

# Changes in the Beliefs and Practices of School Teachers as the Basis for Independent Action of Adolescents. Institutional Approach

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Independence is one of the key results of modern school education, which is recorded in documents and reports at various levels. Research directly on independence is difficult, since there is no single approach to the operationalization of this phenomenon. The article attempts to fix the trend of destructuring and describe the features of its course in the beliefs and practices of school teachers of one general education school. As conceived by the author, this approach opens up prospects for theoretical and empirical understanding of the independent and initiative action of the student in the institute of school. For this, three elements of the institutional structure of the school were identified: rituals, disciplinary practices, the type of relationship between the teacher and the student, and the ways of destructuring in each element were described: refusal, mitigation, creation of new practices. The basis of the qualitative study was interviews with fifteen teachers from a primary and secondary school in a residential area of Moscow. The author comes to the conclusion that the process of destructuring is slower compared to other spheres of public life due to the limitations outlined in the article. The results of an empirical study can be useful for studying the independent and proactive behavior of an adolescent in the space of the school by teachers with varying degrees of rigidity in their practices, by teachers who use practices that are not typical for the institute of the school.

**Keywords:** school, destructuring, independence, adolescents, teacher beliefs.

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**Funding.** The study was funded by the Russian Science Foundation (RSF) within the framework of research project No. 22-18-00416.

**For citation:** Gavrilenko P.A. Changes in the Beliefs and Practices of School Teachers as the Basis for Independent Action of Adolescents. Institutional Approach. *Psikhologicheskaya nauka i obrazovanie = Psychological Science and Education*, 2022. Vol. 27, no. 3, pp. 39—49. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17759/pse.2022270304> (In Russ.).

# Изменения в представлениях и практиках школьных учителей как основа для самостоятельного действия подростка. Институциональный подход

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Предпринята попытка зафиксировать тренд деструктуризации и описать особенности ее протекания в представлениях и практиках школьных учителей. По замыслу автора, такой подход открывает перспективы теоретического и эмпирического осмысления самостоятельного и инициативного действия подростка в институте школы. Обращается внимание на то, что самостоятельность — один из ключевых результатов современного школьного образования, который зафиксирован в документах и докладах разных уровней. Исследования непосредственно самостоятельности затруднены, поскольку нет единого подхода к операционализации этого феномена. Выделены три элемента институциональной структуры школы: ритуалы, дисциплинарные практики, тип отношений между учителем и учеником и описаны пути деструктуризации в каждом элементе: отказ, смягчение, создание новых практик. Базой качественного исследования послужили интервью с пятнадцатью педагогами основной и средней общеобразовательной школы спального района Москвы. Делается вывод о том, что процесс деструктуризации протекает медленнее по сравнению с другими сферами общественной жизни ввиду обозначенных в статье ограничений. Результаты эмпирического исследования могут быть полезны для изучения самостоятельного и инициативного поведения подростка в пространстве школы у педагогов с разной степенью жесткости их практик, у педагогов, использующих не характерные для института школы практики.

**Ключевые слова:** школа, деструктуризация, самостоятельность, подростки, представления учителей.

**Финансирование.** Исследование выполнено при финансовой поддержке Российского научного фонда (РНФ) в рамках научного проекта № 22-18-00416.

**Для цитаты:** Гавриленко П.А. Изменения в представлениях и практиках школьных учителей как основа для самостоятельного действия подростка. Институциональный подход // Психологическая наука и образование. 2022. Том 27. № 3. С. 39—49. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17759/pse.2022270304>

## Introduction

In modern studies of education, there is an interest in the topic of children's independence [10]. A number of works are focused on the study of independence (and related constructs) as a means of successfully mas-

tering the educational program. For example, within the framework of the theory of self-determination of personality E.L. Daisy and R.M. Ryan (SDT) solves the problems of insufficient internal learning motivation, interest, and engagement of students [13; 15; 16; 22;

24]. The constructs of self-regulated learning [21] and the analogue of “learning independence” [5] are also “responsible” for the academic result. Both constructs imply in general terms the student’s ability to plan, control, and evaluate the learning process. On the other hand, international reports and educational standards postulate the need to develop non-cognitive skills and personal characteristics, including the ability to take proactive action, initiative and agency [8; 12; 20]. With all the variety of constructs that describe the phenomenon of children’s independence in the field of successful learning, there is a lack of theoretical attempts to comprehend and operationalize it in the field of achieving personal and non-cognitive outcomes.

