continue studying from home, particularly in school levels with more complex academic requirements. It is not surprising that during the pandemic the highest dropout rates (5-7%) were in the 13 to 18 age group (lower and upper secondary), who had limited access to desktops or laptops (25.5% in

lower secondary and 44% in upper secondary) and had to share the device with other members of the family (INEGI, 2020).

The characteristics of domestic spaces directly impact remote education. Schooled at home, students shared small rooms with siblings, parents and even relatives. Teachers reported several cases in which families were interrupting lessons, or children felt ashamed of speaking out because they were heard by their relatives. The lack of privacy and cramped spaces made it difficult to achieve the kind of attention and focused interactions that school work demands (Barrère, 2003), and made palpable the extent to which what can be "locally" achieved in classrooms depends on "humble mediators" that are 'brought silently to the scene' (Latour, 2005, p. 195), such as walls, windows, doors, blackboards, desks, school janitors and prefects, among many others (Dussel, 2018).

This was particularly visible in rural schools, with little or no connection, e.g. in a secondary school in the state of Guerrero (southern Mexico), the principal described their technological infrastructure in dire terms :

TV signal is practically absent, as it can only be accessed through satellite and only four or five households have it. Internet access is only possible through tokens that are sold by a neighbor. [...] Each token costs 20 pesos [one dollar] per hour, when the average family income is around 150 dollars a month. I would have liked that they had brought internet to the village and invested in more antennas. Those who have satellite dishes could have made them free for students, at least for two hours [a day], but this did not happen. (Interview with school principal, Guerrero, March 22, 2021).

In this school, teachers scheduled WhatsApp calls with their students twice a week, paid by the students' families. In the calls, they talked about the content of the curricula but mostly used the time to send and receive homework ("*tareas*"), a feature that will be analyzed in the following section. Some teachers went to the village every three weeks, taking printed materials with them. The cost of these materials was also an issue of debate and negotiation: several teachers reported frustration at the resistance of families to pay for the copies that teachers had prepaid and carried, and families complained that their economic difficulties were not considered. Even if solidarity abounded in

teachers' and communities' interactions, these arrangements are yet another evidence of a state where the costs of school continuity are transferred to local actors who are already on the brink of poverty, and to whom centralized strategies, even those that embrace multilingualism, remain inaccessible.

At urban schools, even if better connected, difficulties were reported. Students had to share digital devices with parents or siblings ; even when they had one, the cost of connection constrained the possibility of synchronous meetings. Because of limited data access, teachers said that they mostly used WhatsApp to get to their students, but also met them through Facebook, Google Meet, Google Classroom, Zoom in its free version, Padlet, Edmodo and Kahoot.

This diversity increased the workload of teachers, who became the human agents of interoperability between platforms (Perrotta et al, 2021). One teacher at a rural school in Guerrero told us how he would get 50-80 pictures of school tasks from his 15 students each week, which he downloaded in his personal computer, organized, evaluated, and returned the following week, while sending them to his school principal as evidence of his work and his students'. Other teachers had to navigate five or six platforms to meet their students and adapt their teaching to what students' devices and data allowed. More broadly, teachers had to take on the job of gathering and organizing the scarce records of school work scattered through different platforms in order to monitor progress and to be held accountable to the authorities. A preschool principal in the State of Mexico said that teachers spent a good amount of time working individually with parents on strategies to help children ; the pandemic made it more evident that teachers perform a great amount of invisible work that in the new conditions expanded (Chauvel, Delès and Pirone, issue 26-2). Teachers reported doing these tasks late at night, in a 24/7 time of almost continuous operation with little or no pause or boundaries (Crary, 2013), and shared feelings of acute stress, fatigue, and depression.

In these uneven and pedagogically challenging infrastructural conditions, it is no surprise that the program *Aprende en Casa* had

weaker results than expected. However, difficulties were not always recognized by the authorities ; in February 2021, the Secretary of Education reported that 80% of the students were reached by *Aprende en Casa*, and families were amply satisfied with the strategy, giving it a score of 8 to 10 points in a scale of 10 (Secretaría de Educación Pública, Boletín 40, 2021). Yet another survey done in April and May 2021 by an NGO critical of the government stated that only 6% of students followed the TV programs -a figure consistent with what the National Institute of Statistics (INEGI) had found in November-December 2020- and that most of them reported using internet and social media to stay connected with teachers (Mexicanos Primero, 2021).

In our own research, teachers, students, and families said that they mostly used social media to connect (as one teacher from Mexico City said, "I was 100% WhatsApp"). Most of them reported that they did not follow the TV programs because of their pedagogical shortcomings, i.e., their length and complex language, and their attempt to cover too many contents. The lack of centralized coordination led to diverse negotiations and arrangements between local authorities and families both in terms of resources and support, and of pedagogical configurations, as will be analyzed in the next section.

School work in the pandemic : the taskification of education

The limitations of policy strategies for remote education and the heterogeneous and unequal infrastructure led to local arrangements that could have paved the way for a more participatory configuration. Yet what emerges in our research is that these local arrangements produced greater fragmentation and dispersion, and furthered the transfer of costs of material and symbolic connection to local actors, thus deepening previous inequalities.

We follow Anne Barrère's approach to school work as an activity that has a strong cognitive component and that is aimed primarily at manipulating signs and eliciting interpretations (Barrère, 2003, p. 28). According to Barrère, school work can be considered as a palimpsest that combines organizational, intellectual, and affective dimensions that relate to communication, content and activity, time management, group coordination, routines but also creation and personal

involvement (pp. 31-2). Of particular importance in the classroom is the coordination of individual work time with that of collective work : for example, dictation involves a particular choreography of gazes and hands that moves from hearing to writing to confronting one's individual production with what is written on the blackboard or on a peer's notebook, or what is said by the teacher. All in all, the classroom is the space-time where a specific type of work with knowledge is promoted, one that is simultaneously individual and collective or public. This public validation of knowledge is what turns schools into particular learning sites (Tyler, 2010) and into relevant places for intergenerational encounters around a common culture (Arendt, 1961)³.

The public dimension of the work in classrooms was particularly affected in the pandemic. Given the infrastructural limitations, the class was broken into several individual threads that took place in different platforms or supports and did not come together, except as discrete records that were 'conjoined' by the interoperability between platforms performed by teachers, and the scattered circumstances in which class groups could get together. But even in synchronic group meetings, teachers found it very hard to ignite conversations or debates within their groups. One primary school teacher from the State of Mexico expressed her frustration :

It is very difficult that students talk to each other. What I see is that they just talk to me, and I would like them to converse [among themselves], but I wasn't successful [...] Everything they tell just to me. We have a good rapport, they tell me many things, but they don't talk to each other, they have hardly met, they barely recognize their face in Zoom, they just recognize their voices -if they do. So it has been really complicated. (1st grade teacher, State of Mexico, March 15, 2021)

The individualization of school work and feelings of isolation were visible in the writings and drawings made by students for our research, in which they depicted themselves alone, equipped with devices with

³ This is what the notion of 'ubiquitous learning' seems to miss : the specificity of the work with knowledge that is (should be) promoted by schools, which requires a public validation or confrontation of what is learned with what others (peers, teachers, curriculum regulations) learn or prescribe as valuable knowledge. At its best, this validation takes the shape of a conversation around common knowledge and makes room for each generation to turn this common knowledge into their own (Arendt, 1961).

screens, or with notebooks and pencils, and spoke of loneliness, sadness, stress, and frustration. One primary school student from Sinaloa said that he learned how to do his homework alone, as he was ashamed to ask for help because he is in 6th grade and "already a grown-up," and added : "if I don't understand something, I search it on the Internet" (Boy, 12 years old, 6th grade primary school, Sinaloa). In line with what Pelhate, Ponte and Rayou (2022) found in French schools, autonomy is understood as completing school tasks on their own and not as an expansion of one's own intellectual or affective possibilities for self-affirmation (see also Durler, 2015).

What was most remarkable in our fieldwork was the overarching presence of school assignments or tasks ("la tarea") as the centerpiece of what constituted school work in the pandemic. Teachers were clear about this equivalence :

The assignment is the class. I say it because parents say: "teacher, tomorrow there is no class", and that is because I will not send them any tasks for whatever reason. This is how it is now. (Primary School Teacher, Sinaloa, May 25, 2021)

The assignment is super relevant, because without assignments we cannot see the progress of the little ones. That is, if they don't send their assignments, we cannot see their learning processes, their areas of opportunity, what they lack, and detect language problems. (Preschool Teacher, Mexico City, April 14, 2021)

The pandemic seems to have reinforced some trends already present towards the "taskification" of schooling, that is, a reduction of teaching and learning to managing a discrete amount of assignments or exercises that are to be performed individually (Alirezabeigi, 2021). Taskification appears as the right word to describe the simplification of educational processes to sending and receiving assignments, although we would like to nuance part of Alirezabeigi's argument, who considers taskification as a recent development related to the digitalization of schooling. We stress instead that taskification was present before, in the deeply engrained assumption that a good teacher is the one who gives out several assignments (Rayou, 2010) and in conjunction with the spread of so-called child-centered or progressive pedagogies that put activity to the fore. In that respect, it can be said that classroom activity

was already organized through tasks or activities that were to promote students' learning (Trujillo Reyes, 2019).

During the pandemic, this trend became ever more dominant in pedagogical strategies. Assignments had the goal to keep students busy and to verify students' learning, even if teaching had not taken place, or was severely constrained by the technological infrastructure. Some school principals reported that they reached an agreement with families to send assignments only once or twice a week, and give one week for their completion. In several secondary schools, parents asked teachers from different subjects to send their tasks on a particular weekday to avoid overwhelming the students. In both cases, families seem to have acted as speakers for children's wellbeing, but mostly bargained the workload considering their own possibilities to help their children with school homework.

When possible, whole-group lessons took the form of pre-recorded videos or short synchronic meetings in which there was no time to discuss how the assignments were resolved ; one secondary school teacher from Baja California said she almost felt like a *youtuber*, recording three classes on a row. The time boundaries of the class changed from the preestablished temporal sequence with beginning, development, and closure of physical classrooms to a continuous loop of tasks to be completed, which could be done at different rhythms. In the interviews, it was not easy to get teachers to discuss the content of the tasks ; what mattered most to them was that tasks were sent and returned, properly stored and forwarded to school principals as evidence of their own work. Feedback to the students frequently took the shape of motivational stickers in WhatsApp conversations, but some teachers also reported sending voice messages to their students, which they thought was a good way to give a more personalized assessment and had some similarity to the physical encounters in classrooms.

In the end, what mattered most was that assignments were handed in by students or parents to the teachers so that they could fulfill the bureaucratic demand to gather records ("*evidencias*") of students' learning. The term "*evidencias*" was popularized by the previous administration, which established new forms of teacher evaluation as a norm for permanence and promotion and in which "*evidencias*" were

part of teachers' portfolios (Antonio Pérez, 2021). These "*evidencias*" are usually pictures of school assignments that, multiplied by the huge numbers of tasks and students, give shape to a hypertrophied archive with no other addressee than an anonymous bureaucracy. At the same time, in our conversations with school actors we found little or no questioning about the links between the "*evidencias*" and students' learning processes, which have several invisible or un-showable dimensions ; these records were detached from working processes that could be nurtured by feedback on what was achieved or what could be done differently. The records appear as discrete units, cut off from longer flows of work that include revisions and reflection.

Moreover, the "*evidencias*" became a token in the relationships between teachers and families, and it was common to hear teachers complaining about parents' not sending "*evidencias*" as well as parents accusing teachers of being lazy and only caring about legitimating their work without helping their children. One primary school teacher in Tabasco said she had suspended grading her students because she knew homework was done by parents ; a secondary school teacher from Baja California Sur said that she tried to trust her students even if she knew they were cheating on her. A school principal from Mexico City acknowledged he had conflicts with the teachers because they were too demanding and were not sensitive to exceptional conditions. The "*evidencias*" condensed several of these conflicts and mistrusts, and worked as a minimum on which to account for school work. In this precarious and unstable equilibrium, discussing what these "*evidencias*" stood for, what were they evidencing, was out of the question.

The kind of knowledge that this combination of pedagogies and sociotechnical conditions privileged was one conceived as "finished" and "correct" (Hébrard, 1995), which students have to find for themselves and with the means they have at hand ("search on the Internet," as the student from Sinaloa said), with the predictable consequence of worsening inequalities, as children and families were left to their own resources. In some communities, families tried to negotiate a smaller workload and contain school demands, but unfortunately this left children more isolated and helpless in terms of their relationship to school knowledge.

Another consequence of the taskification of school work is that the conceptualization of knowledge as complete and univocal marginalizes the relevance of learning processes and the multiple forms of producing knowledge. While there is no doubt that this conceptualization was already present in pre-pandemic classrooms, decades of democratic pedagogies had been challenging it. Whatever gains were made in those struggles became threatened in conditions where teachers had a high pressure to show results that reduced teaching and learning to what could be recorded and shared. Solidarity was understood as not grading or not making more demands on teachers, students, and families, but the need to develop new pedagogies to work through complex and difficult knowledge in new sociotechnical contexts was not part of the public agenda.

Concluding remarks

Similarly to what historians have found for the first tumultuous decades after the 1910 revolution, much of the success of schooling during pandemic conditions in the poorest parts of Mexico today seems to be dependent on teachers' knowledge, abilities, creativity, resourcefulness and good will, including their readiness to pay for photocopies of textbooks and activities, or provide credit for students' internet connections, in a context of low teacher salaries and teacher training of uneven quality.

Also, as much research has shown, local communities are resourceful, and the pandemic context confirms this (Cohen and Mata-Sánchez, 2021). Historically, the contributions of communities have given them various degrees of bargaining power (Rockwell, 1994). Today parents retain their right to veto certain pedagogical or administrative plans as when, for instance, they inform a teacher that TV programs are not suitable in their village as they do not get a free TV signal, or that schools should send less assignments so that their children are not overwhelmed or have time to help with domestic work. The problem here, as in the past, is that social participation is regressive : it tends to be more of a burden, and less effective, the poorer one is.

Perhaps one of the most striking arguments that emerges out of these narratives about school experience during the pandemic, and that requires further research, is the weak legitimacy of schooling as a relevant public institution, differently from what was seen in other Latin American countries where schools emerged as relevant public agents (see Birgin and Ferrante, in this issue). In Mexico, school actors speak mostly about the reduction of learning to bureaucratic validation, and the reduction of teaching to gathering and storing records, shifting away from the preoccupation with the variety, significance or density of learnings that took place in the pandemic. Even if gestures of solidarity abounded, they seemed to run in the margins of the institution of schooling and failed to connect to the work that schools should do in relation to knowledge and culture and to intergenerational encounters.

It is no surprise that drop-out rates are soaring. By the end of 2021 many schools had not fully recovered their pre-pandemic levels of student attendance, with a persistent absenteeism that, according to unofficial statements, goes from 5% to 50% of the students. Absenteeism is less significant in rural areas than in urban ones, and while it is primarily related to fear of contagion, it also expresses low confidence in schooling as a significant experience for children, and a withdrawal of the social into the small circle of the family, especially where local community life is not strong. The trends in school enrolment are also worrying. According to different sources, 2021-2022 has seen an interannual decline in student enrolment of around 10% in rural schools, while in urban schools this decline is almost unnoticeable.

