Knowledge, field and researchers. The production of academic knowledge in the intersections of psychology and education in Argentina (2000-2010)

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For my sun, Sol
With love and hope

Declaration

I, Silvina Cimolai, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

This thesis analyses knowledge production and the role of the researcher in the intersections of psychology and education in Argentina. It aims to contribute to an understanding of educational psychology as a field of knowledge, both in terms of its present situation and future development. The research draws on and applies conceptual tools from the sociological theory of Basil Bernstein, some contributions from Pierre Bourdieu, and relevant work within the field of higher education studies.

The fieldwork has consisted of collecting information on psycho-educational research projects carried out in six psychology faculties in Argentinian public universities during the period 2000-2010 as well as carrying out interviews with a selection of researchers.

The analysis presented here illustrates that the structure of the psycho-educational field is conceived by academics as a horizontal knowledge structure with weak grammar, and comprising various disputes with respect to topics, methodologies, theoretical approaches and ways of conceiving knowledge production. Formal education contexts, especially at the university level, as well as the role of students are shown to be the most studied objects in the psycho-educational research, which has produced knowledge on, for example, academic trajectories, school failure, school interactions, cognitive and personality aspects, subjectivity processes in education, and academic tasks and devices. The research also illustrates that the most privileged methodology is qualitative, although there is also a consolidated tradition in 'scientific' approaches.

Furthermore, the research illustrates that the professional practice of academics producing psycho-educational knowledge is mainly configured as a multi-tasking profession, where there are weak insulations between the different professional roles and weak framing of the researcher role, as its realization and recognition rules are less explicit and require constant negotiation. Thus, academics tend to draw on other professional practices in the decisions related to their practices of knowledge production, and legitimation strategies based not only on knowledge codes but also on knower codes are identified. Finally, an organisational language that puts in relation the strength of the specialisation of the research role with the legitimation strategies of knowledge is proposed, identifying four different strategies of identity formation as researchers in the field: Specialist researcher, artisan researcher, theory-affiliated academic, and generalist professional.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Focus and rationale of the research

This thesis deals with two issues which are of central importance for the field of educational psychology - namely, its organisation of knowledge and its knowledge production practices. The problems of the links between psychology and education have been present in psychology since its early days as a modern discipline. Psychology quickly became a very influential approach within educational studies, as it was considered as the core discipline that would provide a scientific foundation to educational knowledge. However, in recent years an internal process of revision of the field of educational psychology has been started at an international level, putting under discussion its aims, objects of study, ways of understanding the relationships between psychology and education, and -in particular - its capacity to contribute to the improvement of educational practices. The works published in the last two decades, which aimed at reviewing the first century of educational psychology, its tendencies and its future (e.g. Alexander, 2004; Berliner, 1993; Bird, 1999; Calfee, 1992; Coll, 1988b; Kincheloe, 2006; Lunt, 1997; Pintrich, 2000), have identified historical and current tendencies in the topics prioritised in the field, analysed certain epistemological issues underpinning the relations of psychology and education, discussed the units of analysis that should be used to produce psycho-educational knowledge at present, and have suggested future developments for the field. However, most of these works are mainly essays with few cases of studies based on systematic research on the topic. Despite the important place that psycho-educational knowledge has had for the intellectual fields of psychology and education, extremely little is known about the social organisation of its own 'knowledge structures' and the ways in which knowledge production practices are organised.

The situation of the psycho-educational field in Argentina is even more complex due to the unique configuration that psychology has experienced in the country. Argentina is known worldwide as a country with an important 'psychological culture', in which the psychoanalytic approach has had a distinctive influence (Balán, 1991; Caruso & Fairstein, 1997; Dagfal, 1998; Plotkin, 2001, 2006; Vezzetti, 1996). Compared to other American countries, Argentina currently has the highest number of psychologists per capita working across the country, and psychology is one of the most chosen degree for people starting their undergraduate studies (Alonso, 2005; Vilanova, 1993). As Plotkin (2006) argued, psychology in the country has gone beyond its specific fields of application and has constituted itself as a proper culture providing specific 'semantic nuclei' for the interpretation of social reality. For example, psychological and psychoanalytic views and concepts have a regular presence in the media and everyday life (e.g. Balán, 1991). The sub-fields within psychology have tried to develop an identity that go beyond the well-known dominant influence of psychoanalysis and the clinical orientation in Argentina. Psychological studies of education are one example of a sub-field of psychology that has developed itself over the last decades on the basis of the great psychological tendencies in the country and, at the same time, trying to create a particular identity related to the problems, fashions and needs of the educational field. Even though Argentina has been greatly influenced by the developments of educational psychology in other regions, especially in the USA and Europe, the specific psychological traditions in the country, the ways in which research activities have been organised, and the general political and socio-cultural context in which they are embedded have contributed to a very unique configuration of the production of knowledge in the field. Furthermore, recent changes in higher education and science and technology policies in the country have promoted a considerable growth in research activities and in the development of the researcher role within the academic profession, in a context

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¹ See section 1.4 of this introduction for a clarification of the uses of the concepts of discipline and field, and of the terms educational psychology and psycho-educational knowledge. The concept of field is preferred over the concept of discipline when referring to the object of study of this thesis. However, the concept of discipline is mentioned when dialoguing with productions that deploy the concept. The terms psycho-educational and educational psychology are used as synonymous when referring to knowledge production in the intersections of psychology and education.

of a training of psychologists that has traditionally paid little attention to the role of researcher and has been more focused on the training for professional practice mainly in the health sector. Although a process of analysis of research practices in general is currently being promoted in the country due to the identification of common problems such as the existence of very few links among researchers and considerable 'duplication' in research being undertaken in different regions (e.g. Araujo, 2003), in the psychological field this discussion is still underdeveloped.

This research is primarily concerned with enhancing knowledge production practices in the field of educational psychology in the Argentinian context. It is argued that a comprehensive review and analysis of the types of knowledge that are being produced, as well as an in-depth examination of the ways in which the field is organised and the particular identities that researchers develop working in this domain of knowledge is central to understand the present situation of the field. Through it this thesis aims to provide tools for a collective analysis to review and re-define the scopes of the field, and to help in the strengthening of knowledge production practices. Specific research about the outcomes of psycho-educational knowledge production, as well as the ways in which the professional role as researcher is constructed have never been carried out in the Argentinian context, and this is the leading motivation that has originated the present study.

In doing so, this research also aims at contributing to the international discussions about the present situation of educational psychology as a discipline and its future, providing a systematic account of the particular paths that the field has developed in a local context such as the Argentinian one, and developing analytical tools for the study of psycho-educational knowledge production and the role of researcher within this field.

Furthermore, the present research seeks to contribute to the wider theoretical field that takes the social character of the production of academic knowledge and the role of researcher as its objects of study (e.g. Bourdieu, 2004; Brew, 2001; Latour, 2003; Merton, 1996; Moore & Maton, 2001; Tight, 2000). It will do this by providing a methodological design for the empirical investigation of the

production of academic knowledge, considering both academics' views and their research products. It will also develop and employ conceptual tools from the sociological theory of Basil Bernstein along with some contributions from Pierre Bourdieu, and examine their capacity to provide organisational languages to describe knowledge production and research practices in higher education institutions. Bourdieu's theory of 'fields' is used to analyse the dynamics of the knowledge production in the intersections of psychology and education, and the ways in which academics' dispositions are constrained by the set of forces operating in the field. Bernsteinian approaches to knowledge structures and Bernstein's code theory are used in this research to unpack the structuring character of knowledge in the field and the ways in which the researcher role is organised.

Research questions

This research is interested in the production of academic knowledge in the intersections between psychology and education in Argentina in the period 2000-2010. It aims to analyse knowledge produced in the academy by people working in psychological research on educational topics, and the ways in which local academics produce and reproduce particular knowledge and professional identities as researchers in relation to this specific field of study.

The settings being analysed are psychology faculties of public higher education institutions in Argentina². These particular settings were selected because, as will be shown later, public higher education institutions are the main locus of production of knowledge in the country. This study concentrates on psychology faculties because the research is interested in the production of knowledge related to education within the field of psychology.

The questions guiding this work are:

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² In Argentina, there are two main types of higher education institutions: public or state-run universities and private universities. Public universities are funded by the government, are autonomous with a democratic tripartite governance structure composed of professors, alumni, and students, and –in general- do not charge fees to students. At present, there are 49 public universities in the country; 47 of them are national universities while 2 are provincial universities.

- How is the knowledge organisation of the psycho-educational field shaped through the research being carried out in psychology faculties of public higher education institutions in Argentina?
- How is the role of researcher constructed by academics producing psychoeducational knowledge in psychology faculties of public higher education institutions in Argentina?

These questions imply two main analytical positions that have organised the data collection and its analysis. First, 'knowledge production' by researchers is understood as being constituted in sets of social practices that operate in a dialectical relation between objective and subjective dimensions. That is, individual researchers are considered as agents who establish unique positions and strategies within a field but who are at the same time conditioned by the structural aspects which determine, in a dynamic way, the points of the thinkable and the points of the doable. Second, this research dialogues with two distinguishable but interrelated objects: the role of researcher in the psychoeducational field and the knowledge produced in this field. In this sense, an analysis of the professional dimension of academics (focusing on the role of researcher) is linked to an exploration of the ways in which knowledge constitutes and is constituted in the analysed field.

In order to pursue these questions, the fieldwork has involved identifying research projects carried out in psychology faculties of public universities during the period 2000-2010 that have explicitly included in their titles and/or abstracts some type of interest in education, whether as a field of practice or as an intellectual field. Additionally, productions associated with the research projects selected were collected (such as research proposals, final reports, publications and conference proceedings) and interviews with a selection of researchers that have directed or co-directed any of the research projects selected were undertaken.

The following sections in this introductory chapter develop in more detail the rationale of the project, focusing on presenting the problems of the relations between psychology and education. First, in section 1.2 a brief panorama of the

ways in which these relations have been established at an international level is presented, taking into account international publications from, mainly, the USA and Europe with regards to educational psychology as a discipline, and analysing its historical routes, present situation and disciplinary status. Following this, section 1.3 focuses on presenting the Argentinian context; it introduces the place that psychology has in the country and the ways in which relations between psychology and education have been established historically and in the present organisation of psychology faculties.

Section 1.4 develops initial clarifications of some aspects of this research in order to help understand the scope chosen in this thesis. The uses of terms such as discipline and field, and educational psychology and psychoeducational knowledge are discussed, as well as the reasons for the selection of the period 2000-2010, for the focus on psychology faculties of public universities, and for the interest in academics' views. Finally, the organisation of the following chapters is introduced in the final section (1.5).