The role of institutions, including schools, in the development of certain qualities of an individual is evaluated ambiguously. Classical institutional theories postulate the crucial role of institutions in shaping and regulating behavior [11]. In the traditional sense, the institution of a school is a strict regulatory system. E. Goffman, describing such structures, uses the term “total institutions”. He believes that they block the ability to control their behavior, lack the right to choose roles and the possibility of free expression of will [3]. Current practices at school prescribe to the child his place (desk), his way of communicating with teachers (from the position of a subordinate), his time to speak (raised hand), his opportunities to act (when allowed by the teacher), his ways to learn (didactics). On the one hand, according to this approach, there are no spaces for free action of the child in the school, which significantly limits the opportunities for developing independence. On the other hand, today there is an empirical trend of deconstructing or reducing the stability of structures [6; 11]. In his article «Annual Review of Sociology», American sociologist Lars Udehn argues that at the present stage of development of institutions, the individual’s action becomes less structured and less regulated [25]. The process of “destruction”(reducing the stability, rigidity of structures and their bind-

ing force in relation to action) also occurs in the field of education [11]. A review of the literature allowed us to identify the features of this process in key public institutions [11; 17; 25]:

- there is a decrease in the stability of the structure, increased volatility;
- the binding force of the structure in relation to individual action is reduced.

In search of a space for independent action at school, we decided to compare the classical and modern sociological view of the institution of school. It seems to us that the analysis of existing school practices and teachers’ perceptions through the prism of the process of deconstruction will allow us to detect and describe the nature of changes in the school institution and, if they are fixed, it will open up the future the opportunity to study independent behavior of students, understood as initiative, transformative, individual behavior. To narrow down the search, we have identified three key elements of the school structure as the most institutionalized, with established strict rules and scenarios: rituals, disciplinary practices, and the type of teacher-student relationship. Udehn metaphorically described deconstructing process as a transition from a logic scenario to a game with flexible rules [25]. We will use this metaphor as a basis for analyzing existing practices and views.

### Organization of the research

The purpose of the study is to fix and describe the process of deconstructing in the institute of school as one of the conditions for the development of independent behavior of the students. To achieve it, several tasks were solved:

- highlight elements for analysis in the views and described practices of teachers;
- highlight the signs of deconstructing in each element through the scenario approach;
- typology of practices and ideas for each selected element.

The work was carried out within the framework of a qualitative methodology.

The analysis was based on semi-structured interviews. As part of a pilot empirical study, we studied the views of 15 teachers of mathematics, Russian, history, computer science, English, and biology in the main and secondary general education schools of the residential district of a large Russian metropolis with at least 3 years of work experience. The sample was formed randomly. The principal sent letters to the internal mail of the school with an offer to participate in the interview. 20 people responded. The sample size was determined based on the criterion of maximizing the information received: when we began to receive responses from informants similar to those already available, it was decided to stop data collection. The age of teachers varies from 25 to 60 years.

### Interview process

Interviews were conducted from November 2021 to January 2022 using the zoom service. The informants agreed to use the audio recording and transcript of the interview for research purposes. To ensure the confidentiality of the collected data, we do not disclose the names of teachers and the school number. Interviews lasted up to 2 hours, with an

average of about 1.5 hours. The interviews were organized as free ones, based on an approximate list of questions from the guide, which is shown in Table 1. The questions in the table are divided into three groups corresponding to each element of the structure.

In the process of analyzing the data, the following methods were used: condensation of meaning and interpretation [1; 4].

1. Condensation of meaning. When transcribing, we got a large amount of material (about 200 sheets of printed text), which had to be shortened without losing meaning.

2. Interpretation. Each category-element required additional interpretation, as the data needed to be placed in a broader institutional context and described from the point of view of the deconstructing process.