Thus some of the trends that seem to be emerging in 2021-2022 are a contraction of enrolment in rural schools and an intermittent or discontinuous school trajectory in urban settings⁴. The contraction seems to be more noticeable in preschools and upper-secondary schools, which is undoing the progress made in the last decades, and in private schools (Comisión Nacional para la Mejora Continua de la Educación, 2021).

⁴ For a general overview, see "Deserción escolar podría convertirse en una crisis educativa, advierten en la Permanente", *Boletín del Senado de la República*, No. 115, 15 June 2021. The situation resembles that at some school districts in the United States (see Goldberg, Dec 17, 2021).

It remains to be seen whether these movements will stay on the same course or change direction, but the renewal of public policies and pedagogies in order to challenge the current configurations and make schooling a valuable experience in itself is urgently needed. This renewal should not perpetuate policies' underlying tones of suspicion and mistrust directed at teachers and communities, but instead promote a more complex understanding of how these entanglements are produced, and which meanings are attached to particular practices. Instead of the incessant recording, surveilling, accusing, and controlling, school actors could stress reflection, acknowledgment, and gratitude, thereby strengthening longstanding traditions of solidarity in, and with, Mexican schools, which have shown their resourcefulness but which still need to be more effectively mobilized towards a greater sense of social justice and ethical responsibility in the education of the younger generations.

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THE DIGITAL GAP IN PRIMARY EDUCATION IN SPAIN

IMPACT OF THE SCHOOL CLOSURE FOR LEARNING AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Leopoldo Cabrera,
Gabriela Sicilia,
Gustavo Marrero,
Carmen Pérez,
Carlos Bethencourt

Universidad de La Laguna, España

RÉSUMÉ

Les centres éducatifs en Espagne ont été fermés de mars à juin 2020 en raison du coronavirus. L'enseignement télématique a remplacé l'enseignement en face-à-face et la possession d'ordinateurs et la maîtrise des compétences digitales est devenue essentielle dans le processus de formation à tous les niveaux d'enseignement. Cet article aborde la fracture digitale dans l'enseignement primaire et montre les effets négatifs sur l'apprentissage, en particulier sur les élèves les plus défavorisés sur le plan socio-économique et les plus scolarisés dans l'enseignement public, augmentant ainsi l'inégalité des opportunités éducatives dans les écoles ouvertes.

MOTS CLÉS

Enseignement primaire. Inégalité des opportunités éducatives. Fracture digitale. Enseignement public/privé. COVID-19.

ABSTRACT

Schools in Spain were closed from March to June 2020 due to the coronavirus. Online learning replaced face-to-face learning, and possession of computers and mastery of digital skills became essential in the training process at all educational levels, but specially in primary education. This article analyzes the digital gap in primary school and shows the negative effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on learning, specially on the most socioeconomically disadvantaged and enrolled in public education, which had led to an increase the inequality of educational opportunities.

KEYWORDS

Primary School. Inequality of Educational Opportunities. Digital gap. Public/Private Education. COVID-19.

Introduction

The closure of schools between March and June 2020 in response to the COVID-19 crisis represents an unprecedented event in the Spanish educational system. Teaching has returned to schools in a traditional way since September 2020, except for sporadic closures due to a posterior outbreak of coronavirus. The school closure generated multiple problems in education, specially in primary education, where the training is designed to be face-to-face.

First of all, the lack of digital devices and internet connections to monitor education in certain homes prevents the generalization of this alternative teaching digital.

Continuous Household Survey (ECH-2019) of the National Institute of Statistics in Spain (INE, hereinafter, 2020a) shows that at least the 5.5% of households do not have a computer, a proportion that doubles in single-parent households with one or more children (Life Conditions Survey, ECV-2018, INE). Equipment and Use of Information and Communication Technologies in Households (TIC-H'19), of INE (2020b), shows also that 7% of households with children do not have a computer, a proportion that multiplies by three, up to 18%, in single-parent households with at least one child¹. The lack of a computers athome is unevenly distributed across households and territories in Spain.

The proportion of computer and internet connections at home is notably lower in lower income households (High Commissioner Against Child Poverty, 2020a) and in lower income municipalities and regions, located mainly in the South of Spain (Extremadura, Andalusia, Murcia, Castilla La Mancha and the Canary Islands), compared to municipalities and regions in the North (Navarre, the Basque Country, Aragon, Madrid and Catalonia) (Cabrera, 2020)².

However, the digital gap does not refer only to access to electronic devices. Online learning requires school support and digital skills of

¹ In Spain 10.1% of households are single-parent.

² The digital resource gap reaffirms the territorial variability of wealth inequality in Spain, structurally and slightly upward for decades. All regions improve, but some more rapidly than others (Cabrera, 1995, 2013).

students. Moreover, in primary education, these digital skills are also required for the parents, who must act as "teachers" at home. This situation will have an unequal impact on learning opportunities, according to their circumstances, which can be a new source of educational gap, the family digital gap (European Commission, 2020 ; UNICEF, 2020 ; UNESCO, 2020 ; OECD, 2020a, 2020b, 2019a, 2019b, 2018 ; OEI, 2020), nationals (High Commissioner Against Child Poverty 2020a, 2020b, 2021) and researchers (Bonal and González, 2020 ; Rogero, 2020 ; Cabrera, 2020 ; Tarabini, 2020 ; Sainz and Sanz, 2020).

Additionally, we also have the teaching digital gap. Not all primary school teachers have digital teaching skills (Bonal and González, 2021 ; Cabrera, Pérez and Santana, 2020). Thus, in online learning, the school system faces the challenge to design inclusive educational projects that favor equal learning opportunities, to compensate the most disadvantaged families and territories (Feito, 2020).

This article shows that the participation of mothers and fathers in the online learning process of their children in primary education, particularly in the sixth and the last year of primary school (11-year-old), depend on the socioeconomic status, the type of families and the educational levels have more opportunities to help their children. These families have more economic resources, hence they have more and better motivation and educational support for their children to follow up the online learning and compensate for their deficiencies. On the contrary, families with low educational levels show a clear disadvantage, specially if they are single parents (single mothers in 90% of this type of household).

Our findings support that online learning in primary education worsens students' general learning since families in their homes do not have digital skills to support their children and that teachers are not still prepared for this mode of teaching. Although this negative impact is generalized for all students, it is worsening for more disadvantaged students, hence it will increase inequality of opportunity in education.

Methodology

Data for Spain come from different INE Surveys : The Continuous Household Survey -ECH- (2019), Survey of Living Conditions -ECV-

(2018), Survey on the Equipment and Use of Information and Communication Technologies in Households (TIC-H'19, 2019), and from the statistical records of the Ministry of Education and Professional Training (MECD and/or MEyFP, hereinafter). The general data for the Canary Islands come from the Primary Education Diagnostic Assessments (EEDD, hereinafter) of the Canary Islands Agency for Educational Evaluation and Quality (ACCUEE, hereinafter) applied to the 6th grade primary school students in June 2019, and provide a fundamental reference to contextualize the state of primary education before the pandemic³.

We complement this general information with a novel survey conducted for the Municipality of Santa Cruz de Tenerife (Tenerife) and specially designed to analyze the effects derived from the school closure during the pandemic and its consequences on primary education. Santa Cruz de Tenerife is the capital of the province and had 209,194 inhabitants (ISTAC, 2020).

The questionnaire was distributed among public schools, families, teachers, and principals. Data were collected between June 15th and July 20th, 2020. Summing up, we collect information from 16 principals, 85 teachers, and 521 families of 25 public primary schools. This sample represents approximately 70% of the public schools in the Municipality, and 11% of the students enrolled in the 2018-2019 academic year⁴. For our purposes, it is very relevant that this information was collected just after the lockdown, hence they truly reflect the opinions and situation

³ In this case, census data are available for 6th grade primary school students, both from their responses to context questionnaires and from the results of external evaluation tests. In addition, context questionnaires are also available for the families, the teachers, and the school's principals in the Canary Islands : around 20,000 students, their families (responses of almost 13,000), their teachers (910 teachers), and the principals of their schools (610 in primary school). This information provides information related to the overall situation just before the pandemic, which will influence the different educational gaps during 2020.

⁴ According to data provided by the Ministry of Education of the Government of the Canary Islands. We have obtained geographical representation of the five districts of the Municipality, a desirable result to capture the inequalities that may exist between areas in the Municipality. In addition, the distribution of families' responses was relatively uniform distributed across the six grades of Primary education, which also guarantees the representativeness of the results.

lived during the school closure period (Cabrera, Sicilia, Marrero, Pérez and Bethencourt, 2020).

Social and school context of primary school students

Primary school students in Spain

Primary school students in Spain in the 2018-2019 academic year reached almost three million, which is similar to the ones in the 2020-2021 academic year. The breakdown by course is relatively uniform, with an overall 68% of primary school students attending public education. However, the territorial distribution varies considerably. Public education is more present in the South (Extremadura, Castilla La Mancha, Andalusia, with around 80%, and the Canary Islands with about 74%) and the percentage is quite smaller in Madrid (54%), and in the Basque Country (52%), (see Annex, Figure 1).

This geographical distribution is correlated with regional income, educational resources, and social classes (see Annex, Table 1). For example, southern regions show higher percentages of students enrolled in public schools, at the same time they face a lower percentage of the population aged 25-64 years with higher education (ISCED \geq 5) and higher population in this age with less income (Pérez, Serrano and Uriel, 2020 ; Colino, Jaime-Castillo and Kölling, 2020 ; Andrino, Grasso and Llaneras, 2019 ; Cabrera, 1995, 2013). These differences affect the way each región deals with the school closure.

The differences in schooling between public and private schools have a lot to do with the family's socioeconomic level, whatever the territory is considered (Tarabini, 2020). Among other reasons, this is because the way the school can influence the students is closely related to the socioeconomic environment where students live (Colino, Jaime-Castillo, and Kölling, 2020, p.35). As far as this situation can lead to socioeconomic segregation, that may affect subsequent educational achievement and have a long-lasting impact on the economy (High Commissioner against Child Poverty, 2020, December, 2021 ; Andrino, Grasso, and Llaneras, 2019).

From PISA-2015 we find that private education serves 65% of 15-year-old students from more favorable socioeconomic backgrounds ; 27% of

medium environments and 8% of unfavorable environments. Conversely, only 8% of students attending public schools come from better-off families, 60% from medium environments, and 33% from more disadvantaged contexts. These percentages are even more disperse in southern Spanish regions, all that Word has a direct impact on their average school performance (Pérez, Serrano, and Uriel, 2019, p. 250-252, graph 7.5b and 7.5c and table 8.1, p.295; Cabrera and Cabrera, 2008). This situation creates a vicious circle that increases structural educational inequality at the regional level over time (Pérez, Serrano and Uriel, 2019, p.282; Cabrera, 1995, 2013 ; Sicilia and Simancas, 2018).

Income and socioeconomic inequalities are translated into digital inequality in households. Thus, in households inhabited with children between 10 and 15 years old (corresponding to the last two years of primary school and the four years of compulsory secondary school), computer ownership reaches 89.7%, an average level, with important differences by region (i.e. 82.8% in the Valencian Community and 99.2% in Navarra)⁵. Internet connection reaches 92.9% in these households (88.6% in the Balearic Islands, or 97.4% in Asturias ; while the mobile phone ownership share is 66.0% at the national level, with 57.0% in Galicia, and 77.6% in Extremadura (see Annex, Table 1). At this macro level strong and positive correlation (0.6) between the possession of computers and the proportion of people with higher educational levels in the región (ISCED ≥ 5 , in the UNESCO Classification, 2011), as well as significant and negative correlation, between the possession of computers and the proportion of people with compulsory educational levels or less (ISCED ≤ 2) (see Annex, Table 1).

As commented above, an even more important issue is the existing gap in the use and the skills with digital devices and online resources. For example, internet use differs notably by the level of training (Table 2 in the Annex): 77.6% of adults indicate having used the internet at some time and the use is close to 100% in the population with tertiary studies. Assuming that primary levels of attained education (or less) are

⁵ Gerturdi-Barrio (2009) found that in Spanish society, young people, naturally move towards digitization, even with the lack of computers in education primary. Although this does not mean that it can the students of the first years of primary school, digital natives, their have digital ability to follow online classes, even more so when in primary schools the use of computers is fragmentary and a subsidiary in many cases (Mur Sangrá, 2016).

assigned almost entirely to the older population, without children already in school, we can point out that the reference for internet use is at a value close to 74% in those with a minimum compulsory secondary education (Table 2 in the Annex).

Another relevant source of information is the International Program for the Assessment of the Competencies of the Adult Population (PIAAC), carried out by the OECD (2013). This report shows that the mean scores obtained in mathematical competences vary greatly in adults who took the test using computers or using paper (Spanish Report, MECD, 2013), with statistically significant differences in all countries. This result evidences that mathematical competence is affected by the use of ICTs, hence the technological "gap" affects the results. In Spain, this difference stands at 49.6 points, very close to the difference observed in the OECD average (48.6). It is concluded (MECD, 2013, p.72) that in all the participating countries there are adults without or with very limited abilities in the use of technological devices : 14% in the OECD, and 15% in the EU, ranging between 7% and 27% by countries. In Spain, 23% of adults between 16 and 65 years of age declare they have no experience in using computers or they fail in the most basic tasks, such as using the mouse. However, when adults have tertiary education, the results are much better in reading comprehension and mathematics : on average, more than 50 points of difference in OECD, and around 60 points in Spain, compared to those that have not reached complete upper secondary education (MECD, 2013, p. 94).

This is another source of the educational gap under an online learning system. The lack of technological abilities affects at least a quarter of the adult population, and it is specially concentrated in people with lower levels of education.

Results for the 6th grade students in the Canary Islands

We analyze next the Diagnostic Evaluations applied in the Canary Islands in June 2019 to all 6th grade students by ACCUEE⁶. This analysis confirms, first, the correlation between the schooling

⁶ In the 2015-2016 academic year, the 6th grade census tests were carried out in 631 schools with 20,411 students (ACCUEE, 2016).

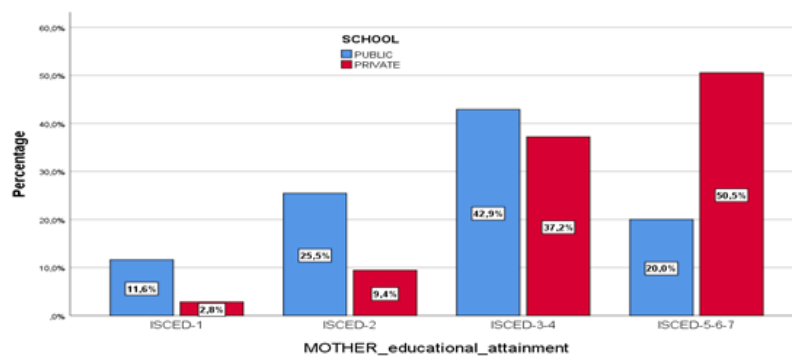
enrollment by type of school (public/private), and the socioeconomic, and cultural level of the families (mothers and fathers). For example, half of the students enrolled in private schools have mothers with tertiary studies (20% in the case of public schools) (Figures 1 and 2).