1.2. Psychology and education internationally

Since the foundations of psychology as a modern discipline at the end of the 19th century, education has been one of the most significant fields that psychology has contributed to through its theoretical approaches, techniques and methods. From the works of early psychologists such as William James, John Dewey, Alfred Binet, and Stanley Hall, education has been one of the core interests in the development of the field of psychology (Glover & Ronning, 1987), and it was present in the institutionalisation of psychology through the creation of its associations, journals and degrees in universities³. In the same way, in the educational field, psychology has been constructed since its

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³ For example, Berliner (1993) dates back the emergence of educational psychology to the creation of the American Psychological Association (APA) in 1892. Many of the presidents that the society would have in the founding years were key figures in the developing field of educational psychology.

foundational years as the discipline that could provide a 'scientific' foundation to education. The concern for providing a scientific approach to educational practice was present in most of the works within the emerging discipline of educational psychology, and, through the subsequent decades, the issue of 'science' continued to be a central object of dispute in the field. This was the case of, for example, the child study movement launched by Stanley Hall, which promoted the production of a great amount of empirical data related to children's minds and their learning (Hall, 2003). Similarly, the approaches that focused on individual differences and measurement of intelligence and aptitudes (whose most enduring works devoted to educational problems would be the ones of A. Binet and C. Burt) (Hall, 2003; Wooldridge, 1994), and the rise in the USA of behaviourist approaches (e.g. through the work of E. Thorndike and B. Skinner) (Kratochwill & Bijou, 1987) represented other psychological perspectives which linked their research to the problems of the educational field. Although each approach prioritised very different problems, theoretical perspectives and ways of conceiving education, all of them shared this interest for providing a scientific foundation to education. Critiques of other approaches in these initial years were mainly founded in questioning the ways in which the scientific ground was defined⁵.

Educational psychology was constructed from its beginnings as the 'queen of the educational field' (Coll, 2002, p. 21). This confidence was so strong that it was argued that psychology would provide the tools for solving all kinds of educational problems. One illustrative example is the definition of educational psychology provided by Thorndike. In his view, psychology should be the chief contributor in defining aims, materials, means and methods of education (Thorndike, 1910), and empirical work through psychology should be the only method used to guide education (Charles, 1987). However, unlike James and

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⁴ In these foundational years the pursuit of a 'scientific' character of knowledge was related to the design of knowledge production practices based on methods and rules similar to the ones held by the natural sciences (Foucault, 1957).

⁵ For example, James was critical of laboratory studies in psychology, affirming that they were not useful for teachers because they did not treat the whole person in real contexts. In his view human beings were too complex to be studied by measuring one mental faculty taken apart from the working whole (James, 1899). In contrast, Thorndike criticized previous approaches, such as the ones of the child study movement, as lacking both valid scientific methods and a proper scientific definition of their objects of study.

Dewey, who developed psychological approaches closely related with the concrete problems of education, Thorndike had always shown very little interest in educational practice and had appeared to have total confidence in knowledge produced in experimental psychology laboratories. Thorndike is said to have suggested to his students that they read the most important educational books before the term started in order not to 'waste time' visiting schools (Berliner, 1993)⁶.

From this initial context, academic psychologists⁷ over the last century have been very productive in developing theories, technologies and methods to be used in the field of education: learning and developmental theories, training technologies, experimental designs to study learning, tests to measure intelligence and intellectual abilities, 'teaching machines' to enhance the work of the teacher, assessment devices, and so on. The development of new psychological theories or approaches would also have an influence in the configuration of educational psychology in the twentieth century (Cimolai, 2010). For example, the cognitive revolution across the world in the 1950s generated new sets of theoretical problems for researchers in the psycho-educational field motivation. metacognition, conceptual change, (such instructional psychology), as well as specific conceptual and methodological tools. The developmental psychologies of Piaget in Geneva, Vygotsky in Russia, and Bruner in the USA became also very influential in the field of education across the globe (see for example Daniels (2003) and Baguero (1997) in relation to Vygotskian approaches in education, and Coll (1996) with respect to the uses of the Piagetian theory in education).

A range of thematic areas has been covered by the psycho-educational studies over the years. According to Bird (1999), these areas are learning,

⁶ Berliner (1993) reflects on the consequences of this position: "Thorndike's influence resulted in an arrogance on the part of educational psychologists, a closed-mindedness about the complexities of the life of the teacher and the power of the social and political influences on the process of schooling" (no page number available).

⁷ As is known, some of the greater contributors to the study of education from a psychological point of view did not have a degree in Psychology (in some cases because such degrees had not yet been created). In this thesis, when I refer to psychologists I am not only including people holding a psychology degree but also all the academics with other educational backgrounds who have worked to produce knowledge from a mainly psychological point of view.

intelligence/abilities, education for special needs, motivation and personality issues in education, educational assessment and empirical research methods. In her view, learning has been the biggest area of interest in educational psychology, encompassing works from different theoretical perspectives.

However, in recent decades, the spread of confidence in the possible contributions of psychology to the educational field has started to diminish, and its real impact in terms of enhancing educational practices has come into question (Berliner, 1993). By the end of the twentieth century, international journals and books in educational psychology dedicated considerable efforts to reviewing the first century of the discipline and its future (e.g. Alexander, 2004; L. H. Anderman & Anderman, 2000; Berliner, 1993; Calfee, 1992; Coll, 2002; Lunt, 1997; Marx, 2000; Pintrich, 2000; Zimmerman & Schunk, 2003). One of the discussions posed in this context was the call for educational psychologists to ground their work in educational problems and in the daily lives of schools. incorporating the study of context in the definition of problems in educational psychology. For example, Horrocks (1987) affirms: 'The most effective research laboratory for educational psychologists is in the schools and in the community where education in all its complexity is in process' (Horrocks, 1987, p. 429); and Anderman and Anderman (2000) introduced a special issue of Educational Psychologist stating: 'The impetus for this special issue grew from our observation of an ongoing call from researchers, symposium discussants, and journals editors for increased attention to contextual effects in the study of educational psychology' (p. 67). In this context the rise of socio-historical and socio-cultural approaches grounded in Vygotsky's perspective of mind, culture and learning had gained a significant place in the educational psychology agenda (Baquero, 2009; Daniels, 2005). This problematization took place in a context of general movements in psychology (especially from critical psychology perspectives), which, some decades ago, started to question the excessive focus on the individual to explain the complexity of human activity (Rose, 1989; Sampson, 1989; Walkerdine, 1995; Wertsch, 1991). However, authors such as Pintrich (2000) consider that although Vygotskian approaches generated new ways of thinking about learning, development and education, so far they have limited their contributions to demonstrating the importance of social context for

learning. Further, Pintrich argues that 'the true test of the utility of these ideas will come as they develop empirical programmes of research to support and extend their models. [...] They must help us conceptualize and understand how the individual and context work together to facilitate or constrain learning' (Pintrich, 2000, p. 223).

With regards to the present problems configuring the field, Berliner (1993) has stated that by the end of the twentieth century, the research trends in educational psychology in the USA were concentrated in research on teaching (a trend that began in the 1960s and which changed over the years from simple models of behaviour to more complex cognitively and contextually oriented participatory studies), instructional psychology (which impacted on research in human cognition focusing on instructionally relevant questions), and psychology of school subjects (now taking into account the learner in his/her context, and the structure of the discipline to be learned). In Pintrich's (2000) view, four main themes could be identified in educational psychology at the end of the twentieth century. Firstly, the traditional interest in the individual learner but in a multidimensional framework integrating cognitive, social, and motivational components; secondly, a greater concern with 'broader outcomes of schooling, beyond learning, cognition, and motivation, to consider affect, values, caring, mental health, adjustment, coping, and adaptation' (Pintrich, 2000, p. 222); thirdly, the already mentioned turn to context, driven by sociocultural models; and finally, what Pintrich considered as a synthesis of the previous three: the study of the 'individual in context'. From his perspective, the latter theme will continue to be one of the most defining or core features of educational psychology in the 21st century.

Furthermore, new educational problems in a context of the consolidation of the information society and technological development such as the virtualization of teaching and learning, as well as the diversification of the student population (through the inclusion of vast sectors of society and the extension of education across all the stages of the life spam) are considered aspects that represent challenging new paths for educational psychology knowledge production (Alexander, 2004). Berliner (1993) also proposed that educational psychology in

the new century, at least in the USA, should be more eclectic in its methods and that a reasonable goal in this new context should be to attempt to provide locally developed knowledge rather than broadly generalizable knowledge.

The disciplinary status of educational psychology has also been a common aspect of discussion in recent publications (Berliner, 1993; Berliner & Calfee, 1996; Calfee, 1992; Coll, 1988a; Francis, 1994; Glover & Ronning, 1987; Hargreaves, 1986; James, 1899; Lunt, 1997; Pintrich, 2000; Thorndike, 1910). These works have addressed the problems of the relations between psychology and education, the identity of the discipline, and the ways in which psychoeducational knowledge should be validated (For a more detailed discussion see Baquero, Cimolai, & Lucas, 2009).

In sum, the review of the discipline of educational psychology illustrates the significant institutionalization that it has achieved since its foundational years, and the varied theoretical approaches and objects of study that have been part of the field. The current debates highlight the need to revisit the organisation of the field and its scope, as well as the kind of relations it has established with educational problems⁸. In this sense, one central issue that this thesis will deal with is to understand how the coexistence of different theoretical perspectives and ways of conceiving the production of valid knowledge has impacted on the nature of the knowledge being produced in the intersections of psychology and education.

In Argentina, the relations of psychology and education have had a distinctive path. In order to understand this, it is first necessary to provide a characterisation of the field of psychology in the country.

⁸ For example, research on educational psychology has also been affected by the international criticism of the current educational research that arose during the first decade of this century (see, for example, Hodkhinson (Hodkhinson, 2004), for a synthesis of this debate). For instance, designing research useful for policies and practices is one of the challenges highlighted by Anderman (2011) in his reflections on the future directions of educational psychology.

1.3. Psychology and the psycho-educational field in Argentina

In Argentina, education as a field of practice played an important role in the foundations of psychology as a modern discipline, as it was a topic of interest in the establishment of the first psychology courses at universities and in the creation of some of the psychological laboratories at the beginning of the 20th century. The interest in the articulation between psychology and education continued through the 20th century, varying the types of problems and approaches prioritised (Cimolai, 2011). For example, the so-called psychopedagogic or paidology approach, which promoted experimental research on child and adolescent development, as well as the development of effective teaching methods, was very influential in the first decades of the 20th century. This approach, holding a positivistic⁹ view of psychology, was developed in tight relation to the socio-political period that aimed to consolidate the national identity of the country through education in a context of massive immigration (Talak, 2001). Victor Mercante, who graduated from the first institution for the training of teachers, would be one of its leading figures, creating the first experimental psychology laboratory in the country only 13 years after Wundt established his foundational experimental psychology laboratory in Germany. As with Hall in the USA, Mercante promoted a great amount of empirical research which conceived psychology as the leading science in order to provide scientific grounds to the problems of education (Dussel, 1993, 1997; Slaven, 1995). Similarly, the perspectives that sought a scientific identification of differences among the child population and their relations to school achievement was also an example of a national development of the 'individual differences' approaches which developed worldwide, although it had less influence in this period compared to the research approaches based on Hall's methodological proposal (Talak, 2004).

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⁹ The positivistic approach influenced not only the configuration of psychology, but also social sciences in general. Altamirano (2004) explains that positivism in the period was more a general intellectual culture rather than a philosophical or epistemological approach, and was used to gather together different theoretical perspectives sharing two main principles: the belief that science should be the best way of producing knowledge, and the confidence in the use of experimental methods drawn from the natural sciences to interpret the social world.