### Results

#### Element 1: Rituals

The course of the lesson, its beginning, and end are traditionally filled with ritual practices. Most rituals demonstrate the teacher's power over children. There are two ways to implement ritual practices. Either teachers keep them, or there is a refusal of ritual actions. Let's divide the teachers' responses

Table 1

**Elements of the school's institutional structure**

Element	Planned question for discussion
Rituals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How is your routine lesson going?</li> <li>• Are there any established rituals of greeting, finishing the lesson?</li> <li>• Where do you stay during the lesson?</li> <li>• How do children sit in your class?</li> <li>• How does your child signal to you that they want to leave the classroom?</li> </ul>
Disciplinary practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What can a student do in class? What is forbidden?</li> <li>• Who and how makes these rules?</li> <li>• Is it possible to make changes to the rules?</li> <li>• How does a disciplined child behave?</li> <li>• What is the maximum penalty for violating the rules?</li> <li>• How do you work with the category of «difficult» children?</li> </ul>
Type of teacher-student relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Which type of relationship is closer to you: partner or parent-child? How does it manifest itself?</li> <li>• Do you consult with your children?</li> <li>• How do you call your children and how do they call you??</li> </ul>

into two groups. The first group adhered to a strict scenario, put it differently, they used the rituals of the lesson that were traditional in the institute of the school. The other group chose not to use them (Table 2).

### Element 2: Disciplinary practices and rules

Disciplinary practices and the rules of conduct that have developed over time at

the institute of school have the greatest binding force in relation to the child.

Teachers' responses to discipline and rules can be arranged on a continuum from the harder scenarios to the soft ones. The results of classification of teachers' responses are shown in Table 3.

In the responses of teachers, describing their practices, there is a softening of the forms of disciplinary action. Teachers use

Table 2

### Groups of teachers' responses depending on the way of implementing ritual Practices

The ritual	Preserving rituals	Refusing to use them
<b>Teacher's greeting Ritual with standing</b>	«I start the lesson with standing up from my place to switch my attention and get ready for work. I explain to them that it is necessary for our body to assume a working state and the brain to turn on».	«I don't require children to stand up at the beginning of the lesson. Sometimes a few people will get up out of habit, but I don't pay attention to it».
<b>Teacher's walk through the rows</b>	«In high school, I go through the rows and check their HW».	«I never rise above a child. If I need to approach, I lean towards the student to avoid this terrible position of dominance».
<b>Raised hand if you want to come out or answer</b>	«If you need to go out, the child raises his hand and asks permission».	«The kids just stand up and go out. We are fine about it».
<b>Seating arrangements for children</b>	«I say half-jocosely, half-sternly «You will sit where I told you. I'm the hostess in class. You came to visit me. You'll thank me later».	«Children sit down as they prefer or as the teacher decided».

Table 3

### Discipline scenario is located on the soft-hard practice continuum

The Scenarios	Hard ones	Soft ones
<b>Rules</b>	«It is inappropriate to put your foot on the desk in class and have drinks. If you're late, you should apologize and take your seat».	«We have a rule not to interrupt each other. I use Jeff's exercise to express my point of view freely so that no one feels uncomfortable. They come out whenever they want.» «Once every few months, we gather with our children for a reflexive circle and discuss the rules. Children can criticize the rules, justify them, and suggest their own.» «On a co-working space (this is what the teacher calls extracurricular activities, applicable by the author) you can do anything. There is a free atmosphere there. They can put their feet on the desk, drink coffee in class.»

The Scenarios	Hard ones	Soft ones
<b>Punishment</b>	«The most terrible punishment? So you can't hear me, and I may not be able to hear you when you need my help».	«I can say: "I will be very grateful if you, Matthew, will use the phone outside the office.» But this is rare, it happens when protest behavior occurs. If nothing helps at all, I back out. Let him use the phone».
<b>Forms of attracting attention</b>	«There are two ill-mannered guys in the same class. I can't find the right words. They are sitting side by side. So I spent the entire lesson standing next to them. Then I'll touch their shoulder, then I'll look in their notebook. After that they start behaving well».	«I come up with some signal gestures and words for fifth-graders every week. Through activity, discussion, we have a lot of arguments, and I give them a choice». «Modern children have problems with attention. They can't cram or do routine work. I spend the whole lesson in stress, constantly changing the forms of activity».
<b>Practice of working with the category of «difficult» teenagers</b>	«You should be more rigor and discipline with difficult children. I spent two years in one class working on discipline up to the point of collective standing».	«I select tasks for them, explain it to them, persuade them, and talk as equals».

such methods of discipline as explanation, after-school conversations, additional tasks, make attempts to interest, involve through a discussion, a problem situation, explaining meaning, goal setting. Such practices are characterized by a more complex, detailed system of influence, which requires time and effort on the part of teachers, in contrast to more concise and simple forms such as, for example, raising voice. More rigid methods of discipline were used in the weaker classes. For such “weak”, “difficult” classes, soft ways of disciplining are rather a privilege.