Likewise, among children with mothers with tertiary education, we find statistically significant higher results (in external and common evaluation tests) when the children go to private schools than to public schools (Figure 3).

This Diagnostic Evaluation shows also 70% of students in 6th grade live with both parents at home, 15.5% only with their mother (5% more than 10,1% of single-parent households in Spain, including parents), and 7.7% with their mother and partner (other situations are almost irrelevant).

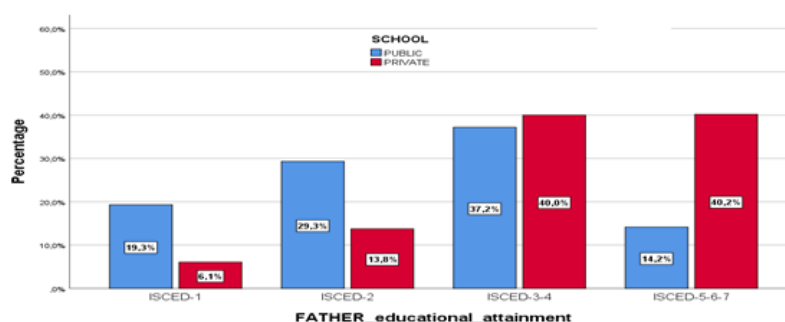
This higher proportion of single-parent households in the Canary Islands, concerning the Spanish average, also varies by school type (see Table 1): it increases somewhat in public schools (reaching 16.5%) and decreases in private schools (of about 11.9%). This situation also represents a lower capacity of families to provide technical support to their children in public schools in an online learning scenario than in compared with private schools.

Figure 1. Percentage of students enrolled in public and private schools, mother's educational attainment (ISCED). Canary Islands, 2018-2019 academic year.



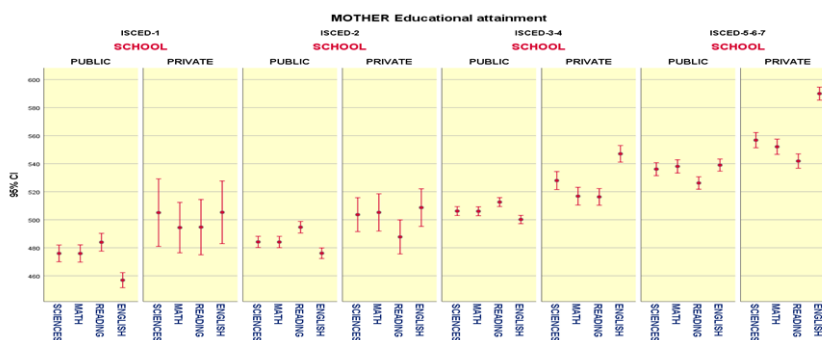
Source : Author's own calculations based on microdata from the 6th grade of Primary Education Diagnostic Assessment in Canary Island in the 2018-2019 academic year (provided by the ACCUEE).

Figure 2. Percentage of students enrolled in public and private schools, father's educational attainment (ISCED). Canary Islands, 2018-2019 academic year.



Source : Author's own calculations based on microdata from the 6th grade of Primary Education Diagnostic Assessment in Canary Island in the 2018-2019 academic year (provided by the ACCUEE).

Figure 3. Error Bars (95%) of test scores in Mathematics, Reading, English and Science of 6th grade of primary education student's by mother's education and school ownership. Canary Islands, 2018-2019 academic year.



Source : Author's own calculations based on microdata from the 6th grade of primary education Diagnostic Assessment in Canary Island in the 2018-2019 academic year (provided by the ACCUEE).

Table 1. Percentage of students in 6th grade of primary education by school ownership and family type. Canary Islands, 2018-2019 academic year.

			Type of HOME							Total
			Mother and Father with dependent children	Mother and her Partner with dependent children	Father and her Partner with dependent children	Single Mother with dependent children	Single Father with dependent children	Whithout Mother and whithout Father	Other situation	
SCHOOL	PUBLIC	n	6,185	733	113	1,491	140	40	348	9,050
		%	68.3%	8.1%	1.2%	16.5%	1.5%	0.4%	3.8%	100.0%
	PRIVATE	n	2,088	163	51	326	51	3	63	2,745
		%	76.1%	5.9%	1.9%	11.9%	1.9%	0.1%	2.3%	100.0%

Source : Author's own calculations based on microdata from the 6th grade of Primary Education Diagnostic Assessment in Canary Island in the 2018-2019 academic year (provided by the ACCUEE).

In addition to the lack of digital resources at home, it is also the lack of abilities in the use of digital devices by students and teachers and the lack of computers at schools. For example, 14.5% of the principals of public schools (containing 74% of the 6th grade primary school students), point out (in June 2019) that the lack of computers is a serious inconvenience in their school ; in contrast, only 3.5% in private schools. 28.2% of principals indicate that it is not an inconvenience in their (public) schools, and 52.9% that it is not an inconvenience in their private schools (see Table 2).

Table 2. Scarcity of computers at school in primary education. Canary Islands, 2018-2019 academic year. Directors.

SCHOOL		It is not an inconvenience	It's a slight inconvenience	It's moderate inconvenience	It is a serious inconvenience	Total
PUBLIC	n	148	158	143	76	525
	%	28.2%	30.1%	27.2%	14.5%	100.0%
PRIVATE	n	45	25	12	3	85
	%	52.9%	29.4%	14.1%	3.5%	100.0%

Source : Author's own calculations based on microdata from the 6th grade of Primary Education Diagnostic Assessment in Canary Island in the 2018-2019 academic year (provided by the ACCUEE).

The lack of computers and the deficient connection to the Internet is also pointed out by 28.9% and 32.5% of the teaching staff, who make their teaching work quite or very difficult. Furthermore, 2 out of 3 teachers indicate that they use computers regularly (quite a few times or almost always) in their classroom. However, the students' responses show that their use of computers in class is tan the teachers' use : only 25% of the 6th grade students say they never use computers at school, and 14% or rarely use them at home. The results vary by school type : in private schools, their daily use in classrooms reaches 24% (in public schools, 8%) and 18.5% at home (12.9% in public schools), as it is shown in Table 3.

Likewise, daily Internet use (for learning purposes) is not a common habit in 6th grade primary school students : only 21% use the internet daily for learning purposes, and 48.6% once or twice a week ; but, instead, 30% use it very little or he/she does not use it at all, both in public and private schools (see Table 4).

Table 3. Frequency of computer use by 6th grade primary school students at home and at school, by school ownership. Canary Islands, 2018-2019 academic year.

	A8. USE OF COMPUTER		Never or almost never	sometimes	often	Every day or almost every day	Total
	A8a. At home	Public Schools	N	2,042	5,800	3,904	1,732
%			15.2%	43.0%	29.0%	12.9%	100.0%
Private Schools		N	431	1,693	1,446	809	4,379
		%	9.8%	38.7%	33.0%	18.5%	100.0%
A8b. At school	Public Schols	N	3,431	5,962	2,919	1,149	13,461
		%	25.5%	44.3%	21.7%	8.5%	100.0%
	Private Schools	N	1,036	1,333	948	1,057	4,374
		%	23.7%	30.5%	21.7%	24.2%	100.0%

Source : Author's own calculations based on microdata from the 6th grade of Primary Education Diagnostic Assessment in Canary Island in the 2018-2019 academic year (provided by the ACCUEE).

Table 4. Internet use by 6th grade primary school for educational purposes. Canary Islands, 2018-2019 academic year.

		Never or almost never	sometimes	often	Every day or almost every day	Total
A9a. To find information for your studies.	n	1,154	4,309	8,676	3,726	17,865
	%	6.5%	24.1%	48.6%	20.9%	100.0%
A9a. PUBLIC SCHOOLS (100%)		6.6%	24.3%	49.0%	20.0%	13,488
A9a. PRIVATE SCHOOLS (100%)		6.0%	23.4%	47.1%	23.5%	4,377

Source : Author's own calculations based on microdata from the 6th grade of Primary Education Diagnostic Assessment in Canary Island in the 2018-2019 academic year (provided by the ACCUEE).

Summing up, there exist clear evidence of primary educational inequality in Spain. Moreover, educational inequalities would be accentuated in an online learning scenario. One reason for this inequality is that digital resources are unevenly distributed between households, schools, and regions, and this distribution strongly depends on the socioeconomic status and cultural aspects of the families. In addition, the skills abilities to use digital devices (for learning activities) by students, parents, and teachers are also unequally distributed in Spain. And, once again, disadvantages are specially found in public schools and families with lower education and social status and, less income. In general, students in private schools use the internet and computers more frequently than students in public schools ; they show also better skills in online learning tools. But, in general, the percentage of students in primary education (and teachers and parents) with high skills in the use of online learning tools is still very limited, regardless of the family socioeconomic situation and the type of school students attend.

Online learning in primary school during school closings. The digital gap of resources and digital skills in public schools of the Municipality of Santa Cruz de Tenerife.

In this section, we focus on the transition from face-to-face teaching to at-distance teaching during the lockdown and its effects on the educational community. The analysis is based on the results of a study

designed to measure the effects of the school closure in primary school students, financed by the Santa Cruz de Tenerife City Council and carried out by the Center for Studies of Inequality and Social Governance (CEDESOG) of the University of La Laguna (ULL). Families, teachers, and the principals of public schools of the Municipality of Santa Cruz de Tenerife participated in the study.

Three aspects are essential in our argument :

1. To detect the lack of digital devices and the internet connection in homes and their unequal distribution according to family income. Knowing its existence, we also look for complementary details of family digital skills.

2. To identify the total number of online classes carried out and the tasks received by the students to perform at the homes with family help during the lockdown. We suspect that the number of online classes is fewer than the number of face-to-face classes.

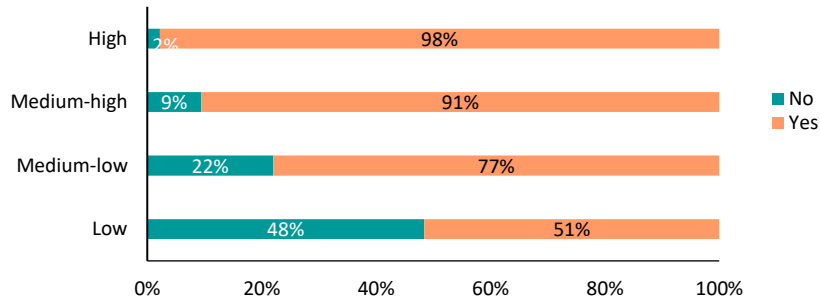
3. We consider that the school closure has meant a general loss of knowledge and non-cognitive skills among students, particularly in those students from more disadvantaged backgrounds (lower income, lower levels parental education, and monoparental family).

We dedicate the results found in the fieldwork to these three aspects.

Provision of digital devices at home

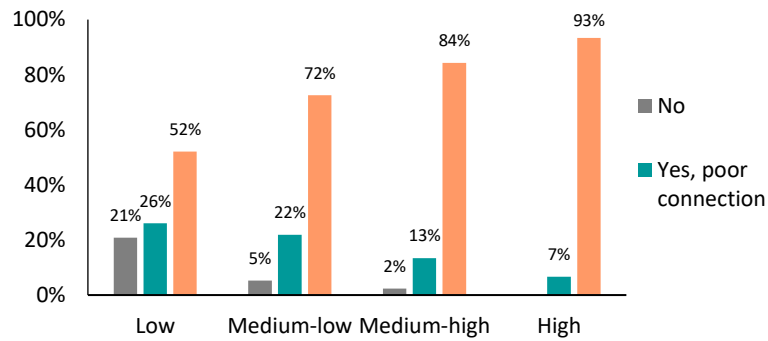
The availability of computers (or tablets) at home and internet access are clearly associated with income levels (Figure 4 and Figure 5). 98% of high-income households have a computer or tablet (representing 15% of all households with an income of 2,500 euros per month or more), by 51% of families with low-income levels (representing 18% of households with income of fewer than 500 euros per month). The same happens with internet access at home, also associated with income. The percentage of households without connection is very high in the case of low-income households (21%), while this proportion dramatically decreases as household income increases.

Figure 4 : Available computers and Tablets at home by family income.



Source : Author’s own calculations based on the CEDESOG survey of learning during the lockdown (family responses).

Figure 5 : Internet Access at home by family income.

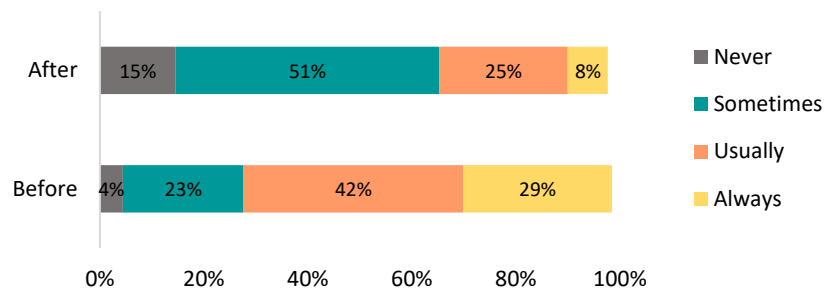


Source : Author’s own calculations based on the CEDESOG survey of learning during the lockdown (family responses).

Before school closed, primary school students made little use of the internet in their daily study activities (e.g. searching for information related to learning). Specifically, only 1 out of 3 students used the internet frequently (“often” or “always”), a proportion that increased notably during school closure (to 71%). On the other hand, the percentage of children who never use the Internet is drastically reduced, from 15% to 4% (Figure 6). We found that the use of the

internet for educational purposes particularly increases in those households with mothers with higher education.

Figure 6 : Frequency of Internet use for learning purposes : before and after the lockdown.



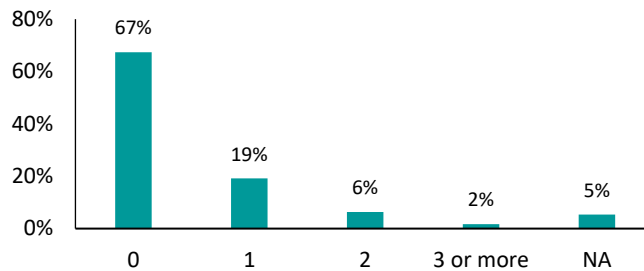
Source: Author's own calculations based on the CEDESOG survey of learning during the lockdown (family responses).

These numbers, before and after school closure, suggest a change in the digital habits of students that could have positive future, implications for the extension of digital education, if they were maintained over time and reinforced in the following school years.

Online classes and learning during school closure

The greater use of the internet in homes has not been translated into online learning. The number of hours of direct online teaching has suffered substantially compared to face-to-face. Before the lockdown, students received from 5 to 6 hours of classes in the schools, while during the school closure these classes have moved online and have been restricted to just one hour. Data online teaching is very negative: 68% of families affirm that their children have not received any online class (Figure 7).