Psychology was born and developed in Argentina under the guardianship of other disciplines, such as medicine, psychiatry, law, and philosophy. During the first five decades of the 20th century, before psychology degrees were created in the country in the late 1950s, professionals from these disciplines were the ones who developed psychological approaches, some of which were related to education. While the homogenization of the new citizen was the central concern of the psycho-pedagogic approaches mentioned before, the behavioural problems of students and the problem of adaptation of some children to school was present in the 1930s and 1040s under the influence of a medicalpsychiatric discourse (e.g. Tovar Garcia, 1954). However, behaviourism, which was very influential in the psycho-educational field in the USA and in Argentina's neighbouring countries of Chile and Brazil, exerted little influence in the Argentinian context (Courel & Talak, 2001). During the 1950s, accompanying an international tendency towards the developments of applied psychology (Zimmerman & Schunk, 2003), different institutions and centres for the treatment of students' problems were created in the country. These centres, known as 'Psychometric Institutes', were oriented toward the development of vocational guidance, and toward the treatment of learning difficulties in schools (Foradori, 1954; Klappenbach, 2000). For example, at the Institute of Experimental Psychology of the University of Cuyo in Mendoza (created in 1942) Horacio Rimoldi and later Nuria Cortada started to standardise mental tests and carried out important research on labour and school achievement (Paolucci & Verdinelli, 1999). However, according to Scavino (2004), it was only in 1948 with the creation of the Institute of Educational Psychology and Professional Guidance in the province of Buenos Aires that the term 'educational psychology' was used for the first time in the Argentinian context.

Since the creation of psychology degrees at universities in the late 1950s, the clinical scope became the central professional activity that would constitute the identity of psychologists as professionals, mainly related to the health field. However, although not as central as the health scope, the problems of the relations of psychology to education were also part of all the discussions that led to the creation of the degrees in universities, and continued to have a limited but continuous place in the different study plans developed over the years in

each university (e.g. Dagfal, 1998 with regards to the psychology degree at the National University of La Plata).

Another particular aspect of psychology in Argentina is, as discussed previously, the important influence that psychoanalysis has had since the creation of the psychology degrees. Many authors have analysed the role of psychoanalysis in the consolidation of the psychology profession in the country (e.g. Klappenbach, 2003a; Vezzetti, 1996) and the implications that this hegemonic paradigm has had in the psychological practices in Argentina (Noailles, 2006; Scaglia & Lodieu, 2003). However, in educational psychology the situation is more complex: although the psychoanalytical paradigm has had weight in the field, the developmental psychology perspectives from authors such as Piaget, Bruner, and Vygotsky have had a stronger role in the configuration of the discipline (Caruso and Farsntein, 1996). For example, in a research project exploring the citations of authors holding a psychological perspective in one educational journal for primary school teachers in Argentina, Baguero (2003) has shown that -for the period 1989-2002- 53% of the articles that include psychological perspectives quote at least one author of the psychogenetic perspective. In contrast, 36% quote at least one author of the socio-cultural approaches in psychology, 25% cite cognitive psychology, and only 29% cite psychoanalytical perspectives.

Psychology has been a very popular profession since the creation of the degrees and at present it is one of the five most chosen degree courses by university students, behind Economy and Administration, Law, Architecture, and Engineering (SPU, 2010). Among the American countries, Argentina is the nation with the most psychologists per inhabitant. While in Argentina in 2005 there was 1 psychologist for every 649 inhabitants, in the USA for the same period the proportion was 1 psychologist for every 2,213 inhabitants, in Brazil 1 per 1,154, and in Chile 1 per 2,000 (Alonso, 2005). Moreover, psychologists in Argentina are overwhelmingly concentrated in Buenos Aires City, where the relation is one psychologist for every 121 habitants (Alonso, 2005). As stated previously, in Argentina, psychology is not only an academic discipline and a

profession but also a general culture that permeates very different aspects of Argentinian social life, especially in the big cities (Dagfal, 1998; Plotkin, 2006).

As various researchers have shown (Litvinoff & Gomel, 1975; Noailles, 2006, 2010; Scaglia, 2002; Scaglia & Lodieu, 2000, 2003) since the 1950s, most have worked in clinical psychologists psychology, mainly from psychoanalytical perspective. For example, a survey in the City of Buenos Aires a few years ago showed that 85% of psychologists were working in clinical areas (Alonso, 2005) and an updated study estimated that between 60% and 90% of psychologists in the whole country were also choosing this area (Alonso, 2007). Figure 1.1 illustrates the presence of psychology and psychoanalysis in the Argentinian media throughout the decades, and the clear association of the psychology profession to the clinical orientation.

Figure 1.1: Psychology and psychoanalysis in the Argentinian media

'The industry of psychoanalysis' Panorama Magazine. May 1971.

'For the Guinness Book of Records. There are 56,000 psychologists in Argentina'. La Nación Newspaper, October 2005. Drawing by Huadi.





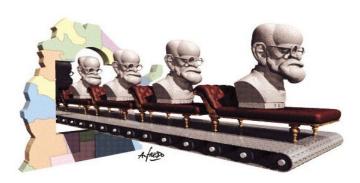
Argentinian comic character Clemente and his psychologist. By Calloid. 2000

'Ministry of Culture and Education. No, the minister is not here. He's gone to see his psychologist'. Clarín Newspaper. September 1980. By Landrú.





'Growth in the number of psychology students'. La Nación Newspaper, July 2006. Caricature by Zaiat.



'Villa Freud. A Psychoanalytic tango'. TV Documentary by H. Cohen.



This strong tradition in clinical psychology has had paradoxical influences in other psychological areas. On the one hand, it is argued that the clinical tradition had left other psychological sub-fields underdeveloped in the training of psychologists (Noailles, 2006). On the other hand, however, it is also argued that other psychological areas have received significant influences from the clinical paradigm. For example, in the field of professional educational psychology¹⁰, Erausquin et al. (Erausquin & Bur, 2013; Erausquin et al., 2000) have shown that in the educational institutions, most psychologists concentrate their work on the attention of students' emotional problems and reproduce a clinical orientation in their practices.

Even though in the context presented the psycho-educational field is not dominant in the Argentinian academic psychological community compared with the place and influence of the clinical approach, it has maintained over the years a certain stable place. At present, all psychology degrees offer at least one psycho-educational course, there are two MA programmes in educational psychology offered in two national universities, and educational psychology is usually considered a special area in every psychology congress that takes place in Argentina. Although there are no peer-review academic journals specifically devoted to educational psychology in the country¹¹, psychoeducational articles can be found in psychological and educational journals. For example, Merodo et al. (2007) point out that in the period 1997-2003, 8% of the papers published in Argentinian educational journals and 12% of the books published in the field of education were from educational psychology perspectives¹².

Professional educational psychology has also developed a specific area of intervention since the creation of the degrees, and it has had a stable

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¹⁰ Professional educational psychology refers to the professional practices of psychologists working in educational settings.

¹¹ This is a common aspect to various social sciences disciplines and subdisciplines. Although there are some exceptions, there is a tendency in Spanish speaking countries to have journals based on general disciplines (such as economy, psychology, and education) with few journals holding a higher degree of specialisation (Palamidessi and Devetac, 2007).

¹² For example, in the case of Argentinian educational journals, educational psychology is identified together with history of education, didactics and teacher training as the domains of knowledge with more developments in the journals analysed.

participation in the context of a psychology market dominated by clinical psychoanalytical practices. A recent survey carried out by Alonso (2007) showed that educational psychology is presented as the second most chosen area of professional practice for psychologists. Based on data collected from professional associations across the country, he estimates that between 14% and 25% of psychologists works in the educational area (Alonso, 2007).

At the beginning of this new millennium, psychological approaches to education in Argentina comprise a heterogeneous field with contraposing identities and diverse grades of autonomy. It is increasing its participation in the academy and in the professional life of psychologists, but it is still struggling with its marginal participation in a highly clinically oriented context. However, as previously mentioned, the psycho-educational field and the production of knowledge in the field have not been until now an object of empirical research. Furthermore, studies about the history of educational psychology are also scarce in the field of history of psychology in the country (Cimolai, 2011). The few publications found in Argentina which focus on the field of educational psychology are mainly essays that reflect on the problems of the relations between psychology and education and the possible boundaries of the field (e.g. Baquero, 1997; Emmanuelle, 1997; Maldonado, 2001; Menin, 2008). A comprehensive analysis of the knowledge produced in the field, as well as of the structuring principles organising knowledge production and the researcher role has never been object of research in Argentina. This is one of the central aims of this thesis.

1.4. Setting some frames of my research

Before starting to develop the different discussions related to this research, I would like to recover some of the issues already mentioned in this introduction. It is worth developing these points with more detail, because they clarify some options taken for the definition of the problem of the research.

1.4.1. Field and discipline: Educational psychology and psychoeducational knowledge

In this research, the concept of 'field' is preferred over the concept of discipline when talking about the varied activities and practices involved in the production of psychological knowledge related to education. As will be further developed in chapters 2 and 3, some authors argue that while the concept of discipline has been a very influential language, which has organised the study of academic knowledge in previous decades, nowadays the use of disciplines as a classificatory principle of the array of practices involving the academic profession is problematic because the concept has tended to essentialize and compartmentalize knowledge as relatively stable and autonomous objects (Manathunga & Brew, 2012; Pinch, 1990). Additionally, Brew (2008) and Pinch (1990) suggest that at present, academics' uses of disciplinary labels are not static but tend to change according to different contexts, and that many academics would not feel comfortable positioning their work and themselves within one limited and static discipline.

The concept of field, as developed by Bourdieu (e.g. 2004), enables an interpretation of the changing dynamics of knowledge production as the result of the interrelation of different kinds of operational forces. Fields are conceived as dynamic social spaces where actors are socialised through their participation in activities and where they struggle for the legitimation of their own positions. In this sense, boundaries, legitimation strategies, identities and valid problems and valid practices are considered as dynamic and as changing aspects which are subjected to continuous struggles and/or tensions within each field. Therefore, the psycho-educational field is defined in this thesis as a spatial metaphor that comprises a set of different practices, traditions, institutions, actors and knowledge, which have created a relationship between psychology and education. This conception of field implies considering very different activities of which the production of knowledge, the central object of this study, is only one. As will be shown in the analysis chapters, recognising this aspect enables us to take into account the influence that other related activities, such as the teaching psycho-educational knowledge and the professional practices

psychologists in educational settings would have in the production of academic knowledge in the field, and in the configuration of the researcher role.

However, it is important to acknowledge that this study works in dialogue with other research and publications that deploy the concept of discipline when referring to similar discussions to the ones undertaken in this study. Moreover, for the time being, it is important to recognise that there is still a rhetoric of disciplinarity present in the daily practices of higher education institutions which it is worth taking into account. Therefore, the term discipline is used in this thesis every time these concepts are used in related publications (for example, most of the publications used in the previous sections to present the problems of the relations between psychology and education) and every time they are mentioned in the interviews and documents collected.

By contrast, the terms psycho-educational knowledge and educational psychology are used interchangeably in this thesis, and in both cases refer to knowledge produced in the intersections of psychology and education.