Most of the contradictions were found in the answers about the measure of freedom in the classroom, the situation of choice. On the one hand, there is a certain degree of making it easier. Teachers try to increase the number of situations where the child can choose: the type of tasks (difficult or not, from the list), the method of deciding whether to do homework or not. But on the other hand, the choice was often implemented according to the scheme of no alternative. Teachers admit that the lesson is not a place for freedom of expression.

### Element 3. Type of teacher-student relationship

We were able to identify two types of relationships between children and teachers: vertical and horizontal relationships (Figure 1).

**Vertical relationships.** This type of relationship is characterized by authoritarianism and emphasized authority in interaction practices. These relations have been institutionalized and consolidated. Teachers consider themselves charismatic leaders who set the limits of what is acceptable and unacceptable in their relationships with children.

*P4 “I like to lead the class and keep everyone on their toes.”*

Teachers justify the need for hierarchical relationships with children because the system is closed.

*P11: “ I don't want a horizontal relationship in a public school. The school is a closed system. There is no rotation of personnel, no change of practices. This is a system that is not being updated. Therefore, this may not turn out to be very good things. Like pedophilia and such nasty stuff. I don't want to be friends with children.”*

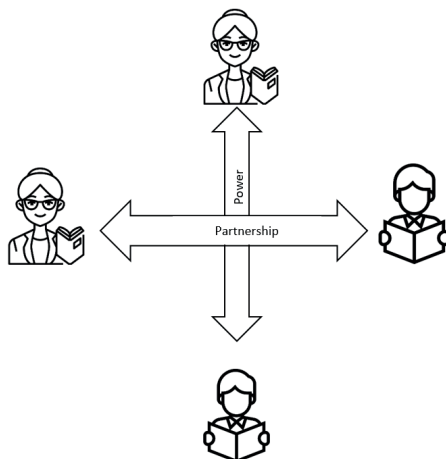


Fig. 1. Diagram of the types of relationships between teachers and students based on the results of qualitative data analysis: horizontal (partnership) and vertical (power)

Within this type of relationship, there is also a softening in the form of shortening the distance, appearing of rapprochement in the relationship, they are emotionally filled, without losing their power properties.

P5: "What about older students, the distance is minimal. We often move into the informal space of social media communication." Often they are more like a parent-child relationship than a partnership. The metaphor of maternal / paternal care most fully describes this type of relationship.

P7: "I'm attentive, caring, and sometimes overprotective."

P3: "Sometimes I get so carried away myself that I'm dangerously close to making the distance go down. I am afraid when the hierarchy is broken. I like the "good father" attitude. But this is the kind of perfection." The statements contain concerns about reducing the distance, but if there is a softening of the scenario in this element, it is either along the path of transformation into a child-parent relationship, or the relationship is imitated as a partnership, while maintaining clear signs of a power relationship. P7: "I am in partnership with my students, but I protect them like mother."

**Horizontal relationships.** They are characterized as more partnering, built on

a mutual respect. Teachers avoid a dominance, consciously avoid the child-parent type of relationship, and emotional rapprochement.

P10: "They tell me when I turn on the strict mode, they say I don't like them when I'm strict. I tell them, I don't have to be kind with you, you have a family for it."

R14: "I follow the chain of command with my students. My pedagogical position: a teacher should not become a significant adult for a child. In such a situation, you start to strongly influence the child, and I would not like it to be so. I would like to create an environment where children would develop as individuals, and not listen to me. It contradicts the idea of developing critical thinking. The school is the place where it is formed. And the teacher can contribute to this by reducing authority, increasing the space for the student."

Small changes can be recorded in situations where children assume the traditional role of an adult as a knowledgeable and capable person. There are many similar situations when working with gadgets, technologies, and information. Teachers ask their children for help to fix or adjust something.