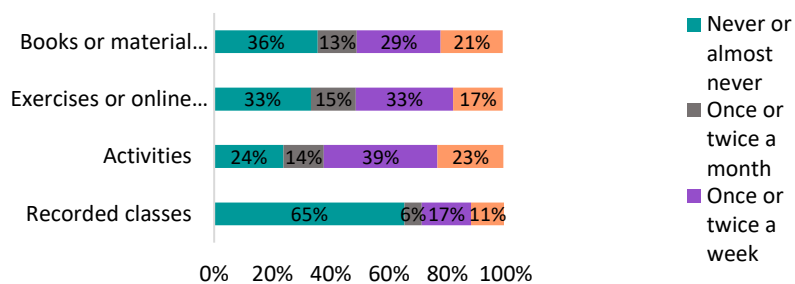
Figure 7 : Average number of daily hours of online classes received during the lockdown.



Source: Author’s own calculations based on the CEDESOG survey of learning during the lockdown (family responses).

As we can see in Figure 8, an important proportion of the students do not receive direct telematic classes, but neither do they have alternative complimentary educational resources. Around 2 out of 3 students do not have recorded classes, and only 1 in 2 states that they received support activities, books or online materials, and exercises or online self-assessment tasks regularly.

Figure 8 : Educational resources provided by teachers during the lockdown

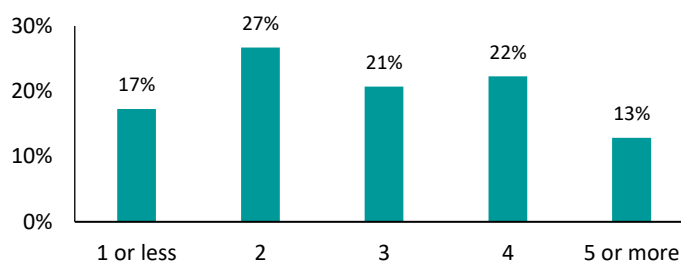


Source: Author’s own calculations based on the CEDESOG survey of learning during the lockdown family (family responses).

The contact between families and teachers has been maintained through email, WhatsApp groups, and even by phone. 46% of families indicate that they have contacted their child's teacher once a week and affirm that the teachers are quite involved in giving feedback to their students about their tasks. Specifically, more than 70% of families state that their children have received individual comments from their teachers about the schoolwork they did. This result and the previous one suggest that teachers have spent most of their time correcting and supervising students' assignments.

Figure 9 shows the distribution of the number of hours spent on home learning during the lockdown, where most students dedicated between 2 and 4 hours a day to this activity (70%). These values are notably higher than those reflected by live online learning but are still low when compared with the number of hours devoted to face-to-face classes and homework before the lockdown. During face-to-face teaching, 78% of 6th grade students indicate they do homework 4 or more days a week and 60% dedicated more than half an hour a day to these tasks (data from the microdata of the EDs in 2019 provided by ACCUEE).

Figure 9 : Average daily hours spent on educational activities at home during the lockdown



Source : Author's own calculations based on the CEDESOG survey of learning during the lockdown (family responses).

The overall balance of school closure is very negative. The total learning time (classes and homework) has substantially decreased from 6-7 hours a day to about 2-3 hours a day during the lockdown. This

hourly reduction in the time dedicated to learning has been empowered by the fact that several parents report struggling with supporting home learning. This is crucial in primary education since most of the children at these ages do not have enough knowledge to be autonomous to deal with online learning⁷.

Mothers and fathers have had to 'act' as teachers and support their children's learning at home. The proportion of families that dedicate more than 4 hours a day to helping their children before the school closure, has been multiplied by 10, raising from 2% to 23%. These figures perfectly illustrate the enormous effort that families have had to make to ensure that their children continue their learning at home.

Regarding the families' self-assessment about the quality of the support they provide to their children, 2 out of 3 parents consider that this support was not enough for them to continue with home learning. 66% of the families report that the school support given to their children has not been sufficient (Table 5).

Table 5 : Parents' perceived quality of their educational support offered to their children during the lockdown

Sufficient parental educational support	Answers	Distribution of answers
No	344	66%
Yes	142	27%
NA	35	7%
Total	521	100%

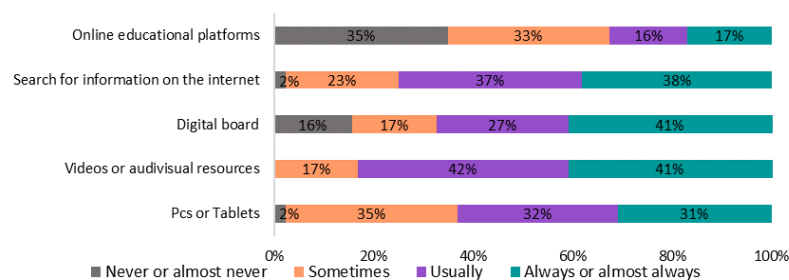
Source : Author's own calculations based on the CEDESOG survey of learning during the lockdown (family responses).

The data reported by the teachers confirm the lack of distance teaching during school closure. 45% of primary school teachers, state that they did not teach online classes during school closure, and around 42% of teachers indicate they have taught between 1 and 2 hours a day. These results are consistent, although lower, with those reported by families.

⁷ The help of parents in carrying out schoolwork is complicated as the educational level of their sons and daughters progresses, the school capital of parents becoming the factor that weighs the most in helping and conditions the school trajectory (Bonal and González, 2021, 54).

One important reason behind this behavior is their scarce experience in both teaching at distance and using educational platforms (Figure 10).

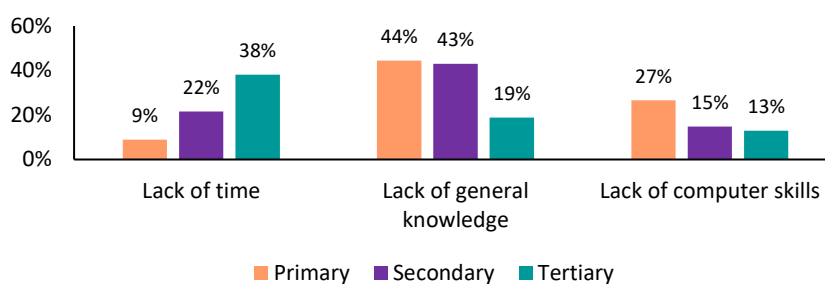
Figure 10 : Teacher’s experience in the use of digital resources for virtual teaching



Source : Author’s own calculations based on the CEDESOG survey of learning during the lockdown (teacher’s responses).

According to the teachers, the main obstacle for families to support their children in the educational process at home has been the lack of educational resources at home and the lack of computer skills, followed by lack of time and, to a lesser extent, the lack of general knowledge. This result contrasts with the responses of the families who participated in this study, as they highlighted the main reasons for the lack of general knowledge and the lack of time (Figure 11).

Figure 11 : Sources of insufficient parental support to their children at home, by mother's education



Source : Author’s own calculations based on the CEDESOG survey of learning during the lockdown (family responses).

In summary, we can point out that half of the teachers felt insufficiently prepared for online teaching (they have been taken by surprise by the school closure) and consequently, 2 out of 3 students did not receive an online class (those who did receive online classes were almost always limited to one hour per day). 44% of families with mothers with secondary education indicated that they did not have the general knowledge to help their children and 27% of mothers with primary education did not have computer knowledge either. Families who have tertiary studies state that they mainly faced time constraints in monitoring their children at home, even when they are the ones that are most involved in helping their children in the learning process. The families indicate that during the school closure they received the educational activities by email or through WhatsApp groups. Moreover, parents had to act as teachers and faced serious difficulties, specially the ones with the worst socioeconomic status. Moreover, the school closure was in parallel to a process of loss of jobs for some families and a job instability for others⁸, which produced a very stressful situation with adverse emotional conditions at home that, although difficult to quantify, have been highlighted by families.

General assessment of online learning

In general, families have negatively assessed the effectiveness of online learning compared to face-to-face teaching. There have been fewer hours of daily classes, not compensated with homework or extra activities, with lower quality of learning transmission (made by families), and with fewer interactions between students. Most families report that their children have learned less (85%), they were less motivated to do homework (78%), and that they had less fun (90%). The responses of principals and teachers are in line with those of families.

The results of the survey suggest, therefore, that the last quarter of the 2019-2020 academic year was lost for a very important percentage of the primary students. Since they did not receive reinforcement during the summer, the school closure not only has produced a negative impact on their skills progress during the 2020-2021 but also in the following

⁸ In the Canary Islands the December 2020 EPA from the INE (2020c), 4th-quarter, reflects a loss of 120,000 thousand jobs compared to the same period of the previous year where 930,000 employed persons were registered.

years, which could imply an increase in their repetition rates in the coming years and an increase in school failure and dropout (Bonal and González, 2021). The results of the study also indicate that the educational losses of students have been generalized, but greater for the most disadvantaged students. They come from families, with fewer resources, lower incomes, and with fewer studies, who also face more difficulties to support their children's home learning. The gap that this study reveals about relation to families and households, delves into the inequality of educational opportunities for primary school students (Bonal and González, 2021 ; Cabrera, 2020).

In addition to the school closure, we must add the closing of the schools during the summer. This represents almost seven months in a row without direct teaching and direct contact between students and teachers, with a clear deterioration in the student's training process (Bonal and González, 2021, 46 ; Von Hippel, 2019) and an additional loss of academic skills (Grewenig et al. 2020 ; Burgess and Sievertsen, 2020). All students lose training, but particularly those from disadvantaged socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds (Alegre, 2016 ; Kuhfeld and Tarasawa, 2020a and 2020b ; Marcotte and Hemelt, 2008 ; Jaume and Willén, 2019 ; Cattaneo et al., 2017 ; Dahmann, 2015).

The loss of classes reproduces unequal educational performance and widens the student achievement differential (UNESCO, 2020 ; UNICEF, 2020 ; OECD, 2020a, 2020b ; OEI, 2020 ; Sainz and Sanz, 2020). To this is added the methodological inertia in primary by the teachers based on the use of the school manual preferably, without the didactic change focused on new digital resources and tools (Mur Sagrá, 2016) and with a general predisposition to digital use only to fill in files (Trigueros, Sánchez and Vera, 2012). This represents a breakdown in the continuity of primary education in homes during the school closure. Most teachers did not participate in the new digital resources and could not extend the learning process to homes. And neither do families have sufficient resources to give pedagogical continuity to the teaching model telematic (Coe et al., 2020).

Summary and Conclusions

The school closure as a consequence of the coronavirus pandemic raises the elements of initial inequality in open schools. It is verified with the differential schooling of primary students according to the social class they belong to, the type of center they attend (public/private), and the region of residence where they live (the South of Spain with lower incomes and proportions of people with higher education compared to the North, which is richer and has more cultural capital).

This picture is not only presented in the Canary Islands (the South), but also in Catalonia (the North), where the records of Bonal and González (2021) conclude similarly. They point out that the social antecedents and the conditions of lockdown of the students are associated with their learning opportunities, and that these opportunities are unequal and have been accentuated.

We have found, as we suspected, that families with lower educational levels and lower incomes have fewer resources and knowledge to support their children with schoolwork at home. Although these inequalities are known, they have been exacerbated during school closure (Marrero, 2020). We have also verified unequal use of ICTs at home and detected that the problem of monitoring at distance teaching is exacerbated because students and teachers are not familiar with online learning and digital educational tools. The school support for their monitoring of mothers and fathers is limited and insufficient (2 out of 3 families indicate this), despite their greater involvement in their children's schoolwork during school closure (up to 4 hours and more in 4 out of 5 households).

The reduction in the time dedicated to learning during the pandemic, compared to that spent in face-to-face classes, was substantial. From 5 to 6 hours a day at school and an hour of daily homework has been transferred to an hour of an online class (usually none and exceptionally 2 or more) and 2 hours of homework. The time dedicated to homework increases, but the time dedicated to direct learning with teachers decreased as circumstances forced them to delegate, despite themselves, important teaching responsibilities to families.

The general assessment of families, teachers, and school principals about teaching during school closure is very negative when compared to face-to-face learning. Students have learned less, are less motivated, and have less fun. The only positive version is the greater family involvement in the school monitoring of their children and, the improvement of digital skills of families and teachers. In addition, if this greater family involvement, is maintained over time, it could result, as international evidence shows, in a positive effect on children's academic performance (Jeynes, 2012 ; Wilder, 2014).

Proposals for improvement involve generating inclusive educational policies that, in addition to solving the insufficiencies of digital resources in schools, improve the general training of families in computer skills, the availability of sound internet connections, and that of teachers in at distance teaching processes (OECD, 2019a). This extraordinary situation of school closure should be taken advantage of the experience, and the acquired knowledge. That is, online learning and digital resources should not be seen as a punctual solution for a particular problem but as a relevant and useful tool that should be incorporated in the learning and comprehensive training of students. Finally, for the proposed interventions to be successful, the commitment and effort of the entire educational community are required, as well as coordination between the different levels of government. This is perhaps one of the most important challenges and one that transcends the current extraordinary situation.

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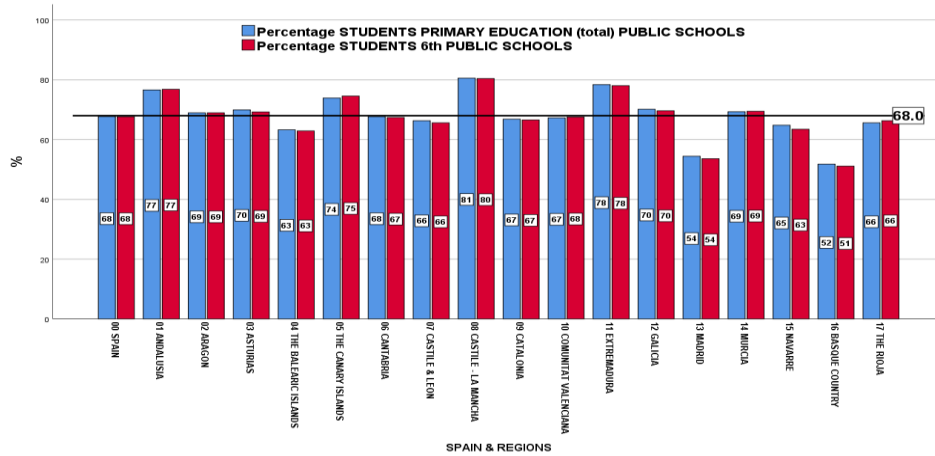
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Annex

Figure 1. Percentage Students PUBLIC Primary School (total Primary and 6th grade) - Spain by Regions. Course 2018-19.



Source : Author's own calculations based in MEyFP (2020). Las cifras de la educación en España. Curso 18-19.

<http://www.educacionyfp.gob.es/servicios-al-ciudadano/estadisticas/no-universitaria/alumnado/matriculado/2018-2019.html>

Table 1 : Children aged 10 to 15 (total) in households and proportion (%) who have a computer (%), internet connection (%) in the last three months and have a mobile (%), Average income of the Household 2018 (euros) and % of the population that has reached educational levels in ISCED 2011 (less than compulsory secondary = 0-1-2; non-university upper and upper secondary = 3-4 and university = 5-6-7-8), SPAIN by Autonomous Communities. Year 2019.