1.4.2. Focus on psychology faculties of public universities

In Argentina, national public universities constitute the most important institutional spaces for scientific and knowledge production practices (Albornoz, Estébanez, & Luchilo, 2004; Galarza, 2007a; Stubrin, 2011). National universities are regarded as the most traditional institutions where the most prestigious academics have been concentrated over the years. In contrast to other countries of the region, where higher education was constructed with a mixed system of public and private institutions, in Argentina public universities historically hold the hegemony of the education of the population and of the knowledge production practices. Private universities have never received more than 20% of the total population of students (Plotkin, 2006) and approximately 60% of the researchers that constitute the national system of science and technology were working at public universities in 2004 (Albornoz et al., 2004). Private universities contribute only 2% of the total expenditure on research and development, while public universities hold 32% of the expenditure (Encabo,

Galarza, Palamidessi, & Torrendel, 2007). In the field of psychology, for example, in a bibliometrics analysis of the Argentinian publications in Psychology in the ISI database (Social Science Citation Index y Science Citation Index) in the period 1995-2005, Liberatore and Hermosilla (2008) point out that the institutional affiliation of more than 60% of the authors of the publications work at a public university¹³. Chapter 2 will demonstrate that there are other centres of knowledge production in the country apart from public universities. However, in these centres little research relevant to the topics of this investigation was identified.

From the 10 public universities that offer a psychology degree, those universities with a Psychology Faculty were the ones included in this research. I have chosen to focus on the six universities with psychology faculties because this guarantees that the knowledge produced comes from spaces with a psychological orientation. In other universities the psychology degree is taught in social sciences or humanities faculties, and research is not distinguished there by area or discipline.

1.4.3. Period 2000-2010

This research considers knowledge produced through research during the period 2000-2010 to provide a characterisation of the most recent processes of configuration of the psycho-educational field in the country. I have chosen the period 2000-2010 for a number of reasons: firstly, because of the international process of revision of the production in educational psychology that has started since the end of the 20th century and which is still continuing (see for example Alexander, 2004); secondly, because during this decade an international movement of revisions and discussions regarding all types of research in education has also been encouraged¹⁴; and thirdly, because in Argentina this

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¹³ According to Encabo, Palamidessi and Torrendel (2007) research and knowledge production practices are a dimension traditionally under-developed by the private higher education sector, although it has started to have some specific and initial developments in some sectors in the last few years.

¹⁴ Educational research received from the 1990s and in most of the Western countries a series of criticisms about its real value in improving educational practices. Based on the model of audit cultures and policy-oriented research, these criticisms (e.g. Tooley & Darby, 1995) regarded the

decade has seen important changes in science and technology policies, and a consolidation of the role of researcher and of research practices. I consider these changes to be influencing the ways in which the field is being produced at present.

1.4.4. Research projects

Knowledge production practices studied in this research are the ones carried out through "research practices", understood as a specialized activity within higher education institutions. These research practices imply following institutional definitions with respect to what can be considered knowledge production and the valid ways of producing it, as well as the organization of the production of knowledge into a set of scientific procedures, and the dialogue with knowledge produced within a field or a community of researchers. In this sense, this study is neither focused on knowledge produced or reproduced by the academics as part of their teaching practices, nor in the study of professional knowledge produced by psychologists in their workplaces. The focus is on knowledge production practices carried out through the formally arranged "research projects" being undertaken at the analysed institutions.

All Argentinean publicly funded universities share a common definition of "research projects", which are defined as proposals that aim to produce new knowledge through systematized procedures, which include the definition of objectives, the review of the research literature on the topic and the definition of a conceptual framework, an adequate selection of a methodology for data collection and data analysis, and the prevision of mechanisms for the generation and dissemination of research outputs (Vasen, 2013; UNR, 2008). "Research projects" are managed through the University Research Secretariats and the research offices of each faculty, which are responsible for the

production as of poor quality, and questioned its low level of impact in policy and practice, its inaccessibility, and its use of small samples. These criticisms promoted heated debates about the orientations that educational research should have and the criteria for assessing its validity (e.g. Baker et al., 2007; Feuer, Towne, Shavelson, & 2002; Hodkhinson, 2004; Landau, Pini, &

Serra, 2006).

promotion of scientific and technological activities within the institution (Albornoz, 2011). Research offices organize the mechanisms for the assessment and evaluation of research projects, as well as the provision of funding and of other types of resources and support for research activities. Research projects "accredited" by each university are research proposals that are positively assessed and formally recognised by the university. The "accreditation" of a research project implies the official recognition of the institution, as well as the provision of support for the realization of the project, and academics are allowed to allocate part of their hours of work at the university to participate in the research project. In general, research projects are assessed in these institutions taking into account: the character of the scientific proposal, its viability, and the professional trajectories of the team. Universities also require to every research project to consider a space for the training and development of beginning researchers (Vasen, 2013).

Considering research projects as the unit of study in the present research is regarded as the most straightforward and effective way of identifying "research practices" being undertaken in psychology faculties. The data used in this research will come from interviews with academics directing these research projects and the collection of outputs produced within the context of each research project, such as the "research proposal" approved by the university, the final report of the research project presented at each research office, and publications produced by each team of researchers presenting the results of the research carried out. It is acknowledged that the output most commonly considered in research related to knowledge fields is the analysis of publications in academic journals. However this approach would not to be effective or appropriate in the present research given the lack of Argentinean journals devoted to Educational Psychology and the diversity and dispersion of scientific journals and other academic publications where Argentinean academics disseminate their work.

1.4.5. Academics' perspectives

In contrast to the discussions about the usefulness of educational research, which have focused on the perceptions and needs of users and consumers of research, this project focuses on the perspectives of the academics doing this work. It seeks to survey, organise and disseminate an analysis of academics' work on knowledge production at the intersections between psychology and education, and to describe what they are doing, how are they doing it, and what are the reasons underlying their decisions for certain types of knowledge products and processes.

1.5. Organisation of the following chapters

The rest of the chapters are organised as follows.

Chapter 2 is focused on providing a characterisation of the Argentinian context with regards to research practices and science and technology activities, analysing the institutions, policies and actors involved in knowledge production. In order to give depth to the understanding of the Argentinian situation, the first section briefly introduces the international trends, changes, and developments with respect to knowledge production practices and then the Argentinian situation is characterised within that context. This chapter ends by providing an account of the ways in which these contextual aspects have impacted on the organisation of psychology faculties of public universities, as well as in the configuration of the role of researcher. In sum, this chapter provides an overview of the structural aspects that are conditioning the knowledge production practices which are the object of this research.

Chapter 3 presents a literature review of different approaches, perspectives and theories that have analysed the production of academic or scientific knowledge in general. This chapter locates my research interests within wider bodies of knowledge produced in the fields of social studies of knowledge and science, mapping key research examining the social construction of scientific knowledge, as well as the role of researcher and knowledge production practices. The

approaches that receive more detailed attention here are the sociology of science of Robert Merton, the strong programme in the sociology of scientific knowledge, the theory of fields of Pierre Bourdieu, and the publications regarding the academic role in the domain of higher education studies.

Chapter 4 continues the discussion of the theoretical field in which this research is situated, introducing the main analytical framework I have used to engage with the empirical data. This chapter focuses on certain approaches from sociology of education that have included the problem of knowledge as a central dimension. The later contributions of Basil Bernstein and the perspective of the so-called social realism approach are presented and discussed in relation to their possible contributions to this research.

Chapter 5 outlines the methodological design of this research and provides information about the fieldwork undertaken. It summarises the criteria behind the selection of the institutions, the research projects, and the academics interviewed. It also uncovers the different methods used for gathering data: collection of research projects, interviews with academics, and documentary analysis. Finally the ethical considerations of this research and the way in which the analysis of data was carried out are presented.

In chapters 6 and 7 the analysis of the research projects and of the interviews with academics is presented. In chapter 6 the role of 'researcher' is analysed in relation to the new policies and institutional demands with respect to this role, its relations to other professional roles, and the influence of academics' individual professional trajectories in their activities as knowledge producers. The specialisation of the research role is assessed in terms of its classificatory and framing principles (Bernstein, 1990) and in the ways in which academics struggle to legitimate their own positions (Bourdieu, 2004). Chapter 7 draws on Bernsteinian approaches for the analysis of the structured and structuring aspects of knowledge and the languages of legitimation deployed by academics. This chapter presents a characterisation of some of the knowledge tendencies found in the psycho-educational field with regards to actors, topics, methodological designs, and contexts prioritised in the research projects; it explores the different ways in which the projects conceive the relations between

psychology and education; and analyses how different academics position themselves within the field and how they struggle for the control of the definition of the field or for the legitimation of their positions.

Finally, chapter 8 presents the discussion and conclusions of the thesis, recapitulating the main findings in relation to the academic role as researcher in the faculties analysed and to the ways in which knowledge is organised and legitimised in the psycho-educational field. This chapter also proposes a model for the study of the role of researcher, linking aspects developed in chapter 6 with others presented in chapter 7.

Chapter 2

Knowledge production in Argentina:

Contexts, policies and institutions

2.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter the ways in which the psycho-educational field has been configured in Argentina and at an international level were introduced. This chapter aims to provide a characterisation of the Argentinian context with regards to research practices and science and technology in general, analysing the institutions, policies and actors involved in knowledge production practices in higher education institutions and other agencies.

Before focusing on the Argentinian context, section 2.2 briefly presents worldwide changes in the practices of knowledge production in the past few decades. This is relevant because Argentina has been part of many of the globalised tendencies in knowledge production as a broader component of what has been characterised as the 'knowledge economy'. Next, section 2.3 uncovers varied policies, institutions and traditions that have contributed to the special configuration of research practices at present in Argentina, and focuses especially on the situation at national public universities, which are at the centre of this study. The recent history of the country is regarded as an important context to this analysis, and I discuss this, concentrating particularly on the period since the return of democracy in 1983. The analysis of the Argentinian context continues in section 2.4, where I focus on describing the general organisation of the faculties of psychology in public universities, paying special attention to the organisation of research practices.

This chapter is central to this research because it provides a characterisation of the structural aspects that are conditioning knowledge production in the Argentinian context, and therefore in the analysed case, contributing to the particular organisation and local identities that research practices acquire there. In the analysis chapters, these structural aspects will be linked to the accounts of the academics interviewed, illustrating the constitutive relationship between social structures and the subjective experiences of individuals.

2.2. Worldwide changes in the production of academic knowledge

On a global scale, the production of academic and scientific knowledge has seen important structural modifications during the past few decades, and references to 'change' can be found in almost the entire bibliography about this topic. In the context of post-industrialist economies, knowledge societies and globalisation, the production of knowledge and the organisation of higher education institutions have undergone a process of transformation that impacts in the ways in which academic identities are produced and reproduced.

Underpinning these changes is the fact that higher education institutions became more visible for governments and the general public. In the last decades, intense processes of massification and diversification have characterised higher education globally (di Napoli & Barnett, 2008); and an increased interest in the aims, organisation, and outcomes of the institutions that produce knowledge and educate professionals can be observed. It is now acknowledged that traditionally there was a sort of agreement with regard to the autonomy of these institutions to establish their aims and methods, and to select their courses of action. However, in the past few decades there has been a growth in the development of audit cultures and accountability to the government and the taxpayers, as well as increasing demands on academics to meet externally determined standards (Barnett & Di Napoli, 2008; Becher & Trowler, 2001; Hodkhinson, 2004; Rhoads & Torres, 2006). In fact, there is a whole new organisation of the relations between higher education institutions, nation states, industries and markets: universities are under the pressure to generate income and to seduce 'consumers'; stakeholders are more diverse; and states and industries have an important influence in establishing priorities

and desirable outcomes in knowledge production and professional training (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000; Jacob, 2000; Lucas, 2006).