R2: "Teachers can learn something new from students as well. They open up new

*sources of information for me. They may know some details better than I do”.*

### Conclusion

The described research allowed us to consider the ideas and practices of teachers regarding their organization of the lesson and interaction with students through the prism of an empirically fixed process of deconstruction. We found small changes in the three elements identified: rituals, disciplinary practices, and relationship type. Of course, these elements do not cover the full range of institutional characteristics, but they were sufficient. The process of deconstructing took place in the form of:

- refusal
- softening
- the emergence of new practices.

Let's list the results for each element. Such practices as greeting the teacher, walking the teacher in rows, and raising hands are usual and still form part of the lesson routine of some teachers, but either their use is justified from the point of view of increasing the productivity of learning, or there is a gradual abandonment of their use. The persistence of some teachers' attachment to ritual practices is consistent with the dominance of conservative views of teachers recorded in studies [14].

In terms of discipline and rules, we observe a dispersion of practices on a continuum of soft and hard scenarios. On the one hand, there is a simplification and stereotyping of practices characteristic of institutions. Raising your voice, commanding communication, and making points are the easiest ways to achieve obedience, especially in such “difficult classes.” Increasing the importance of the discipline when working with “difficult teenagers” is consistent with the world practice recorded in research [19]. The lesson space is strictly regulated, and teachers' attempts to soften the requirements a little are limited to the subject result evaluated on the OGE and EGE. The presence of a choice situation in the classroom “reduces the binding force of the structure”, but in reality it does not create

gaps in the lesson that are free from formal requirements, and the choice options are always made so that the final subject goal is achieved. This conclusion is consistent with studies on insufficient support for students' autonomy on the part of teachers [18; 23].

At the same time, we found the participation of children in creating rules, the appearance of more flexible rules, and the desire of teachers to build a lesson depending on the request of children. Teachers actively fight for the attention and interest of children through goal setting, communicating the meaning of learning, and the value of knowledge.

The relationship between teacher and student in the classroom continues to retain the features of classical power relations. Despite the appearance in the lexicon of teachers of the words «partnership», «equality», «democracy», relations continue to be built as vertically hierarchical. This picture is consistent with studies confirming the dominant role of the Russian teacher in relations with students [26]. However, mitigation of hard scenarios occurs here as well. Elements of the partnership type of relations with children were recorded, when the teacher deliberately refused to take the position of a significant adult and “friendship” with the child, pushing the students to a more equal relationship.

The softening of practices, the appearance of more flexible rules, and the change of roles are associated with extracurricular activities. The emergence of such practices as informal communication in social networks, “co-working”, “reflective circle”, in turn, allows you to respond more flexibly to the interests and requests of children, create conditions for the manifestation of children's independence and initiative. Despite all the attempts of many teachers to reduce the pressure of the program, the lesson is still a highly normative space. This, in turn, contradicts the modern scientific discourse, which justifies the need to implement the model of adolescent school as a space for children to try and experiment [2; 7; 9].

In general, the school has the potential to move to the softer practices due to the will-



ingness of some teachers to circumvent institutional requirements, their openness to experimentation, and the use of extracurricular space on the initiative and design of children. It can be assumed that the process of destructure in the school system is much slower than in other areas of public relations due to:

- the dominance of the subject result in teachers' perceptions;
- lack of tools and tools to implement the seemingly contradictory requirements to make the child "knowledgeable", and at the same time expand the space of the lesson for free action of the child;

the necessity to prepare for certification and the Unified State Exam, which deprives the teacher of the opportunity to act more flexibly, to provide the child with more choices and opportunities in the classroom.

The results of the study should be extrapolated with caution to the entire edu-

cational institution due to the small sample size and limited representativeness. Of course, the process of destructuring, as a global phenomenon, should be recorded and described on large samples within the framework of large sociological theories, but the specifics of its course are divided into many special cases, which allows supplementing the trend with new details obtained in the course of small qualitative studies. The institutional approach in describing the practices and teacher beliefs, used in this study, is quite capable of capturing the ongoing changes in the institution of the school in different sociocultural fields, which, in turn, allows us to begin studying the directly independent behavior of students in different sociocultural environments, including lessons of teachers with varying degrees of rigidity of implemented practices.

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Получена 17.05.2022

Принята в печать 15.06.2022

Received 17.05.2022

Accepted 15.06.2022