	TOTAL	Computer users % 2019	Internet users % 2019	They have mobile % 2019	Household income (euros) ECV 2018	% population 25-64 years Educational Attainment ISCED = 0-1-2	% population 25-64 years Educational Attainment ISCED = 3-4	% population 25-64 years Educational Attainment ISCED=5-6-7-8
SPAIN	2.992,532	89.7	92.9	66.0	28.417	38.7	22.7	38.6
Andalusia	585,804	86.2	90.7	64.0	24.091	47.8	21.0	31.2
Aragon	79,922	94.1	95.1	72.1	28.886	34.3	26.5	39.3
Asturias	49,085	97.4	97.4	65.1	27.069	33.1	23.6	43.3
Balearic Islands	74,412	94.1	88.6	67.1	34.007	41.4	26.7	31.9
The Canary Islands	135,184	89.9	89.0	66.0	23.048	42.7	24.5	32.8
Cantabria	34,229	96.3	91.6	63.1	26.888	31.3	26.7	42.0
Castile & Leon	125,716	93.1	96.6	68.0	27.665	38.6	23.0	38.4
Castile - La Mancha	133,738	90.2	92.5	71.5	24.401	48.5	21.5	30.0
Catalonia	503,485	92.8	95.4	66.7	32.763	36.3	21.3	42.4
Valencian Community	325,509	82.8	91.6	64.2	25.207	39.9	23.2	36.9
Extremadura	63,886	91.6	92.6	77.6	21.006	53.7	19.5	26.8
Galicia	137,970	89.9	96.2	57.0	27.658	39.4	22.7	37.9
Madrid	427,908	88.4	91.5	65.6	33.055	25.9	25.0	49.1
Murcia	108,569	90.7	95.7	65.0	24.801	47.5	20.9	31.5
Navarre	42,718	99.2	92.0	64.7	33.556	29.2	23.7	47.1
The Basque Country	130,107	97.0	95.8	73.1	35.049	27.9	21.3	50.8
The Rioja	19,656	93.2	92.7	70.9	28.549	38.4	23.3	38.3
Ceuta	7,343	86.0	88.4	46.5	28.700	50.6	23.1	26.3
Melilla	7,291	79.6	94.7	69.7	41.714	50.6	23.1	26.3

Source : Author's own calculations based in INE (2020a; 2020b, 2018) and MEyFP (2020).

Table 2. Percentage of users (16 to 74 years) who have ever used the Internet by level of training and autonomous community. Year 2019.

	TOTAL	Primary School	Secondary lower	High School	Vocational Training	University Degree	University Master	University Doctorate
SPAIN	77.6	47.1	74.0	83.2	87.9	90.7	93.3	98.4
Andalusia	77.4	51.1	78.9	87.2	87.9	91.0	93.8	97.2
Aragon	78.6	56.2	65.9	87.6	90.1	86.2	92.6	100.0
Asturias	75.0	39.2	64.9	75.2	95.6	94.3	93.3	79.8
Balearic Islands	78.3	53.2	70.1	81.2	98.0	96.8	95.4	..
The Canary Islands	75.7	45.7	77.3	77.9	87.6	91.0	93.9	100.0
Cantabria	74.9	44.8	69.3	76.9	82.2	91.1	87.9	100.0
Castille & Leon	73.1	43.4	63.2	77.8	87.1	92.9	94.2	100.0
Castile - La Mancha	72.8	47.6	70.6	82.4	87.8	90.4	87.3	90.7
Catalonia	81.0	52.5	78.0	82.5	94.3	94.2	93.1	100.0
Valencian Community	75.5	39.9	74.0	82.8	76.4	89.2	93.2	100.0
Extremadura	75.1	41.4	69.2	87.2	93.0	95.3	91.1	100.0
Galicia	67.1	22.7	60.1	79.3	85.9	84.4	93.4	100.0
Madrid	83.1	50.1	78.6	85.7	88.2	88.7	94.1	100.0
Murcia	81.5	60.9	78.5	92.6	97.6	92.9	94.9	100.0
Navarre	80.2	48.7	73.0	82.6	87.6	88.5	97.8	86.9
The Basque Country	77.8	53.1	70.4	78.7	80.8	88.7	90.7	100.0
The Rioja	75.0	39.3	67.0	84.6	87.9	85.0	91.3	46.7
Ceuta	81.9	..	48.8	85.6	100.0	71.8	100.0	..
Melilla	75.1	59.6	100.0	69.5	77.0	79.4	79.1	..

Source: Author's own calculations based in MEyFP (2020, Indicador F2.7.)

EDUCATIONAL POLICY MAKING DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN ARGENTINA.

PEDAGOGICAL CONTINUITY IN UNEQUAL CONTEXTS

Alejandra Birgin
UBA / UNIPE, Argentine

Patricia Ferrante
FLACSO / UNIPE, Argentine

RÉSUMÉ

Pendant la pandémie de COVID 19 en Argentine, la fermeture massive des établissements scolaires et les stratégies dirigées à formuler une continuité pédagogique à travers de l'école à distance, ont dû faire face à un défi majeur : l'inégalité sociale. Cet article analyse les décisions en matière de politique éducative, tant au niveau national comme dans la province de Buenos Aires (le territoire avec la population la plus nombreuse d'Argentine), qui se sont centrées sur l'utilisation des réseaux numériques pour assurer le fonctionnement de l'école à distance. Ces politiques et ces pratiques sont la clé d'accès pour repenser, d'un point de vue pédagogique, les défis d'intégration des technologies et des réseaux numériques dans les écoles contemporaines.

MOTS CLÉS

École à distance – Réseaux numériques – Inégalités – Pédagogies numériques

ABSTRACT

The mass closure of schools and the strategies to formulate a pedagogical continuity throughout remote schooling during the COVID-19 crisis in Argentina faced a major challenge: inequality. This paper analyses the educational policy decisions regarding digital media for developing remote schooling at the national level and for the Province of Buenos Aires, the largest and most populated in the country. Policies and practices that unfolded allow to rethink ICT integration in schools from a pedagogical perspective.

KEYWORDS

Remote Schooling – Digital Media – Inequalities – Digital pedagogies

Introduction

As in many other countries, in Argentina the strategies for pedagogical continuity during the COVID-19 crisis faced a major challenge : inequality. Access to digital technologies is uneven, not only because of the available hardware (computers, laptops, tablets, mobile phones), but also because of the quality of connectivity, which in some areas might not exist. With the goal of reaching a population crossed by inequalities, the design, implementation and monitoring of programs for pedagogical continuity included uses of old and new media: WhatsApp and social media, printed booklets, and audio-visual productions for daily programming of public TV and radio.

Moreover, the Covid-19 forced the educational sector to re-think its practices regarding digital media and technologies in education. In Argentina, ICT integration into school and teaching practices had been a priority of educational policies since 2010, but the pandemic posed new challenges : What was possible in an unequal context? With which devices and with what pedagogical goals and strategies could schools continue to operate? What could be organized under extreme duress and to respond to immediate needs?

This article analyzes the educational policy decisions regarding digital media for developing remote schooling at the national level and for the Province of Buenos Aires, the largest and most populated in the country. It is based on an exploratory inquiry that reviewed public policy documents and interviewed policy officers at the national and local level¹, focusing on how inequality was taken into account in the actions and strategies for remote schooling during the COVID-19 lockdown and particularly in teacher education.

First, the article reviews national policies for pedagogical continuity and how they addressed the disparities in unequal contexts ; then it

¹ In the research, we made five interviews to key national and local policy officers between May and August 2020. These key informants included the head of ICT educational policy at the national level and the Director of the public Children's TV Channel, which developed the audiovisual programming for supporting remote schooling ; and at the level of the Province of Buenos Aires, we talked to the head of educational technology, the director of in-service teacher education, and the director of higher education.

explores the case of these policies implemented in the territory of the Province of Buenos Aires (PBA). It specifically analyses a program that organized a close support system for marginalized students through teacher education institutions. Finally, it offers some concluding remarks that seek to nurture the discussions about ICT and digital media uses in teaching and teacher education² based on what was learned during the pandemic.

The local context : political changes and educational shifts

The research and analysis of educational policies that intended to face the global COVID-19 pandemic need to consider the conditions of each national educational system and how the policies and actions put into play produce specific effects. In Argentina, these conditions are intimately linked to its recent political and economic history, in which instabilities and crisis have been frequent.

Argentina began the 21st century amidst a deep crisis that ended with a total collapse in December 2001. After a transitional period, in 2003 Néstor Kirchner was elected president, opening a phase of economic recovery and relative institutional stability³. Kirchner led a government with a pro-equity orientation that denounced the dominant neo liberal consensus of the 1990s, with a strong alliance with similar governments in the Latin American region and the reinstatement of the state as the key actor for reducing inequalities (Feldfeber and Gluz, 2011).

In the educational field, these decades implied significant discursive and policy shifts. Between 2003 and 2015, years in which Néstor and Cristina Kirchner were presidents, national educational policies pivoted around a discourse that performed a metonymy between equality and inclusion, asserting education as a social right, the key role of teaching and teachers, an emphasis on a common culture without overlooking diversity, and the centrality of the state in educational policies and administration (Southwell, 2018 ; Vassiliades, 2014). The

² In Argentina, pre-service teacher education is provided in two different institutions : the Institutes for Higher Education (ISFD) and, with a smaller scope and reach, universities.

³ In her article about the different perspectives that have analyzed the 2001 crisis, Moreira (2019) remarks that there is a scholarly consensus in placing 2003 and the first mandate of President Kirchner as the end of the crisis.

pinnacle of this trend was the National Education Law 26.206, passed in 2006.

By late 2015, the election of Mauricio Macri started a new cycle of neoliberalism (Vommaro, 2017). The focus of educational discourses shifted towards concepts of quality (as opposed to inclusion); teaching as a process that can be measured according to efficacy standards; and equality as an opportunity for meritocratic competence. The official policies welcomed market forces in areas that were previously red taped for the private sector and promoted a systematically negative perception of teachers and their education.

A new economic and political crisis brought a new coalition government in December 2019. When the pandemic exploded, the new administration was just beginning. It aimed to put an end to neoliberal policies, disinvestment, and a growing external debt, and in education it sought to put the notion of rights and social justice at the core of a new cycle of policies. Before the pandemic, ICT programs were conceived as part of egalitarian policies, both in terms of access to connectivity and hardware and of expanding teacher education and teaching materials to make better use of digital media in schools. These ideas would become the axis of educational policies when the pandemic reached Argentina.

Pandemic policies : Facing an extraordinary context

The policies to prevent and control COVID-19 in Argentina implied a series of economic and social restraints that had a strong impact in everyday lives, in poverty rates and in health, care and education systems (Kessler & Benza, 2021). Social isolation (Aislamiento Social Preventivo Obligatorio) and social distancing (Distanancia Social Preventiva Obligatoria) were the national regulations designed to control the spread of the virus in the territory ; long periods of lockdown and strict measures for public circulation affected institutions and citizens.

At the beginning of March 2020, schools in Argentina were just starting their annual cycle, but two weeks later all schools were closed because of the lockdown decree of ASPO and moved to remote

education. Two weeks after ASPO was made mandatory, the government put in effect national policy guidelines for improving digital access and educational content delivery. Digital media played a central role in this process, but so did public TV and radio, printed booklets, and social media. The main purpose of keeping this diversity of formats and contents was to reach the needs of students and families who had deep unequal conditions and access to technology.

After the winter holidays (at the beginning of August), schools were reopened in rural areas with low percentage of cases, and by the end of the year, as the sanitary situation improved and the spread of the virus declined, there was a progressive reopening of schools for limited periods. These months were devoted to what was called “pedagogical re-connection,” focusing on rebuilding the links with school life and school knowledge.

During those months, and without knowing how long the pandemic would last, teachers and principals tried different alternatives to keep on with schooling. In some cases, this meant an abrupt experience of digitalization, and in others, they appealed to other resources to keep a remote connection with the students. Sometimes feeling over demanded, sometimes trying to mirror school practices at a distance, teachers intended to “make school” from their homes (Birgin, 2020).

Pedagogical continuity in Argentina through ICT : Policies and conditions

In Argentina, the debate over whether schools should remain open or close was a heated one and became the center of attention and concern of media, officers, and families. It was common to read on the media information regarding decisions and debates around schooling in different countries and their sanitary situations. As it was not possible to open school buildings, pedagogical continuity became closely associated with online digital platforms.

The digitalization of education as an effect of the pandemic is a trend that is being studied in several contexts. In most countries of the world, pandemic pedagogies (Williamson et al, 2020) saw a growth in the intervention of ed-tech enterprises that develop educational tools and contents from the perspective of bringing technological solutions to

educational problems (Morozov, 2014). This led to an increased datafication, a process of transforming diverse processes, qualities, actions, and phenomena into forms that are machine-readable by digital technologies (Kitchin 2014). Datafication in education was already present in educational policies and debates, mostly associated with AI, platforms and digital sensors uses in education (Selwyn, 2019 ; Williamson, 2017).

These ed tech corporations are becoming key actors in the platformization of education, a process that José van Dijck and other colleagues describe in the following terms :

[P]owered by the Big Five tech companies, platforms are pushing a new concept of learning that uproots or bypasses the values that are fundamental to publicly funded education : Bildung, a knowledge-based curriculum, autonomy for teachers, collective affordability, and education as a vehicle for socioeconomic equality. (Van Dijck et al, 2018, p.118)

Perhaps what is distinctive about Argentina's educational technology policies is the low weight of these tech corporations in public decisions. This can be seen in what was the flagship program of the Argentinean government, Conectar Igualdad (CI). Launched in 2010 and running until 2015, the program promoted a one-laptop-per-child model for secondary school and distributed 5 million netbooks for students and teachers. It included a large teacher education program and a plan for producing digital content. Its main focus was secondary schooling, compulsory since 2006, with the goal of social inclusion and educational improvement. Its discursive focus was to promote equality and social justice, but also strengthen public schools and produce a pedagogical and cultural renewal (Dussel, 2014).

The implementation of CI involved a novel inter institutional articulation within the national educational system. Managed by the Ministry of Education and other public agencies⁴, it also included societal actors, national universities that monitored implementation, and local technological enterprises. The program was closely

⁴ The complexities of the Program because of its reach and scale required a combined management that involved the National Ministry of Education, the Presidential Office, the National Administration of Social Security, the Chief of Cabinet Office and the Ministry of Federal Planning and Public investment. (Decree 459/10)

monitored, and different studies showed an egalitarian impact, improving access to ICT and a sense of entitlement in different social groups (Benitez Larghi, Lemus & Welschinger Lascano, 2014 ; Kliksberg & Novacovsky, 2015). Other studies pointed out that CI was successful in dimensions such as teacher education, hardware provision and a massive production of educational resources (Vacchieri, 2013).

CI was eventually dismantled after the change in government in December 2015. The new focus of the ICT educational policies became digital competencies and robotics. The office in charge of ICT policies for education was no longer the Ministry of Education but the Secretary of Educational Innovation and Quality. In 2018 the government issued a curricular syllabus on digital education, programming and robotics. It also launched the plan Schools of the Future, in which local and foreign tech enterprises were called to provide technical solutions to teaching problems (Rodríguez, 2017).