There has also been a change in the management of higher education and the academic production of knowledge. Efficiency and effectiveness are now amongst the most important aims of some institutions, and managerial paradigms are the basis of the organisation of activities: 'Within university institutions this has meant the development of corporate strategies, strong central management teams, a proliferation of cross institutional support units concerned with quality assurance, teaching and learning, staff development and so on' (Becher & Trowler, 2001, p. 11).

Internationalization of higher education institutions has become another imperative in the last two decades, and has had an impact on funding, academic practices, thematic priorities and curricular designs (De Wit, Jaramillo, Gacel-Avila, & Knight, 2005). The international activities of universities, such as branch campuses in other countries, study-abroad programmes, language programmes, international collaboration and knowledge dissemination activities, and the establishment of curricular and degree equivalences have 'dramatically expanded in volume, scope and complexity' in the last decades (Altbach & Knight, 2007, 290). However, although it is recognised that internationalization is a global characteristic, it is affirmed that English-speaking nations and the most influential EU countries are the countries that are providing most of the services, while Asian and Latin American middleincome countries are what are described as the 'buying' countries. 'By any measure-such as flows of international students, franchisers of academic programs to foreign providers, international accreditors or quality guarantors, or controlling partners in "twinning" arrangements—these countries reap the main financial benefits and control most programs' (Altbach & Knight, 2007, 290).

Some of the previously mentioned studies argue that these global changes have also shaped the structuring of knowledge within the academy (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Bernstein, 2000; Gibbons et al., 1995). Disciplinary boundaries are being transformed: there is a growth in the number of disciplines and a

fragmentation of the existing ones; there is a growth of inter-disciplinary approaches in relation to a particular area of inquiry (e.g. science and technology studies, higher education studies), and also the emergence of certain transversal modes on inquiry such as feminism, gender studies, and race studies (Becher & Trowler, 2001; Welch, 2005a).

In their influential book *The new production of knowledge*, Gibbons et al. (1995) provided an analysis of knowledge production in contemporary societies. Their central thesis was that it was possible to identify changes in the ways in which knowledge was being produced. They called these new trends 'mode 2', in opposition to what they called the traditional ways of knowledge production (mode 1). According to their analysis, in the traditional mode (mode 1) scientists and scholars engaged in activities following a set of norms, values and methods that defined the scientific practice. These academic practices were organised by discipline and problems were set and solved within the academic community (Jacob, 2000). In contrast, mode 2 knowledge is defined as knowledge produced in the context of application. In contemporary societies, users, beneficiaries and stakeholders are introduced in the research processes, and this creates a need for a continuous negotiation among the needs, interests and specifications of all the actors involved. In the description set out by Gibbons et al., contemporary research is not discipline-based, but has a transdisciplinary orientation, and there is more heterogeneity and organisational diversity, in the sense that universities are no longer the sole centres of knowledge production. Finally the mechanisms for quality control in model 2 are said to be more related to social accountability rather than peer-review and internal academic processes.

The description of mode 2 knowledge has attracted considerable interest in contemporary discussions because it reflects imperative aspects that have challenged the process of the production of knowledge. However, authors such us Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff (2000) and Fuller (2002) argue that there is not a linear transition from mode 1 to mode 2, and that, in fact, mode 1 is not older than mode 2. In their view, both models represent and have represented in the past two different aspects of scientific activities: 'Mode 2 represents the material

base of science, how it actually operates. Mode 1 is a construct, built upon that base in order to justify autonomy for science, especially in an earlier era when it was still a fragile institution and needed all the help it could get' (Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000, p. 116).

Bernstein (2000) has also shown his concern with what he calls the new official research economy, which promotes research postgraduate degrees with emphasis on research training and reduces research to a set of technical choices or procedures. Reflecting on the restructuring of European knowledge in the 20th century he identifies changes in the forms of boundary relations in knowledge, and therefore in their associated identities. Singulars represent the structure of knowledge consolidated in the 19th century and encompass disciplines such as physics, chemistry, sociology and psychology. The concept of region, by contrast, illustrates changes in knowledge organisation in the last five decades of the 20th century and represents 'the interface between the field of the production of knowledge and any field of practice' (Bernstein, 2000, p. 9). The move from singulars to regions illustrates, in Bernstein view, general changes in the classificatory principles of intellectual fields, and so in the configuration of power relations.

[...] we must have an understanding of the recontextualising principles which construct the new discourses and the ideological bias that underlies any such recontextualising. Every time the discourse moves, there is a space for ideology to play. New power relations develop between regions and singulars as they compete for resources and influence (Bernstein, 2000, p. 9).

In sum, the international production on the changing dynamics of higher education institutions and knowledge production has highlighted the new challenges for the academic profession and also about the ways in which scientific and intellectual knowledge is being structured at present.

2.3. The arena for research practices: Science and higher education policies in Argentina

Argentina has not escaped these globalised tendencies, especially with regard to the creation of external control over academic activities during the 1990s, pressure to organise higher education institutions and research activities more in alignment with market driven interests (Coraggio & Vispo, 2001; Galarza, 2007a; Rhoads, Torres, & Brewster, 2006), and the increasing influence of other actors in the definition of institutional aims and research topics (Perez Lindo, 2005). However, the particular history of the country, its scientific traditions, and its contextual situation have contributed to a special configuration of academic and research practices.

The present situation of science and technology activities and the production of knowledge in Argentinian higher education is related to the specific economic and political contexts that characterised the region in the last decades. In the recent history of the country, democratic governments emerged in 1983 after years of authoritarian and antidemocratic regimes, where the production of knowledge was not part of the government agenda, and different theories such as Psychoanalysis, Marxism, Liberation Theology, Evolutionism and Modern Mathematics were catalogued as subversive elements (Perez Lindo, 1998). During the last dictatorship (1976-1983) the basis of a neoliberal economic model that would be later consolidated in the 1990s was established. The military developed a mechanism of social control and terror: kidnapping, torturing and killing 30,000 people (workers, academics, journalists, artists, members of left parties, etc.) in clandestine detention centres; banning magazines, books, and songs; promoting the exile of workers, intellectuals and artists; and closing or controlling universities and other public institutions. The dictatorship took ideological and administrative control of the National Council for Scientific and Technological Research (CONICET) and discouraged research activities in public universities (Abeledo, 2011; Albornoz & Gordon, 2011). While the social sciences were the areas most affected by the military control mechanisms, areas such as nuclear energy and space were the only ones that received an important boost in this period (Albornoz y Gordon 2011).

Psychology was one of the most affected fields of knowledge and professional intervention. During the dictatorship 84 psychology students and 60 psychologists were kidnapped and killed, and many others were exiled to American and European countries. The orientation towards social change and militancy that characterised the professional training of psychologists before the military coup (Noailles, 2010) was discouraged and psychology degrees lost their academic level, as professors were fired and research activity discouraged.

The different military coups in the country since the 1960s are regarded as the main cause of the generalization of informal study groups in the training of psychologists (Klimovsky, 1983). Prestigious professionals used to hold meetings at their houses based on the reading of selected books. Most of them were focused on psychoanalysis but also on other theories such as those of Piaget. These groups were named 'Catacomb Universities' by Kovadloff (1992), who argued that they became a massive practice during those years and continue to have influence at present in the training of psychologists. Klimosky explains these groups as follows:

When in 1966 the dictator Onganía took control of the University of Buenos Aires, many professionals and erudite people felt the necessity of not losing contact with science and culture. The study groups were born then, in which a group of professionals (in some cases comprising 10, in others 60 professionals) paid one of the academics who had been separated from their university position to organise seminars or courses in order to continue studying and being updated in a specific topic. A study about these groups registered the existence of more than one thousand groups during those years, implying a minimum of 10,000 students (a parallel university, as it can be seen) (Klimovsky, 2003, p. 2, my translation).

From 1983, the establishment of democratic governments created a positive climate in the social life of the country. As in many other spheres of social life, democratization of institutions and policies was the main objective of different actions pursued in the fields of educational policy (Galarza, 2007b) and science and technology activities (Abeledo, 2011; Albornoz & Gordon, 2011). In higher education institutions, the government announced the 'normalization' of national universities and of CONICET, promoted the return of research activities to public universities, and provided an impulse for the creation of the Inter-

university National Council. The Higher Education Law 23.068 was then enacted, re-establishing higher education statutes dated back to 1966 and inspired by the principles of autonomy and university co-government (Stubrin, 2011).

Under the atmosphere of the democratization of institutions, public universities were again consolidated in their support for the principles of universal and free access, the creation of university teachers' unions and the participation of political parties in the internal government of public universities (Stubrin, 2011). Furthermore, an important growth in the population of university students was observed. For example, between 1986 and 1987 the student population increased from 600,000 to 1,000,000 (Stubrin, 2011). In the field of psychology, a crucial milestone was the sanction of the Law for the Professional Practice of Psychologists in 1985, authorizing them to do psychotherapy, even though psychologists had been working as psychotherapists (but without legal authorization due to the influence of the medical corporation) for many years. As Noailles (2010) points out, the law did not change the professional practices of psychologists but only legitimated a role that they had been carrying out for many years.

CONICET promoted the incorporation of social sciences and humanities researchers who had been marginalized during the last dictatorship. In public universities, a renovation of academic staff was also observed thanks to the 'normalization' of universities which, applying very different strategies, managed to renew many academic positions. These actions included incorporating young academics and also offering positions to prestigious academics who had been banned from universities during the dictatorship, with some of them returning from exile in other countries. However, working conditions were poor: salaries were low and most academics held part-time positions of ten or twelve hours per week (*dedicación simple*) (Coraggio & Vispo, 2001; Galarza, 2007a; Stubrin, 2011). Stubrin (2011) illustrates this situation showing that more than 90% of academics were holding this type of post during the period 1983-1989.

In sum, even though there was a clear political decision to incorporate research activities in universities, low salaries, budgetary restrictions, insufficient full-time

positions and the need to provide massive amounts of teaching due to the growth in the number of students did not help to achieve satisfactory development of research careers. This combination would characterise the working conditions of academics for many years.

The end of the 1980s found the country under an important economic crisis including hyperinflation, so scientific and academic activities were again relegated. The 1990s were years of consolidation of profound neo-liberal reforms under the governments of President Carlos Menem. These reforms affected very different aspects of the organisation of society, with global economic strategies and open markets creating a sense of prosperity while, at the same time, unemployment increased to dramatic levels¹⁵. This period was characterised by the privatization of public industries and institutions, as well as a programme of structural adjustments to reduce expenditure. However, at the same time, international organisms such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other international organisations provided funding (and created more state debts) to define new ways of managing education systems and to align higher education institutions and science and technology activities with the global tendencies of audit cultures (Stubrin, 2011).

In this context, many initiatives to promote scientific activities and academic production of knowledge were developed with an orientation towards establishing new criteria for the management and funding of universities, relating them to principles of efficiency and efficacy (Galarza, 2007a). These initiatives can be summarised as follows:

- In 1993 the Incentive Programme for Teachers-Researchers at National Universities was created. This programme was designed under the evidence that most university teachers were not participating in research activities, and aimed at increasing the research practices in public higher education institutions. It created a fixed fund to be distributed among some of the academics participating in the Programme. Academics are classified in the Programme under 5 categories, taking into account their academic

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 $^{^{15}}$ Unemployment reached 18% in the second half of the 1990s (Stubrin, 2011).

trajectories and scientific production. In general, those who receive categories 1 or 2 are authorized to direct research projects. Teacher-researchers categorized in the programme as having a full-time (*dedicación exclusiva*) or part time post of 20 to 24 hours per week (*dedicación semi-exclusiva*) periodically receive an extra amount of money in their salary. Teachers-researchers with a part time post of 10 or 12 hours per week (*dedicación simple*) are also allowed to request a categorization, but they do not receive any money for this ¹⁶. This programme contributed to the growth in the number of university teachers and professors working in research ¹⁷ and generated a growth in the number of research projects, publication rates, academic journals and presentations in academic congresses and scientific meetings (Perez Lindo, 2005; SPU, 2008).

- In 1995 the controversial 24.521 Higher Education Law was sanctioned. In the context of 'audit cultures' promoted internationally, this law sought to improve the education quality, implement internal and external institutional evaluations, and establish standard procedures for managing academic activities within higher education institutions. Its article #36 would have an important impact on academic life in the following years, establishing the principle that university teachers and professors should have degrees of at least the same level as the level where they teach. It also paved the way for the tendency that the 'highest degree' (in general a doctorate) would be the basic condition to access to the category of university professor. In a context in which most of the academics lacked these types of credentials¹⁸, it generated a massive increase in enrolments on postgraduate courses. By 2003 more than a half the students on postgraduate degrees were university teachers (Perez Lindo, 2005).

 $^{^{16}}$ With the exception of some specific situations explained in MECyT N $^{\circ}$ 811/03

¹⁷ While in 1998 there were 38,238 researchers in national universities, in 2006 the number had risen to 53,537 (SPU, 2008).

¹⁸ In 1994, 61.5 per cent of the university teachers held a *licenciatura* (bachelor degree) as their highest degree. 26.3% held a master or specialisation degree, and only 12% had a doctorate (Krostch, 2001; Galarza, 2007).

- Creation of the Secretariat for University Policies within the Ministry of Education (SPU).
- Creation of the National Commission for University Evaluation and Accreditation (CONEAU) in 1996, to carry out institutional evaluations of national, provincial and private universities and to be responsible for the accreditation of all graduate and undergraduate studies.
- Creation of new national public universities as well as other private ones.
- The sanction in 2001 of the 25467 Science, Technology and Innovation Law, which organised scientific and technological activities under the direction of the Secretariat of State for Science, Technology, and Productive Innovation (SECyT).
- Creation of the Fund for the Improvement of University Quality (FOMEC) funded by the World Bank to provide modern equipment, better information systems, training of university teachers and funding for research projects.
- In this period universities started to generate their own incomes, especially with the offer of postgraduate courses and links to the productive sector, although these represented a small part of the national university budget (Coraggio & Vispo, 2001; Stubrin, 2011).

This period was also framed by a continuous growth in the numbers of university students, especially in the social sciences and humanities (Coraggio & Vispo, 2001; Galarza, 2007a). With regards to academics' working conditions, although during the 1990s full time positions increased by 40%, most positions continued to be part time (Albornoz, 2004). Similarly, in 2009, 64 out of 100 university teachers continued to hold a part time position of ten or twelve hours per week (*dedicación simple*) in national universities, while 19% held an intermediate position of 20 to 24 hours per week (*dedicación semi-exclusiva*),

and only 12.7% held a full-time position of 40 to 45 hours per week (*dedicación exclusiva*) (SPU, 2010)¹⁹.

The process of liberalization of the economy, education, and markets that I described above, together with the institutionalization of corruption, led to a new economic devastation and a social turmoil at the beginning of the new century, with the government defaulting in 2001 and unemployment reaching 20% of the population. In 2002, more than 50% of the population were under the poverty line (INDEC, 2002). During 2001 and 2002 a growth in the migration of the population in general and of scientists in particular was observed, especially to the so-called 'developed countries' (Albornoz, Luchilo, Arber, Barrere, & Raffo, 2002).

Recent years (from 2003 on) have seen a slight recuperation of the economy, with decreasing unemployment alongside industrial reactivation. In addition, political participation and public debate have increased in different spheres of the social and political life. Some attempts to promote scientific and research activities can also be observed. For instance, the National Council for Scientific and Technological Research has significantly increased the number of scholarships to carry out doctoral research. Furthermore, some of the policies and programmes established during the 1990s are under revision at the moment. The 1995 Higher Education law was updated in 2006, and in December 2007, the government of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner created a new Ministry of Science, Technology and Productive Innovation (MINCyT) to replace the Secretariat of State for Science, Technology, and Productive Innovation (SECyT) of the former Ministry of Education, Science and Technology of Argentina.

The RAICES programme was relaunched in 2003, with concrete actions to establish links and to 'repatriate' Argentinian scientists working abroad. This resulted in the repatriation of 820 scientists from 2003 to 2011 (MINCyT, 2011),

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¹⁹ The remaining 3.9% is categorized as 'other positions'. The National University System in the country establishes 5 categories of teachers: Titular professor (*profesor titular*), associated professor (*profesor asociado*), adjunct professor (*profesor adjunto*), practicum supervisor teacher (*jefe de trabajos prácticos*), and teacher assistant (*ayudante de primera*), and 3 types of employment based on hours: exclusive, semi-exclusive and simple (SPU, 2009).

although only 14% are from the social sciences and humanities. The repatriation of scientists was one of the central topics of president Cristina Kirchner's 2011 re-election campaign.

The national university budget increased its rate from 2005 to 2009. While in 2005 it represented 0.54% of Gross Domestic Product; in 2009 it was 0.86% (SPU, 2011). Salaries in universities have increased in their value but academics continue to have a variety of jobs in different institutions: 'Having multi-jobs is the daily bread of the academic profession in Argentina' affirmed Stubrin (2011, p. 281). Additionally, after the continuous growth in student numbers in universities during the 1980s and 1990s, student matriculation is decreasing on some degrees and in some institutions, although there is a slight growth in the graduation rate (Stubrin, 2011).

At present, the main organisms that carry out scientific and academic research in Argentina are:

- The National Council for Scientific and Technological Research (CONICET). It executes policies and strategies formulated by the MINCyT, and is the core organism that promotes research as a formal career in Argentina. It stimulates and funds research projects, networking, human resources development, and mobility; and have some research institutes. CONICET researchers carry out their activities in CONICET's research institutes, other research centres, and in universities. National universities are the main centres of work for CONICET researchers: in 2005 the workplace of more than 60% of CONICET researchers were public universities (Perez Lindo, 2005). CONICET also funds an important proportion of the scholarships for doctoral and postdoctoral studies.
- Other autonomous research institutes in particular disciplines, such as the Atomic Energy Commission (CNEA), the Institute of Agricultural Technology (INTA) and the Institute of Industrial Technology (INTI).
- Public and private universities: Public national universities and private universities are the workplace of many CONICET researchers and of research projects financed by other agencies. National Universities also

fund their own research activities, under the co-ordination of the Science and Technology Secretariats of each university, which were created in the late 1980s and the beginnings of the 1990s (Albornoz, 2004). In Argentina, public universities hold the largest share of the entire Argentinian university system and have traditionally been better positioned with respect to the private ones in terms of the quality and prestige of their education and research activities (Toer, Martínez Sameck, & Chávez Molina, 2003), retaining the most prestigious professors and a great part of the production of knowledge. Private universities had focused their activities on teaching and very little funding has been allocated to research practices (for example, in 2003 private universities provided only 1.3% of the total funding for scientific activities in the country) (Perez Lindo, 2005). Even though nowadays the private sector is starting to share part of this prestige, incorporating prestigious academics and promoting research, public universities are still responsible for the production of most research activities.

Despite the different contexts in which academic and scientific knowledge has been developed in the country in recent years, certain stable and constant characteristics can be identified as part of the social and institutional conditions in which academics produce knowledge in their everyday practice.

There is a general perception in the country that scientific activities in Argentina have preserved a traditional prestige, with high standards in the training of scientists and academics. Argentina's science has been recognised with three Nobel laureates in scientific categories (Bernardo Houssay, Luis Federico Leloir and César Milstein) and Argentinian scientists regularly receive offers to work in other countries²⁰. The migration of scientists to other countries and to the private sector has been one of the most common characteristics of scientific

²⁰ MINCyT (2011) affirms that Argentina has been one of the Latin American countries that provided more scientists to developed countries. Albornoz et al. (2002) explain that Argentinian migration tends to concentrate in sectors that require professional qualifications while other Latin American countries present higher rates of low-qualification jobs and non-authorized residence.

settings in recent years. This has increased the public perception that Argentina can provide a high standard education to future scientists, but it cannot afford to provide attractive working conditions and professional development to maintain them in the public sector (MINCyT, 2011).

In general, with the exception of very particular cases, for several years now universities and science and technology activities have faced insufficient funding (Perez Lindo, 2005), while expectations about their role in improving society is actually increasing (Rhoads et al., 2006). Academics have had to deal with the increasing demands in productivity and responsibilities, whilst financial support has been insufficient. Research projects have been carried out with insufficient funding, and human resources and quality of archives and data generation have been also questioned as insufficient and inadequate (Galarza, 2007b; Kaufmann, 2001).

Academics hold multiple professional activities and there are not enough full-time professors in universities to carry out all the activities needed. The situation is worse in the social sciences disciplines than in natural sciences, and there are noteworthy differences in the resource allocation across these areas (Coraggio & Vispo, 2001). Moreover, an important part of higher education activities is carried out by people who do not receive any salary²¹, although this aspect has decreased in recent years (Hobert, 2007).

Despite the lack of adequate financial support, the basic teaching functions of the university are maintained by a tradition in which teaching is viewed as a form of public service. In essence, many professors at Argentinian universities see their teaching as a contribution to the larger social good [...] Although the tradition of teaching as public service certainly is admirable and the sentiment worthy of preservation, running a university based on part-time professors may limit its intellectual vitality (Rhoads et al., 2006, p. 181).

Slowly, university teachers are completing postgraduate research degrees (Albornoz & Luchilo, 2005; Galarza, 2007a). Traditionally, postgraduate degrees were common in the natural and exact sciences, but almost non-existent in the social sciences and humanities. Research degrees in social sciences are very

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²¹ For example, the 2004 census at the University of Buenos Aires has shown that 30% of teachers and professors at this university work under the "ad-honorem" category and do not receive a salary.

recent in Argentina and have experienced enormous growth in the last two decades (Barsky, 2004; De la Fare & Lenz, 2012). However, the number of university teachers holding a doctorate degree is still small. For example, in 2009, only 8.4% of all teachers working at public universities held a doctorate (SPU, 2010).

The positive impulse in research activities in the last period has significantly increased the number of researchers and research projects that are being carried out in the country (mainly thanks to the Incentive Programme and the growth in the number of CONICET researchers and doctoral studentships). However, initial analyses of the situation have shown that there is a need for developing long-term capacity building research. Araujo (2003) has argued, for example, that there is a dominance of small research projects with an average of 2 or 3 people working per project; that there are no links between projects being carried out by different institutions; and that the social or scientific pertinence of the projects is poorly discussed. For her, the scientific and technological system in Argentina was, in 2003, a conglomeration of individual projects with hardly any impact on the social, scientific and economic issues of the country. Stubrin (2011) also affirms that many research activities have been developed in order to meet university administrative requirements, but with few contributions to the scientific communities. In his view, there is varied panorama in which different degrees of quality can be observed.