By the beginning of 2020, the debates on ICT in education were mostly focused on a possible relaunch of CI. This relaunching would extend connectivity and access to equipment, as well as address contemporary challenges such as digital sovereignty, mobile phones, digital literacy as a citizen's right, teacher education, a reconfiguration of the role of families and renewed policy monitoring and evaluation (Welschinger & Benítez Larghi, 2020).

However, the pandemic and the social isolation decreed since March 2020 opened a new chapter regarding ICT educational policies and practices in Argentina. Multiple uses of diverse platforms rapidly extended, including social media, free but private educational platforms such as Google Classroom, and public platforms specifically developed for the educational sector. It was clear that there were deep inequalities in access and use conditions, but teachers and schools were highly motivated to maintain remote teaching. According to some studies, pre-existent inequalities in education worsened because of the pandemic, most of all inequality in connectivity and access to computers, and in the possibilities of families to support their children's education (Kessler and Benza, 2020).

Dealing with this unequal map was a challenge for national and provincial policies, which in the federal structure of the Argentinean

educational system are responsible for regulating and administering schools⁵. In the next section, we describe the main educational policies developed by the national state to face the pandemic, which involved digital media and technologies as well as public TV and radio.

Media and digital technology for remote schooling -and beyond

Educational policies during the pandemic in Argentina were at first and foremost emergency policies, developed under high uncertainty about how long the social isolation and the closure of school buildings would last. The policies sought to design political instruments for addressing education inequalities. How to plan school continuity when computers or Internet connectivity were not available? Which contents should be privileged, and through which media? What kind of virtualization was possible when quality access is not guaranteed? In this section, we explore these questions by analyzing policy documents and interviews with public officers involved in policy making.

At first, policy strategies focused on the production of educational resources under the umbrella of a broad program called “Seguimos Educando” (We keep on educating). The program included printed booklets that were distributed in the whole country, in many cases throughout a network of solidarity of shops, neighbors, and social organizations⁶. These booklets proposed a weekly plan of contents, which selected curriculum priorities. Besides being physically distributed throughout the country, these materials were made available online and were shared through social media. The National

⁵ Since 1993, the administration of secondary and tertiary schools was transferred to provinces, which became responsible for their management and funding (primary schools were already under provincial administration since 1978). As Feldfeber (2003) points out, decentralizing policies and the managerial transfer were rooted in a fiscal policy that sought the reduction of public expenditure and the delegation of responsibilities of the national state to the provinces.

⁶ In the first three months (March – May 2020), social isolation and lockdown were very strict in the whole country, and only essential shops as pharmacies, supermarkets and grocery stores remained open.

Ministry of Education set up a WhatsApp account to chat with teachers and school principals about the booklets.

According to a national survey by the National Ministry and UNICEF during the isolation time, vulnerable households reported a high use of booklets (41%), while in less vulnerable households its report declined (18%). 91% of households that used booklets had a very positive valuation about them (ME-UNICEF, 2020).

“Seguimos Educando” was also deployed throughout public TV and radio, which devoted morning and afternoon strips to educational programming. With a hybrid design, TV hosts and teachers led a 6 hour daily live TV show, from Monday to Friday, which was organized according to education levels (preschool, primary, secondary). The programs simulated a classroom lesson, and approached curricular content using short films, documentaries, and shows from public TV channels such as Encuentro and PakaPaka⁷. The production did not follow the steps of tele-school or radio-school, as the experiences in some rural areas in Latin America where lessons are prerecorded and broadcasted, but sought to explore school contents in a TV or radio format, using the aesthetics and dynamics of those media (Serra, 2020).

This case is particularly interesting because it involved designing a pedagogical policy using media to achieve egalitarian goals. The programs were produced by a team that combined people from the National Ministry of Education and from the Public Media System. In an interview, the officer in charge of “Seguimos Educando” says :

Educational TV showed in 2020 that it is alive and capable of quickly responding to a complex and unprecedented demand. This happened in Argentina and also in other Latin American countries. In deeply unequal contexts, of all the resources that were enabled, I think TV had and still has a great power, because it accompanies children and young students in their

⁷ The public channels Encuentro and Pakapaka were created in 2007 and 2010. Both channels were designed and developed by the National Ministry of Education in teams that combined educators and TV and artistic producers. A new TV menu was offered, intending to achieve educational and cultural goals but also trying to reach specific audiences. Programming was accompanied by a proposal for classroom work. Both channels gained prestige and developed a way of producing TV committed with showing and narrating diversity, respect for human rights and justice, while opening a work dynamic that entailed co-productions, fostering small production companies. In December 2016, Encuentro and Pakapaka were transferred to the public Media Secretariat (Smerling, 2015).

routines, but also in their emotions, anxieties, fears, and questionings daily. The TV brought words and images to curricular contents, and also presented teachers that, along with TV hosts, spoke to the children every day at the same time while they were confined at home. These TV programming reinstated something of the school routine in the domestic space.

The TV version of “Seguimos Educando” combined a way of producing educational TV previously and successfully explored at Encuentro and Pakapaka public channels, but this time it sought to respond to the urgent need to offer remote education for children in their homes. This exceptional time opens new questions about the possibilities and limits of educational TV (Serra, 2020), and at the same time it reaffirms the key role of public media, its commitment to pluralism, and its content production strategy regulated above all by public interest (Becerra and Waisbord, 2015).

Plan Federal Plan Juana Manso : Towards an integral digital educational policy

As it has already been said, the remote educational experiences during the 2020 pandemic made the inequalities in terms of access and use of digital technologies immediately visible. Even if digital inclusion was already a policy priority in pre pandemic times, the Covid-19 crisis rushed the design of a plan for the short, medium, and long term that would be able to address the emergency context.

Four months after the pandemic began, in June 2020, there was a national assessment of the process of pedagogical continuity by the Ministry of Education and UNICEF Argentina. The survey covered a large number of teachers (n=21471), principals (n=5387) and households (n=2568). The report of this survey shows significant findings. On the one hand, 95% of households reported that they had been in contact with the school and received educational materials during the social isolation measures.

The access to different types of media conditioned the continuity of schooling. Less than half of the households had good quality broadband connectivity. The mobile phone was the only device for connecting to the Internet in 27% of the households, and 3% did not have any kind of

connectivity. In 47% of households there was a computer for educational purposes, but the availability of connectivity and devices in those households in which kids attend private schools doubled those of public school (ME – UNICEF, 2020).

Principals, teachers and families reported that the most frequent device to maintain pedagogical continuity was the mobile phone⁸. In preschool and primary schools, mobile phones were mostly used to send messages (85%); in secondary schools, besides instant messaging platforms, there was also an extended use of e-mails, which might be related to a more autonomous use of devices. For a third of the teachers in the three school levels, digital platforms and video conference software were the most used tools, though the lack of devices and connectivity in the households limited those uses.

The June 2020 report points to another interesting trend : while in private schools, synchronic meetings were frequent, in many cases mirroring the regular school schedule, the more vulnerable groups – mainly attending public schools – were not able to meet synchronically and organized other strategies such as establishing schedules for chatting through WhatsApp and uploading tasks and photos of the school notebook. In many households the only device available was a shared mobile phone, and the adult figure had to mediate between teachers and kids. These practices triggered collaborative work strategies and showed a strong alliance between families and teachers during isolation.

The mapping of digital inequalities nurtured the launch of the Federal Plan Juana Manso⁹ (PFJM) in August 2020. The plan brought together the national administration and the ministries of the 24 Argentinian provinces. Its logo links ICT with egalitarian purposes : “Technology at the service of a quality and inclusive education,” in a similar vein that Conectar Igualdad used to do, conveying a narrative of change in which

⁸ According to the regulatory authority, mobile phones have a penetration of 120%, being one of the highest in Latin America (ENACOM, 2020).

⁹ Its name pays an homage to Juana Manso, an educator whose ideas about education and feminism contributed greatly to the expansion of schooling in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil in the second half of the 19th century.

ICT was expected to improve educational equality (Dussel, Ferrante, Sefton Green, 2013).

The Juana Manso Plan is structured around four key objectives : connectivity and hardware provision ; an educational platform with virtual classrooms and a repository of open educational resources ; teacher education programs ; and a data warehouse that enables traceability of the interactions within the program's platforms. It entails the delivery of a computer for every student of Grade 10 of compulsory education (upper secondary), and a connectivity plan for all public schools in the country that involves the telecommunications public enterprise ARSAT, the telecommunications regulatory authority ENACOM¹⁰, and the Federal Network of Optical Fibre (REFEFO)¹¹.

In the interview conducted with the head of the Plan, she compared the new program Juana Manso with the former experience of Conectar Igualdad :

There is a key fact that connects PFJM with CI: the State is again going to distribute computers to secondary school students. The computers belong to the students, it is their right and it is an inclusive policy. We learned from CI that in many households, the computer provided by the program was the first computer in their homes. One difference is that we no longer talk about a one-to-one model in the classroom, but instead seek models of high technological availability in the classroom. Back in 2010, it was thought that kids would be all the time connected with their computers and that didn't happen anywhere and we've learned it is somehow pointless. What makes sense nowadays is that they can use their computer when they need it.

If Conectar Igualdad in 2010 situated the state as the main actor in ICT access policies, assuming that digital inclusion is a right and that the educational system is the space to make that right happen (Dussel, 2014), the Juana Manso program builds upon these ideas while approaching new contemporary dilemmas. Juana Manso brings a new

¹⁰ ENACOM is the state regulatory authority in charge of leading the process of technological convergence and create market conditions to guarantee access to the Internet, land and mobile phone, radio and TV. See : www.enacom.gob.ar

¹¹ The Federal Network of Fiber Optics was created in 2010 as part of the larger Plan Argentina Conectada with the main goal of connecting public institutions through fiber optics services and reducing the digital gap among regions. See : <https://www.argentina.gob.ar/jefatura/innovacion-publica/ssetic/conectar/refefo/que-es-la-red-federal-de-fibra-optica>

dimension into ICT policies related to data management, with implications on regulation, privacy, access, and uses that need to be carefully weighed. It more clearly embraces free software, developing a campus with virtual classrooms in Moodle, the production of open resources and the creation of a repository of educational data supported by a public infrastructure. The officer said :

In this network, each province offers and takes resources. It works as some sort of Napster¹². Resources are shared once they are validated by the local authorities. The goal is to create a national repository, a collaborative network of resources produced by teachers nationwide.

The plan operates under the concept of digital sovereignty, a powerful term in the political discourse that aims to reinstate the nation state, including national economy and national citizens, as relevant categories in the global governance of digital infrastructures and in the development of digital technologies (Pohle and Thiel, 2020).

Finally, a core objective of the new Plan is teacher education, bringing to the fore highly relevant questions for the experience developed during the pandemic : What should a teacher know about digital technologies and media? If diverse apps, resources, sites, and contents are being used, can pedagogies remain as their main drive? In the next section, we will briefly explore some of the experience developed in the province of Buenos Aires (PBA). This experience makes it visible that technologies and teacher's knowledge are deeply connected, and that policy strategies need to take these connections into account.

A closer look at pandemic pedagogies : The case of Buenos Aires

The PBA is the largest district in the country and the second biggest educational system in Latin America, where 37% of students of the whole country are situated (ME, 2018). It is organized in 135 districts distributed in more than 304,000 km², with a population of 17,500,000

¹² Napster was a platform to share music using peer to peer (P2P) technologies that was launched in 1999 by Sean Parker and Shawn Fanning. It radically changed the way in which music was shared in the Internet. It faced a big trial in 2001 because of copyright violation, and was eventually transformed into a paid platform. One key aspect about Napster is that it showed the efficacy of P2P technologies and led the way for the development of software for content sharing.

inhabitants (Dirección Provincial de Estadística, 2020). 61% of those total lives in the suburban area of Great Buenos Aires (GBA), also known as “conurbano bonaerense” (Buenos Aires outskirts). Given its populational concentration, GBA is a key political territory, and has a periphery dynamic (Gorelik, 2015) that is closely linked to the city of Buenos Aires, which is autonomous from the province. The province has inequality levels higher than the national average, and is home both to families in extreme poverty and to the wealthiest landowners in the country (CEPAL, 2019). The Great Buenos Aires concentrates half of the students and teachers in the province.

In Argentina, provincial government are direct administrators of schools, and their decisions have direct impact in schools and teachers’ work, not only through curriculum designs but also through socio-communitarian policies that provide financial support and food and other resources through the schools. This was evident, for example, when some schools and their principals oversaw food distribution during the social isolation ; this delivery continued to take place even if the school buildings were closed, sometimes every two weeks. The province of Buenos Aires also designed programs for pedagogical reconnection, explored later in this article, and an ICT plan that addressed the emergency situation.

The interruption of “*educación presencial*” (education in-presence, or physical co-presence in schools) brought what the head of education technology in PBA called as a paradigmatic breakdown :

In only 15 days, we achieved a massive response to what was our main concern. Teachers who hadn’t used technologies, because they didn’t want to or they didn’t know how to, started using them. The first goal of our administration was soon overcome. Suddenly, the scene was massive ICT for teaching, and it was also conceived as a right. These are two categories that frame our work, in which the state is the key actor to guarantee better conditions for teaching that can lead to more possibilities for learning. We

planned for the short term the website “Continuemos educando” (We shall continue teaching), developed in Moodle for the whole province.

The provincial officers produced immediate interventions in teacher education¹³ in order to move it to virtual platforms. During the lockdown, the use of digital campuses tripled in preservice teacher education, and there was an array of institutional projects to build affiliation of the students towards their institutions (Coulon 1997). The head of teacher education of the province said :

For the first time in the history of the province, almost 50,000 students began their studies to become teachers without any contact with their institution’s building. They did not choose to pursue an online course, but they had to do it anyway. Our main task was to welcome them, build a sense of institutional and academic belonging in a virtual mode, even if they hadn’t entered the building or met their teachers or their classmates.

The offer for teacher education was entirely renewed, and it was conceived as a space for supporting schools and building collective knowledge for the unprecedented situation of teaching with no school buildings. While the previous administration privileged curricular content that conceived ICT as mere tools, offering courses on, for example, how to use the mobile phone for teaching, how to edit a video, or how to deal with emotions, among other topics, the new policy strategies reoriented these courses around broader pedagogical criteria : teaching in virtual environments, supporting teachers, and attending the diversity of experiences in schools.

The Direction of Teacher Education offered a course, *La continuidad pedagógica en la emergencia* (Pedagogical continuity in the emergency), that had three cohorts in 2020 and reached 45,000 teachers and principals from throughout the province. This course triggered a pedagogical discussion about how to teach in virtual environments

13 In PBA, teacher education is organized around two main areas : preservice or basic, and in-service or continuing education. Preservice education is provided by the institutes of teacher education (ISFD), and continuing education by the Centros de Información e Investigación Educativa (CIIEs). Both depend on and are regulated by the province.

when access and connectivity are not available for all students. The head of the Direction explained :

We produced a proposal that put together issues about schools, cultures, and literacies in the contemporary world, discussing what distant teaching implies beyond the campus or the platforms. Some digital and analog practices like the uses of WhatsApp, Instagram, local radios, and TV emerged and were also included in the proposal. The concrete situations that school faced during the pandemic were turned into case studies, and they were a stimulus for approaching pedagogical continuity from different perspectives.