These structural conditions depicting higher education institutions and research practices in general have also characterised the arena in which knowledge production practices has been developed in faculties of psychology in public universities. The next section focuses on this aspect.

2.4. Psychology degrees and research at psychology faculties in public universities

2.4.1. Psychology Faculties

In 2009, while 10 out of 41 public universities were offering a degree in psychology, 29 out of 43 private universities offered this degree²² (SPU, 2010). However, the greater proportion of students attends public universities. In 2009 approximately 62,000 people was studying psychology in a public university²³ while 24,000 were attending private universities (SPU, 2010). Compared with other degrees in social sciences such as sociology, anthropology and social services that in total sum approximately 43,000 students in both types of universities, psychology degrees represent almost double the number of students of the three afore-mentioned disciplines together.

The faculties of psychology in public higher education institutions were created recently and were the result of the continuous growth in their student population (see table 2.1).

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²² Only 6 out of the 10 public universities has a Faculty of Psychology. In the rest of the universities, the degree is taught as part of wider faculties such as humanities or social sciences

²³ Psychology is a degree with a constant growth in student population. In public universities it increased from 27,000 students in 1990, to 47,000 in 2000, to 62,000 in 2009 (SPU, 2010; SPU, 2002)

Table 2.1. Year of creation of each university, of the degree in Psychology, and of the Faculty of Psychology

University	Year of creation of the University	Year of creation of the degree in Psychology	Year of creation of the Faculty of Psychology
National University of Buenos Aires	1821	1957	1985
National University of Córdoba	1621 (Colegio Mayor San Carlos) In 1856 became National University of Cordoba	1958	1998
National University of La Plata	1897 (Provincial University) In 1905 became National University of La Plata	1958	2006
National University of Mar del Plata	1963 (Provincial University) In 1975 became National University of Mar del Plata	1966	1987 (School of Psychology) 1998 (Faculty of Psychology)
National University of Rosario	1918 (National University of the Littoral) 1968 (Part of National University of the Littoral became National University of Rosario)	1955	1987
National University of Tucumán	1914	1959	1994

Sources: Paolucci and Verdinelli (1999), Gentile (2004), websites of each university and faculty.

All the faculties of psychology in public universities maintain at present a traditional organisational system based on groupings called 'cathedras'. Each cathedra has as a central aim the organisation of the teaching activities of one specific subject of the study plan. They are organised with a titular professor and a few adjunct or associated professors, who are responsible for the coordination of the teaching activities and for delivering the so-called 'theoretical lessons', while a team of teachers is in charge of the 'practical sessions'. These teachers are supervised by middle range academics, who, under the role of practicum supervisors (jefe de trabajos prácticos), supervise the teaching tasks of the course. Most cathedras hold periodic meetings in which all the team

discuss organisational aspects and also participate in seminars for continuous professional development in the subject. Cathedras also function in the analysed faculties as an organising nucleus of other academic activities. In this sense, it is common to find research practices and extension activities to the community being organised and discussed in the contexts of each cathedra.

2.4.1. Psychological research

From the creation of the first degrees in psychology in the late 1950s, research training has not been central in the faculties of psychology in a context of training of psychologists predominantly focused on a liberal exercise of the profession in clinical settings. As presented in the introduction, numerous investigations account for the preference for this professional profile since the creation of the first degrees (Litvinoff & Gomel, 1975; Noailles, 2006, 2010; Scaglia, 2002; Scaglia & Lodieu, 2000, 2003) and in the case of public universities this clinical profile is accompanied by the hegemony of psychoanalytic theory in the training and practice of psychologists²⁴ (Noailles, 2010; Scaglia & Lodieu, 2003). This conception of psychology as a profession mainly oriented to clinical work is presented as a factor that had resulted in an under development of the training of psychologists in research methodologies (AUAPSI, 1998; Klappenbach, 2003b).

In 2001, Courel and Talak summarised this specific situation of the Argentinian context in a book focused on the training of psychologists in the Mercosur²⁵:

It should be noted that training in psychology in Argentina presents some particular features in its disciplinary and professional profile that distinguish it from that found in other countries. Argentinian society usually considers the psychologist as a professional who deals with suffering and psychic conflicts, working with individuals, groups or communities in several social organisations and whose functions are often confused with those of a psychoanalyst or psychotherapist. Psychologists are commonly represented as professionals of

25 Mercosur is an economic and political agreement established since 1991 among Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela to promote Latin American collaboration through free trade and the fluid movement of goods, people, and currency. Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru and Suriname currently have associate member status.

²⁴ Although, as stated in the introduction chapter, in recent decades an opening to other varieties of professional activities of psychologists has been identified.

the health field, although their role in the educational, legal, labour and business fields is also recognised, mainly in psychological assessment tasks. The features that identify the role of scientist and researcher have a smaller presence in this profile. Around all these features are located many of the values and also the problems that the training of psychologists has in Argentina (Courel & Talak, 2001, p. 67, my translation).

However, the research practices in psychology faculties have grown significantly since the mid-1990s as a result of the afore-mentioned series of policies implemented for higher education, such as the Incentive Program for Teachers-Researchers at National Universities and the establishment of the National Higher Education Act of 24,521 in 1995 (and the later modification in 2006). Moreover, the growth in the number of academics conducting research and the need for increasing academic publications have contributed, according to Mariñelarena-Dondena and Klappenbach (2009), to the recent creation of new academic psychology journals. For example between 1995 and 2005 more than 15 new academic psychology journals were founded²⁶. Since the 1980s, and accompanying the context provided in the previous section, all the universities have created Research Offices or Secretariats of Science of Technology that are in charge of organising, promoting and regulating the research activities of the institutions. One of their central roles is the evaluation and accreditation of research projects. In some cases, these secretariats incorporated previous research institutes operating in the faculties, but which had been limited in their functions and in the number of people carrying out this type of activities.

In this context of a growing interest in research activities, the study of psychology research is recent and so far the result of some isolated initiatives (Stolkiner, 2008). Since the late 1990s some publications began to make visible the scarce attention given to research in the training of psychologists (AUAPSI, 1998; Courel & Talak, 2001; Klappenbach, 2003b). For example, the diagnosis of the situation of the careers in psychology, developed by the Specialist Training Programme in Curriculum Innovation of the Association of Academic

²⁶ Liberatore and Hermosilla (2008) show the significant presence of Argentinian Psychology within Latin American countries. Brazil, Argentina and Mexico are the countries that concentrate in Latin America 80% of the academic journals devoted to psychology.

Units of Psychology in Argentina and Uruguay (AUAPSI), stated that although all the study plans mentioned the production of knowledge as one of the profiles for the professional practice of psychologists, little attention to research training of students and academics was observed in the institutions. It also identified the low proportion of academics holding postgraduate research degrees, the low proportion of academics categorized in the Incentive Programme, the limited number of teachers qualified to coordinate research projects, the insufficient funding for research work, and the limited availability and access to databases (AUAPSI, 1998).

An emerging, but still very limited, interest in starting to problematize research practices in psychology is observed since the realization of these diagnoses. For example, reflecting on the political dimensions of research in psychology (Stolkiner, 2008), debating what, how and why is investigated in psychology (UNR, 2004), or by identifying the competencies required to perform the task of research in psychology and the best ways to develop them (Tornimbeni, González, Corigliani, & Salvetti, 2011).

2.5. Conclusions

This chapter has depicted the specific context in which knowledge production practices are carried out in the psychology faculties in Argentina. In doing so, it has presented the higher education and science and technology policies that have organised research activities in Argentina since the 1980s and their relation to international tendencies in the new context of information societies and new demands for higher education institutions. As previously discussed, understanding the structural aspects that condition the knowledge production practices in the Argentinian context is central to this thesis, as it enables us to explore how these structural dimensions are embedded in the subjective experiences of the academics interviewed. The chapter has also illustrated that, although psycho-educational research has a long tradition in the country and it can be traced back to the early institutionalization of psychology at the beginning of the 20th century, research as a specialised and extended activity

within the institutions devoted to the training of psychologists is very recent. There are, therefore, important questions to ask about how researchers construct the role of 'researcher' in the contemporary socio-political context of higher education.

The next two chapters (chapters 3 and 4) will introduce my selection of the theoretical field in which this research is embedded, discussing studies that have taken science, knowledge production, and the role of researcher as their central objects of study.

Chapter 3

Studying knowledge production:

Science, knowledge, and academics

3.1. Introduction

This chapter examines different approaches that have analysed the production of academic or scientific knowledge and the role of researcher. Due to the focus of this study, this review is centred in perspectives that have taken into account the social character of this process, and that have provided useful insights on, firstly, transforming scientists or academics in their objects of study, and, secondly the study of scientific or academic knowledge and its process of production.

First, in section 3.2, the focus is on how the social study of science and knowledge has been developed as a special field, from the initial contributions of Durkheim and Manheim to the present array of theoretical developments comprising the field. A selection of theoretical and methodological discussions in studies in the sociology of science, sociology of knowledge, sociology of scientific knowledge and science and technology studies, and the Bourdieusian analysis of the scientific and academic world are presented. Following this, in section 3.3 other types of sociological approaches that have focused on the study of academics as a profession are discussed. These studies are contextualized in the wider group of 'higher education' or 'sociology of higher education', presenting a panorama of the very different types of research present in the literature, but specifically focusing both on studies of the academics' role as researchers, and on the research that has included knowledge and disciplinarity in higher education institutions as their object of study.

These sections aim to present and analyse a selection of the key work of the research 'problematic'²⁷ within which the present research is situated. It does not attempt to provide an exhaustive review of the studies developed in all the mentioned approaches. Rather, it aims at providing an overview of a selection of discussions, methodologies and outcomes of the fields to contextualise the theoretical context in which this research is embedded. Special attention is given in the discussion sections of this chapter (3.2.5 and 3.3.4) to the Bourdieusian approach and to the higher education studies, discussing them in relation to their contributions to the present research. The following chapter will complete the presentation of the theoretical field, and will open up some developments within the sociology of education that have studied the structuring character of knowledge, such as the work of Basil Bernstein and social realism approaches. As will be seen, Bernstein's work will be one of the main theoretical tools for the engagement with the data analysis.

3.2. Sociological studies of science and scientific knowledge

3.2.1. The conditions of possibility for the sociological study of science and scientific knowledge

While the study of science and scientific knowledge has a long tradition within philosophical and epistemological approaches, during the last century sociological studies of science and scientific knowledge have developed as a specific field, creating varied controversies not only with traditional philosophical approaches but also within the field of sociology. They have also developed new theoretical perspectives and methodologies to approach aspects related to scientific activities.

Durkheim's work of 1912, *The Elementary forms of the religious life* (Durkheim, 1982), is regarded by some authors as the study that provided the conditions of

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²⁷ Dowling and Brown (2010) define it as the key pieces of work, positions and discussions within which each piece of research is situated.

possibility for the appearance of sociological studies of knowledge and science²⁸. In this book, he established that religion and religious knowledge were not a divine or supernatural creation but a product of society, and he identified the social control effects that religious beliefs had on people's lives. In Durkheim's own words:

The general conclusion of the book which the reader has before him is that religion is something eminently social. Religious representations are collective representations which express collective realities; the rites are a manner of acting which take rise in the midst of assembled groups and which are destined to excite, maintain, or recreate certain mental states in these groups (Durkheim, 1982, 10).