These pedagogical decisions were paralleled by design decisions, given that platforms can shape uses and promote or limit practices (Gillespie, 2010). Its platform was developed on a haste and took into consideration the limitations of connectivity and access, and how to respond to the needs of teachers. The head of educational technology explains :

The contents were adapted to the users' profiles, considering that almost 80% of the users access platforms through their mobile phones. The team designed first and foremost for mobile phone usage. You can develop very nice sites, but they are inadequate for mobile phones and hence useless. This is part of accepting the actual conditions in which the emergency unfolded.

It is noticeable that the provincial educational authorities developed a key telecommunication policy that eventually became national: through an agreement with telecom companies, it was arranged that the navigation in educational sites (.edu) would not consume data, ensuring access to educational resources and contents.

The head of in-service teacher education also noticed how inequalities were built into teaching proposals. The continuing educational centers of PBA (CIIE, see note 16) offered more courses on the uses of social media for educational purposes and developed new networks to share experiences and resources. These virtual networks contributed to the communication of teachers that live far away but share common needs, something that has also been noticed in pre-pandemic research (Lechón Gómez & Ramos Muñoz, 2019).

The design of the platform and of specific courses to tackle the needs of remote education helped define a digital territory in the already

complex map of the province and were important supports for the pedagogical continuity sought for by national policies. But besides virtual support for teachers, there were also other programs that aimed at reaching students who could not keep up with school during the pandemic.

By the second semester of 2020, it became evident that approximately 10% of children and young students were disconnected from their teachers and schools during the lockdown. In order to address this problem, the provincial education administration launched the program *Acompañamiento a las Trayectorias y Revinculación (ATR)* [Supporting School Trajectories and Re-connection or Re-Bonding], which intended to reach 279,000 kindergarten, primary and secondary school students who could not keep up with schooling for diverse reasons.

According to data gathered by the administration of the program, the disconnection was often due to the lack of equipment and/or connectivity, but also because of the absence of adults that could help with homework or the domestic chores or tasks that many young students performed, i.e. taking care of younger siblings or preparing meals.

The ATR program's main goal was to (re)build the affective and intellectual bonding between these students and schools. Through visits to students' homes and in face-to-face meetings, the program proposed different activities, some of which were designed by their teachers and others were created by the program. The agents of the program were advanced students from teacher education institutions, who received a scholarship and worked with students that were geographically close to their own homes, something critical in the context of social isolation or distancing, which made mobilization difficult. With a stronghold on solidarity, the program also received resources from provincial technical schools, where first-care kits with masks, alcohol, and tissues were produced, seeking to guarantee safe encounters between the students and the program's agents. The program also developed

pedagogical guidelines for kindergarten, primary and secondary schools oriented to intensify teaching.

ATR continues during the austral summer of 2021-2022 (December to March), aiming to intensify teaching, fostering a better bond between families and schools and, eventually, bringing more students back to in presence school. According with the Observatorio del Regreso Presencial a las Aulas (Observatory of the in presence return to classrooms) established by the Federal Council of Education (CFE 386/2021), by September 2021, 200.133 students of the Province of Buenos Aires never returned to in presence schools, 5% of the total of students in the province and representing the 27.5% of the total of students that didn't return to schools nationwide¹⁴.

Concluding remarks : New questions for the yet to come

As in most countries, the covid-19 pandemic in Argentina brought great challenges to educational policies. In a country where inequalities were already severe, the situation worsened with the health emergency. The crisis produced fears, anxieties, and human losses, and will have long-term effects both at the institutional and the subjective level.

Schools were shaken by the pandemic but, as in the past, they played a key role in building some sort of social thread during the times of mandatory isolation or lockdown. From the distribution of photocopies to storytelling through WhatsApp, using mobile phones, netbooks, zooms, TV programs, booklets, and food supplies, multiple strategies were put into play to maintain the bonding and connections to schools.

As regards ICT, the pandemic makes visible that technologies go beyond access and connectivity. From the virtual school to the school by other means or in other formats, educational policies during the pandemic showed their flexibility to design and maintain a multiple approach including ICT, digital media and "traditional" media as TV and radio to have remote education in an unequal context. In this process, public policies play a significant role as propellers of digital sovereignty, fostering and funding the development of platforms and

¹⁴ Observatorio del Regreso Presencial a las Aulas, Situation Report Number 8, September 2021, CFE. Available at <http://www.bnm.me.gov.ar/giga1/documentos/EL007622.pdf>

resources that promote the collective production of knowledge among teachers, and creating pedagogical space for meeting teachers and students where they were. The ICT educational policies intended to set a path to be followed in the post pandemic, both in terms of access and rights and of broader debates on data and national sovereignty.

In that respect, it can be said that, even if the public policies analyzed here were marked by emergency and immediacy, they also convey a political view about schools, cultural transmission, sovereignty and equality that may extend beyond the pandemic. While the post pandemic world might take different shapes, there might be some deep changes already in course regarding education and ICT uses. The extended and expanded virtuality demands new and more egalitarian conditions for access and participation, but as the pandemic has shown, equality goes beyond material devices. Teacher education and curriculum documents need to stress that digital tools and devices should be an object of knowledge at schools (and not just tools). It is clear by now that digital culture is part of our common world and it has to be included in the conversations that schools organize with the new generations (Simons and Masschelein, 2014), not as a magical solution but as part of the questions about the futures yet to come.

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Veille scientifique, parutions

Ouvrages

Recension

Montandon Frédérique, Wagner Bernd & Krüger-Potratz Marianne (dir.) (2021). *Les chefs d'établissement face à la mobilité institutionnelle en Allemagne et en France. Enjeux stratégiques et paradoxes*. Paris : Téraèdre (OFAJ/DFJW), 294 pages – ISBN : 978-2-36085-113-3

La notion de mobilité et plus précisément la mobilité institutionnelle sont au cœur de ce livre coordonné par trois chercheurs dont les travaux s'inscrivent dans le champ des sciences humaines et sociales. L'ensemble des contributions sont issues d'une recherche binationale franco-allemande menée de 2017 à 2020 dans ces deux contextes. Ce livre comporte 11 chapitres dont 4 sont co-écrits, ce qui permet de croiser les approches scientifiques.

L'introduction, rédigée par Frédérique Montandon¹ et Bernd Wagner², situe clairement l'objet de recherche et présente le projet et les différentes contributions. Il ne s'agit pas, selon les auteurs, de produire une étude des mobilités scolaires organisées dans les écoles mais plutôt d'interroger le sens de ces mobilités en se focalisant en particulier sur le point de vue des personnels de direction, à la fois représentants de l'institution et acteurs au sein des établissements scolaires : « il s'agit ainsi d'aborder la mobilité institutionnelle avec ses freins, ses fragilités qui peuvent apparaître comme empêchant toute mobilité, mais

¹ Frédérique Montandon est maîtresse de conférences en sciences de l'éducation et de la formation à l'université Paris-Est Créteil (UPEC), membre du Laboratoire interdisciplinaire de recherche sur les transformations des pratiques éducatives et des pratiques sociales (LIRTES - ULR 7313).

² Bernd Wagner est professeur à la faculté d'éducation de l'université de Leipzig.

également ses atouts et les ressources humaines qu'elle mobilise » (p. 9).

Dans cette perspective, la mobilité est d'emblée considérée comme « un principe éducatif » mis en œuvre de manière différenciée selon les contextes, selon les équipes et surtout selon le portage de la direction. La mobilité s'insère effectivement dans une politique d'établissement visant l'ouverture culturelle, l'intercompréhension et l'inclusion mais elle reste inégalement mobilisée et valorisée, dépendant étroitement de l'intérêt qu'on lui accorde.

Dans le premier chapitre (p. 15-30), intitulé « Représentations sociales et professionnelles de la mobilité des chefs d'établissement : approches théoriques et études de cas », les auteures, Véronique Fortun-Carillat³ et Frédérique Montandon, commencent leur propos par une explicitation des concepts de représentation sociale et représentation professionnelle, concepts empruntés à la psychologie sociale. À partir de là, elles montrent comment mettre en œuvre concrètement ces concepts en recourant à deux outils méthodologiques : 1/ le questionnaire privilégie ici l'association libre de mots et permet de recueillir de manière indirecte, par la médiation de l'écrit, des représentations ; il constitue aussi une méthode d'accès à l'univers sémantique des chefs d'établissement, interrogés sur leur définition de la mobilité institutionnelle ; 2/ l'entretien semi-directif, pour sa part, offre un espace dialogique propice aux interactions, facilitant l'accès aux représentations et à un approfondissement de celles-ci. Les résultats de l'enquête mettent en évidence une mobilité institutionnelle associée à des aspects positifs. Reste à les traduire dans des réalités concrètes pour les élèves et leurs enseignants.

Le chapitre suivant (p. 31-62) utilise une autre méthode de recueil des données, l'étude de cas. Les auteurs relèvent tout d'abord les bénéfices apportés par la confrontation à un autre système culturel : la complémentarité entre savoirs formels et informels ; la possibilité de mieux identifier ses propres problèmes de communication et de les dépasser ; le travail sur la diffusion du message, sur la compréhension et la réciprocité qu'elle nécessite ; l'adaptabilité et la fluidité mentale ;

³ Véronique Fortun-Carillat est docteure en sciences de l'éducation, chercheuse associée au Laboratoire interdisciplinaire de recherche sur les transformations des pratiques éducatives et des pratiques sociales (LIRTES - ULR 7313).

l'accueil de la diversité et l'entraide. Christiane Montandon⁴, Véronique Fortun-Carillat, Jürgen Helmchen⁵ et Marianne Krüger-Potratz⁶ étudient ensuite les contextes français et allemands en mettant en évidence leurs spécificités respectives au regard de la mobilité et de la manière dont les chefs d'établissement s'en saisissent dans leurs pratiques de pilotage des équipes. Le statut du chef d'établissement est questionné, de même que celui de l'enseignant, sachant que l'application des missions et activités est étroitement dépendante du degré d'autonomie des établissements (plus important en Allemagne en raison de l'organisation par Länder, plus faible en France en raison d'une décentralisation encore timide et d'une volonté d'offrir le même service d'enseignement partout sur le territoire, en référence au principe républicain d'égalité des chances).

Quatre études de cas sont ensuite présentées, deux en France, deux en Allemagne. Chacune apporte une analyse des actions menées en faveur de la mobilité des élèves et les replace dans leur contexte, tant institutionnel, organisationnel que relationnel. Il en ressort une réflexion fort intéressante sur l'écart entre les demandes ou attentes institutionnelles et leur mise en œuvre effective, limitée par des considérations pédagogiques mais aussi par le poids des parents dans la prise de décisions. Le chef d'établissement est alors amené à rechercher « des compromis », « des stratégies de médiation » qui « croisent plusieurs relations d'alliances avec les diverses catégories d'acteurs de la communauté éducative en jonglant avec des temporalités propres à chacun et un temps commun acceptable pour tous » (p. 59).

Dans le chapitre 3 (p. 63-91), Christiane Montandon met en tension « la mobilité institutionnelle et l'imaginaire social des établissements scolaires face à l'hétérogénéité des divers acteurs de l'école » (p. 63). L'institution scolaire porte en elle une histoire avec ses traditions, ses modes de socialisation et de transmission, sa langue. Ces éléments

4 Christiane Montandon est professeure émérite en sciences de l'éducation, à l'université Paris-Est Créteil (UPEC), membre du Laboratoire interdisciplinaire de recherche sur les transformations des pratiques éducatives et des pratiques sociales (LIRTES - ULR 7313).

5 Jürgen Helmchen est professeur émérite en sciences de l'éducation, Université de Münster.

6 Marianne Krüger-Potratz est professeure émérite en sciences de l'éducation, Université de Münster.

normatifs procurent des repères (une culture d'établissement) et assurent une certaine stabilité sociale (le vivre ensemble). Mais cette stabilité n'est qu'illusoire, remise en question par une diversité des contextes de travail et une hétérogénéité (celle des territoires, mais aussi celle des enseignants, des élèves) qu'il faut accepter et réguler sinon accompagner. Cette stabilité est aussi mise à mal par des situations de crise auxquelles les directions d'établissement doivent faire face. Cet « imaginaire leurrant », en référence aux travaux d'Enriquez⁷, est donc bien présent car il permet aux membres de l'institution « d'acquérir le sentiment d'appartenir à un ensemble unifié » (p. 72) ; mais il est également en tension avec un « imaginaire moteur » qui entend réformer, transformer et fait appel à la fonction créatrice des organisations, prenant appui sur des acteurs engagés, imaginatifs, innovants, capables de dépasser les conflits.

Cette complexité, faite de freins, de réticences, constitue un défi à relever, une opportunité en particulier pour les chefs d'établissement qui peuvent alors placer leurs compétences managériales au service du collectif : « une conception systémique du leadership, comme élément d'un système d'alliances qui prend en compte toutes les relations et les interactions et rétroactions entre les membres, vise à faire de l'établissement une organisation apprenante qui suscite un engagement collectif, capable de prendre en compte les tensions et affronter les conflits » (p. 85).

Le chapitre 4 (p. 93-112) examine les stratégies entre autonomie et rapports hiérarchiques verticaux, à l'aune des représentations de la mobilité institutionnelle des chefs d'établissement. Marie Brégeon⁸, à partir de l'analyse des données empiriques, confirme la complexité managériale à laquelle les chefs d'établissement sont confrontés, pris entre une logique descendante, prescriptive, issue des injonctions de la hiérarchie et une démarche de développement local, plus horizontale, qui tient compte des freins et des leviers potentiels, et qui entend

⁷ Référence citée dans ce chapitre : Enriquez Eugène (1992). *L'organisation en analyse*. Paris : Presses universitaires de France.

⁸ Marie Brégeon est docteure en sciences de l'éducation et directrice de cabinet de la rectrice de l'académie de Poitiers, après avoir été ingénieure de formation à l'Institut des hautes études de l'éducation et de la formation (IH2EF).

répondre aux besoins en ménageant les spécificités du territoire et de sa population.

Le chapitre suivant (p. 113-135) interroge la notion de mobilité institutionnelle, « un défi ou une contradiction en soi ? ». Marianne Krüger-Potratz relève que cette notion n'apparaît ni dans les domaines scientifiques des sciences de l'éducation ou de la sociologie ni dans les politiques éducatives en Allemagne ou en France. La terminologie allemande qui s'en rapproche le plus est la *Gestaltbarkeit* qui signifie la « capacité d'innover dans le cadre scolaire, capacité de réorganiser l'école » (p. 113). L'auteure explique combien cette entrée thématique est féconde, interrogeant la forme scolaire ordinaire avec son organisation basée sur un emploi du temps et des contenus à apprendre, et les écarts par rapport à l'organisation préétablie qui viennent de fait perturber le déroulement habituel des cours. Pourtant, la mobilité institutionnelle, dès lors qu'elle est considérée comme un atout éducatif, permet aux participants « de se réserver des espaces de liberté pour agir sous leur propre responsabilité » (p. 113). Les écoles françaises de l'enquête, situées en éducation prioritaire, sont particulièrement enclines à développer ce type de projets pour favoriser l'ouverture culturelle des jeunes. En Allemagne, le « tournant des années 1990 » marque un moment décisif dans la volonté politique de piloter autrement le système scolaire en accordant davantage d'autonomie aux acteurs internes. Cela repose sur une implication forte de toutes les parties prenantes et un engagement des élèves. Pour autant, Marianne Krüger-Potratz note que la notion de mobilité reste encore trop attachée aux échanges internationaux et par conséquent réservée aux cours de langues vivantes étrangères, ce qui enferme la mobilité dans un périmètre précis. Plus exceptionnellement, on trouve des programmes de grande ampleur dans des structures innovantes qui diffusent largement la mobilité au sein du curriculum (comme le « curriculum spiralaire de voyages » intégré au programme pédagogique de chaque niveau de classe, avec des activités transversales).

Dans le chapitre 6 (p. 137-161), Véronique Fortun-Carillat met l'accent sur le paradigme de l'école inclusive au sein des écoles françaises et allemandes. Après avoir défini les termes d'institution et d'inclusion, l'auteure procède à une analyse de contenu à plusieurs niveaux : au

niveau national, aux niveaux européen et international. Dans chacun des niveaux, on constate des glissements, notamment de l'intégration vers l'inclusion qui signifie « l'effort du système pour ne laisser personne à l'extérieur » (p. 141). En Allemagne comme en France, et depuis les années 2000, des textes législatifs sont promulgués en faveur de l'école inclusive. L'écart entre le prescrit et le réel est à observer de manière à recenser les pratiques effectives d'inclusion, en particulier celles qui sont soutenues et accompagnées par les directions d'établissements scolaires. Il est d'ailleurs intéressant de constater que l'inclusion tend à passer d'une logique individuelle (pour répondre au besoin d'un enfant) à une logique collective, plus normalisatrice, qui met en œuvre des pratiques collaboratives et tend vers une organisation apprenante si l'on dépasse « l'intentionnalité, les initiatives et l'énergie de chefs d'établissement ou d'enseignants isolés » (p. 157).

Le chapitre 7 (p. 163-183) porte sur les directeurs d'école en France et la co-éducation. Frédérique Montandon et Jérôme Mbiatong⁹ étudient les relations complexes entre les parents et les professionnels scolaires. Lorsque le parent vient à l'école, c'est encore trop souvent en raison d'un problème scolaire ou comportemental de l'enfant. D'autres relations sont envisagées par l'institution en termes de communication, de participation des parents. Mais ce sont surtout les projets et les personnes qui les portent, de même que la représentation positive (le parent engagé dans la scolarité de son enfant) ou négative (« le parent démissionnaire ») qui favorisent ou altèrent la qualité de la relation. Si « parler de coéducation renvoie à une réciprocité entre les deux institutions, la famille doit être incluse dans le projet dans une position d'égalité avec l'école » (p. 172). Cette position est facilitée par le rôle de la direction mais aussi par la nature des projets ; les auteurs montrent ainsi que certains projets culturels, en lien avec des partenaires externes, comme la musique, le musée, le théâtre, transforment les représentations et accroissent les collaborations.

Jürgen Helmchen, dans le chapitre 8, « Comment *mobiliser* l'école ? L'école comme lieu fixe » (p. 185-205), insiste sur le rôle éminent de l'école conçue comme pôle de référence : « Il s'agit de mettre les

⁹ Jérôme Mbiatong est maître de conférences en sciences de l'éducation à l'université Paris-Est Créteil (UPEC), membre du Laboratoire interdisciplinaire de recherche sur les transformations des pratiques éducatives et des pratiques sociales (LIRTES - ULR 7313).

nouvelles générations en état de contribuer à leurs propres développement et transformation, tant au niveau de la société dans laquelle ils vivent qu'à celui des connaissances qui s'y rapportent » (p. 185). Pourtant, cette stabilité de l'école est remise en cause sous l'effet des politiques qui s'inscrivent aujourd'hui dans un processus de dynamisation de la société où « les concepts d'optimisation et d'auto-optimisation dominent le discours sociétal actuel » (p. 187). Selon l'auteur, ces changements ont été portés par des idéaux politiques d'apprentissage tout au long de la vie mettant en évidence une potentielle montée continue en compétences, « pour s'affirmer comme une norme appliquée aux modes de vie individuels et collectifs » (p. 188). Dans cette perspective, la mobilité devient « une référence conceptuelle ». La mobilité selon Jürgen Helmchen peut être considérée dans sa dimension spatiale dans le cadre d'un apprentissage hors les murs ; c'est ce que développent notamment les mouvements d'éducation nouvelle en valorisant les liens entre le scolaire et l'extrascolaire. « Dans de nombreux cas, l'ouverture de l'école dans un but d'apprentissage, c'est-à-dire son empiètement sur des domaines de la société qu'elle ne façonne pas elle-même, est justifiée par la nécessité de familiariser les élèves avec la réalité de la vie » (p. 199). La mobilité permet aussi une confrontation à l'autre et par effet miroir, d'observer son propre comportement. C'est d'ailleurs tout l'objet de l'office franco-allemand de la jeunesse (OFAJ) qui œuvre pour un rapprochement des cultures et une meilleure intercompréhension.

Malgré ces initiatives visant l'avènement d'une société plus compréhensive, il n'en demeure pas moins, et la recherche historique le montre bien, que ces pratiques modifient peu l'organisation scolaire.

Dans le chapitre suivant, intitulé « Regards croisés sur de *nouveaux* lieux d'apprentissages mobilisés à l'école primaire » (p. 207-229), les auteurs, Frédérique Montandon, Jérôme Mbiantong et Bernd Wagner développent l'acception selon laquelle « la mobilité institutionnelle renvoie à l'ouverture de l'école à son environnement proche ou lointain, à d'autres approches du savoir et pratiques pédagogiques, à des professionnels autres que ceux de l'Éducation nationale » (p. 208). Depuis le développement de l'éducation nouvelle jusqu'aux pratiques innovantes actuelles, les écoles se sont employées à initier des partenariats et à puiser dans les ressources locales. L'enquête réalisée auprès des directeurs d'école va dans ce sens et met en évidence

l'influence positive de ces ressources sur la mobilité scolaire. Que ce soit en Allemagne ou en France, les retombées sont de plusieurs ordres : la mobilité profite tout d'abord aux élèves en termes d'apprentissage et de motivation liée à l'intérêt qu'elle suscite ; la « pédagogie de la mobilité » agit aussi sur la formation *in situ* des enseignants ; quant à l'établissement scolaire, son image s'en trouve rehaussée. Comme cela a souvent été mis en exergue dans les autres chapitres, les trois auteurs soulignent les limites de la mobilité en raison des lourdeurs institutionnelles, en raison aussi de l'implication différenciée et parfois faible ou peu pérenne des acteurs de l'école, malgré l'impulsion de la direction.

Bernd Wagner examine, dans le chapitre 10 (p. 231-245), « la mise en place des programmes de mobilité internationale dans les écoles primaires ». Prenant appui sur un ensemble d'entretiens semi-directifs auprès de responsables administratifs et pédagogiques, l'auteur étudie une collaboration transfrontalière entre des écoles. Les résultats de l'enquête montrent que la mobilité est réservée aux élèves déjà familiers des voyages et qu'elle est considérée comme une situation d'exception, peu intégrée dans l'emploi du temps : « Pendant les séjours, la collaboration entre les enseignants et les classes consiste surtout à échanger sur les différentes façons d'intégrer les sujets dans les cours et les formats didactiques de chaque groupe » (p. 238). La collaboration entre les élèves ne se limite pas à ces aspects ; elle se focalise sur des thèmes qui les intéressent, liés à la citoyenneté, au développement durable et peut être travaillée dans « des formes de communication transculturelle ». Pour autant, les programmes de mobilité restent « des activités annexes » et ne s'inscrivent que dans la durée du projet, se terminant avec la fin des subventions accordées.

Pour éviter ces limitations, l'auteur souligne qu'en « incluant la mobilité dans les processus d'internationalisation et de démocratisation des écoles, on constate que différents formats de mobilité peuvent non seulement être intégrés dans *le projet pédagogique de l'école*, mais qu'ils l'enrichissent aussi » (p. 242).

Le chapitre 11 se demande si « les échanges scolaires peuvent favoriser une conception plus inclusive de l'école » (p. 247-264).

Christine Loy¹⁰ analyse la politique allemande de « développement de l'école » avec ses tentatives de convergence malgré l'autonomie des Länder : « le terme développement de l'école (Schulentwicklung) ne fait donc pas référence à un ensemble uniforme de consignes juridiques mais à des suggestions pour encourager la transformation institutionnelle » (p. 249). Ainsi l'éducation interculturelle est-elle considérée comme une « tâche transversale » et non comme une activité isolée. En outre, l'expérience de l'altérité pour les élèves (avec la découverte d'une autre langue et d'une autre culture) mais aussi pour les enseignants (avec l'observation de pratiques pédagogiques différentes) met en évidence tout l'intérêt que comporte la mobilité. Celle-ci a des effets positifs sur le climat de la classe et les relations entre les élèves si cet élément de cohésion sociale est collectivement identifié et analysé. L'auteure n'ignore pas cependant les freins à ce type de programme, des freins engendrés par les contraintes organisationnelles et financières qui limitent la liberté de conception des enseignants.

Au terme de cette recherche, des actions de formation ont notamment été menées à l'institut des hautes études de l'éducation et de la formation (IH2EF) à destination des personnels d'encadrement.

La formation à la conception et à l'implémentation de mobilités semble ainsi participer pleinement du développement personnel et professionnel des acteurs scolaires ; elle renforce aussi les collaborations au sein d'une même structure éducative tout en accentuant les partenariats possibles avec d'autres structures complémentaires.

Ce livre, basé sur des enquêtes de terrain binationales, a le mérite de clarifier le concept de mobilité et d'en proposer des applications pratiques, avec ses bénéfices en termes d'ouverture culturelle et d'inclusion, mais aussi les difficultés de mise en œuvre, tant les normes scolaires demeurent rigides, liées à une organisation qui a du mal à se transformer.

Le livre explique très bien les contradictions auxquelles les systèmes scolaires français et allemands sont soumis et qu'ils peinent à dépasser, sauf à tenter de rapprocher des logiques difficilement conciliables, entre

¹⁰ Christine Loy est docteure en sciences de l'éducation et travaille à l'université de Leipzig comme collaboratrice scientifique.

maintien d'une certaine stabilité et besoin de mouvement. C'est ce que souligne d'ailleurs la notion de mobilité institutionnelle.

Si des transformations sont à relever, souvent sous l'impulsion des acteurs eux-mêmes, et notamment des chefs d'établissement, elles restent lentes et la plupart du temps circonscrites à des expérimentations locales. L'institution scolaire conserve une certaine prudence à l'égard des propositions innovantes même si elle encourage le déploiement dans un certain nombre d'instructions officielles. L'institution scolaire poursuit sa mission instituante, continuant d'offrir des garanties de stabilité et de transmettre les repères dont toute société a besoin.

**Recension par Sylvie Condette,
Université de Lille,
Laboratoire CIREL,
Chercheure associée au LACES**

Quelques parutions

Potolia Anthippi & Derivry-Plard Martine (eds) (2022). *Virtual Exchange For Intercultural Language Learning And Teaching: Fostering Communication For The Digital Age*. London/New York : Routledge.

[This book illustrates new virtual intercultural practices for language learning from primary to tertiary education and highlights the transversality of these practices throughout the language curriculum. The current English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) perspective sets the framework as a possible vector of cultural exchanges in a variety of contexts, and from which the different authors coming from Europe and all over the world present their studies].

ISBN-10 : 0367456613

eBook ISBN (2022) : 9781003024620

<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003024620>

Zajda Joseph (2022). *Discourses of Globalisation and Education Reforms. Overcoming Discrimination*. The Netherlands: Springer.

[The book focuses on discourses of effective learning environments globally for reducing discrimination in schools. It offers innovative ideas concerning the future directions that education and policy reforms could take, in order to promote equality, social justice, and access to quality of education for all].

Hardcover ISBN : 978-3-030-96074-2 / eBook ISBN : 978-3-030-96075-9

Agenda des colloques

ECER 2022, Yerevan and ECER Plus - Conference Dates

Education in a Changing World : The impact of global realities on the prospects and experiences of educational research

22 - 23 August 2022 Emerging Researchers' Conference - ERC 2022, Yerevan (in-person)

23 - 25 August 2022 European Conference on Educational Research - ECER 2022, Yerevan (in-person)

01 - 10 September 2022 ECER Plus (online)

<https://eera-ecer.de/ecer-2022-yerevan/>

AREF 2022 - Congrès international d'Actualité de la Recherche en Éducation et en Formation.

Lieu et date : Université de Lausanne, du 14-09-2022 au 16-09-2022

Le congrès se déroule en présentiel, dans le cadre de la Semaine Internationale de l'éducation et de la formation (SIEF).

- Congrès SSRE - Société suisse de la recherche en éducation : lundi 13 et mardi 14 septembre 2022

- Congrès AREF - Actualité de la Recherche en Éducation et en Formation : mardi 14, mercredi 15 et jeudi 16 septembre 2022

- Conférence ESA - Réseau 10, sociologie de l'éducation, European Sociological Association : jeudi 15 et vendredi 16 septembre 2022

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Inclusive ethics in education, a new horizon for teachers and teaching.

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L'association internationale d'études sur les enseignants et l'enseignement – ISATT ainsi que le laboratoire cultures, éducation, sociétés – LACES, ULR 7437 de l'Université de Bordeaux en collaboration avec l'Institut national supérieur du professorat et de l'éducation – INSPÉ de l'Académie de Bordeaux, l'Association Francophone d'Éducation Comparée - AFEC et l'Institut national supérieur de formation et de recherche pour l'éducation des jeunes handicapés et les enseignements adaptés - INSHEA s'associent pour l'organisation de cette conférence régionale.

<https://isatt2022.sciencesconf.org/>

17ème colloque de l'AFDECE « Regards croisés sur les inégalités en éducation dans le Monde: quelles actions pour les réduire? »

Lieu et dates: Université de La Havane (Cuba), du 25 au 28 octobre 2022.

<https://17e-afdece-2022.sciencesconf.org/>

Colloque international "Faire résultat(s) dans les recherches en Education: Pour quoi? Avec qui? Comment? "

Lieu et dates: Université Toulouse - Jean Jaurès / Maison de la Recherche, du 5 au 7 juin 2023.

colloque.resultats2023@univ-tlse2.fr

CIES (Comparative & International Education Society) 2023: *Improving Education for a more equitable world.*

Lieu et dates: Washington, du 14 au 22 février 2023.

<https://cies2023.org/>

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<https://www.openscience.fr/Numero-1-678>

Human Rights Education Review - Vol. 5 No. 2 (2022)
<https://humanrer.org/index.php/human/issue/view/471>

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Chapitre d'ouvrage

DEBEAUVAIS, M. (1992). L'influence des organisations internationales sur les politiques nationales d'éducation. In Meuris, G., & De Cocck, G. (Eds.), *Éducation comparée. Essai de bilan et projets d'avenir* (pp. 96-106). Bruxelles : De Boeck.

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