Even though his study was focused on religious knowledge, it set the foundation for what would be a prolific output about the social character of very different types of knowledge, in his suggestion that 'logical and conceptual structures of knowledge are determined by social morphology, and that the validity of any truth-claim is limited to cultural contexts in which designated criteria of validation are normatively maintained' (Gieryn, 1990, p. 62). However, the attempts to consider scientific knowledge as collective cultural representations would come later in the century. For Durkheim, scientific knowledge was a special kind of knowledge and, in his view, social factors did not have significant influence in its construction, as they did have in other types of knowledge. He believed that scientific methods guaranteed that the truth-claims of scientific knowledge reflected external reality, and that they were beyond any possible social analysis (Ward, 1996).

While Durkheim prepared the scene for the development of sociological studies of knowledge, the work of Ludwik Fleck can be recognised as one of the main antecedents for the development of sociological studies of science. Considered as a pioneer of the constructivist-relativist trend in philosophy of science, in the 1930s he developed one of the first sociologically-oriented approaches to the study of the evolution of scientific knowledge. Through the concept of 'thought

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²⁸ Due to the focus of this review, Durkheim's path was selected as the classical study in sociology that introduced the sociological studies of knowledge and science. However, it must be acknowledged that other classical sociological theories such as the ones developed by Karl Marx, Max Weber and Auguste Comte are also identified in this field as antecedents for its development.

collectives', he tried to explain how scientific ideas change over time, and he recognised that the development of truth in scientific research was an unattainable ideal. For him, researchers were locked in *thought–collectives*, with particular *thought-styles*, and this contributed to the development of particular identities in communities working in different disciplines (Iranzo Amatriaín & Blanco Merlo, 1999).

These works paved the way for the foundation and consolidation of two disciplines that would guide the studies on science and knowledge in the twentieth century. On the one hand, the German sociologist Hungarian-born Karl Mannheim, together with other German speaking academics in the 1920s, such as Max Scheler, are credited as the founders of approaches which, under the umbrella of the 'sociology of knowledge', called attention to the study of the relationship between knowledge and human thought and the social context within which they take place. On the other hand, Robert Merton is recognised as one of the founders of the so-called 'sociology of science', whose main interest was the study of the organisational aspects of science.

Durkheim's distinction of a higher status of scientific knowledge, in which scientists' truth-claims are beyond social analysis, would continue to influence the work of Manheim and Merton. According to Ward (1996), however, Durkheim's main influence in their work was his attempt to apply in sociology scientific methods similar to those used in natural sciences. This would be a starting point that Merton and Manheim would try to develop further.

Although Mannheim's routes were mainly Marxist and Weberian, he shared with Durkheim an interest in a sociological approach to knowledge in contrast to the traditional philosophy of knowledge or epistemological approaches (Ward, 1996). In some way, it can be said that Mannheim was one of the first sociologists who dared to start a discussion with the traditional approaches to philosophy of science, maybe because he was a former philosopher who had decided to change his research toward a more sociological perspective. For him, philosophers had been traditionally concerned with 'pure' forms of knowledge and with describing it in normative ways. He emphasised the importance of addressing the historical and cultural variability of all types of

knowledge forms, especially 'common sense' knowledge, not reducing it to the 'pure' forms traditionally studied by philosophy (Mannheim, 1997). For him, the role of sociology of knowledge was to study the ways in which thinking functions as an 'instrument of collective action'. He recognised that sociology of knowledge itself was the result of a particular historical and cultural context and that its aim was to help in developing methods to ascertain truth. However, he believed that once this objective was reached, there would be no more need for a sociology of knowledge (Ward, 1996). Like Durkheim, he was also reluctant to open all forms of knowledge to sociological examination. For example, he considered that knowledge related to the social and historical sphere was clearly related to the cultural background, social position and interests of particular communities. However he claimed that knowledge related to the natural world (that produced by natural sciences) was objective and not influenced by the historical time and cultures where it was created. In his view, only in the first type of knowledge was it possible to carry out a sociological analysis.

3.2.2. Sociological studies of science: Robert K. Merton and the ethos of science

While authors like Mannheim consolidated the study of knowledge from a sociological point of view, it would be Robert Merton who would initiate a systematic sociological study of science. Merton stated that sociology of science should pay attention to the relations between the production of scientific knowledge and social forces and emphasised the importance of carrying out empirical research to describe the process of knowledge production in science. In all his work he favoured the construction of what he called 'middle-range theories' designed to guide empirical inquiry (Merton, 1996). He believed that empirical research could describe how the social structure of the scientific community avoids the pollution of scientific knowledge through the development of a specific rational system, although he still considered science as an objective activity. For him, social factors influence aspects such as the selection of problems in scientific research but the rational organisation of the scientific

community is what guarantees that social circumstances do not affect the process of validation of knowledge. In his view, this was what made science a unique form of production of valid knowledge and its scientific truth claims were again beyond social analysis (Iranzo Amatriaín & Blanco Merlo, 1999; Ward, 1996).

His conviction in understanding science as an objective activity led him to clearly distinguish between the external: the cultural, cognitive and material resources that influence the process of knowledge production in science, and the internal: the social structure of science. While the external is what influences some selected aspects of scientific research (such as the selection of problems), the internal is for him what guarantees objectivity (Iranzo Amatriaín & Blanco Merlo, 1999; Ward, 1996).

He developed a normative description of what he named as 'the ethos of science', that is, the complex set of values and norms that organise the activities in the scientific community. He pointed out that through sanctions and rewards, the scientist's behaviour is usually measured in relation to these norms, which are internalized by scientists. The most well known norms identified by Merton are: communalism (scientific knowledge does not belong to individuals, is public and freely available to all), universalism (the laws of science are the same for all scientists), disinterestedness (scientists have no personal interest in the acceptance or rejection of data or claims), and scepticism (knowledge must always be checked following the rules of the scientific method) (Merton, 1968). He described the scientific community as a perfect system, where fraud, personal confrontations, and improper scientific ethics or claims were controlled by the same community and by the existence of sanctions and rewards. In this sense his approach was normative: in his attempt to describe science as a perfect machinery, he was delineating the 'invariable' ethos of the community.

Merton's contributions regarding the organisational aspects of science had a lasting impact on science and technology studies. However, his normative view of science was strongly criticised by theorists who held that the ethos of science is more an ideal than the real values and norms that govern scientific work. In a

similar way, it has been argued that the universal norms described by Merton are determined historically and locally, and that they are irrelevant when trying to describe the dynamics of scientific production (Mulkay, 1979). Later approaches, such as the Bourdieusian (Bourdieu, 2004), have also questioned the Mertonian image of science as a 'pacific' scientific community whose interests are only fuelled by the pursuit of truth and the benefit of the community.

The historian of science Thomas Kuhn is credited as one of the foundational forces behind the post-Mertonian sociology of science. Building on the work of Ludwick Fleck, Kuhn developed a theory about the structure and changes of scientific knowledge which influenced 'the theoretical possibles in the sociology of science' (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 14). Kuhn argued that science does not evolve as a linear process of accumulation of knowledge, but undergoes periodic revolutions called 'paradigm shifts', in which the nature of scientific investigation within a particular field is transformed. For him, three distinct stages can be identified in science: prescience, where there is a lack of a central paradigm; normal science, when a scientific community seeks to enlarge the central paradigm; and revolutionary science, when anomalous results appear, and there is a crisis until a new paradigm is accepted (Iranzo Amatriaín & Blanco Merlo, 1999). Kuhn's work began to put into question the traditional underpinning of previous research, especially 'the belief that science was the very paradigm of rationality' (Knorr Cetina, 1995, p. 140).

Kuhn's merit has been to draw attention to the discontinuities in the evolution of science. Unlike Mertonians, he placed the motor of change in the internal conflict between members of the community, even though he continued to hold a normative view of science. According to Bourdieu, if one sticks to Kuhn's writing, one finds a 'strictly internalist representation of change' (Bourdieu, 2004, 16), which does not acknowledge the influence of external forces. It would be adherents of Strong Programme in the sociology of scientific knowledge, who would mainly favour some of the Kuhnian developments to discuss the normative sociology of science proposed by Merton.

3.2.3. Sociology of Scientific Knowledge: The Strong Programme

The so-called Strong Programme in the Sociology of Science was originally developed at the University of Edinburgh. In a context of concern about the extreme specialisation in the training of scientists and engineers, the Science Studies Unit was created at this University in 1964. Its objective was to provide future scientists with an overview of the ways in which scientific activity is related with other aspects of society, and to include training in political and organisational aspects of science, history and philosophy of science, among other subjects.

Their work showed that the social study of scientific activity needed to contemplate not only an analysis of the institutional and other social relations among scientists, but also the character of knowledge itself. At the basis of this broad movement, later further developed by authors such as Latour, Woolgar and Knorr Cetina, was the claim that science, including its 'internal' aspects, was socially constituted (Woolgar and Ashmore, 1988).

The main principle of the Strong Programme was that all types of knowledge, including scientific knowledge 'should be treated as material for investigation' (Bloor, 1976, p.1). For example, at the beginning of his book, David Bloor (1976) stated that sociologists until that time had always considered scientific knowledge as a special case of knowledge, and that this conception has prevented them from studying the nature of scientific knowledge from a sociological point of view: 'Some sociologists believe that sociology of knowledge cannot explain the very content and nature of scientific knowledge. They say that knowledge as such, as distinct from the circumstances surrounding its production, is beyond their grasp' (Bloor, 1976, p.1). The Strong Programme developed an alternative approach to science more interested in giving an account of the 'black box' in the process of construction of scientific facts, considering science as a process of social construction of objectivity (Latour, 2003).

Their proposal of studying knowledge from a social approach had many implications. Firstly, with regard to the way of understanding knowledge, Bloor points out:

The sociologist is concerned with knowledge, including scientific knowledge, purely as a natural phenomenon. His definition of knowledge will therefore be rather different from that of either the layman or the philosopher. Instead of defining it as a true belief, knowledge for the sociologist is whatever men take to be knowledge (Bloor, 1976, p. 5).

Secondly, as with previous developments in the sociology of science, they continued to recognise the importance of providing empirical studies of science. For example, Barnes (1969) holds that the main condition to empirically analyse the production of scientific knowledge was to consider Kuhnian paradigms as social entities. Thirdly, this approach was based on the conception that, as with human beliefs, scientific knowledge functions as a mosaic of ideas or concepts that do not constitute an integrated or coherent system. This approach implied that true and false scientific knowledge should be studied in the same way: 'It would be impartial with respect to truth and falsity, rationality or irrationality, success or failure. Both sides of these dichotomies will require explanation' (Bloor, 1976, p. 5).

In 1979, Latour and Woolgar published what would be identified as the first ethnographic study of a scientific laboratory (Latour & Woolgar, 1986), in which they studied scientists as if they were another 'exotic tribe' under anthropological analysis. Latour spent 21 months from 1975 to 1977 as a participant-observer in the laboratory of Roger Guillemin at the Salk Institute in California. Guillemin and Andrew Schally are credited with the discovery of Thyrotropin Releasing Factor or Hormone (TRF(H)), for which they were awarded the Nobel prize in 1977. In their book, Latour and Woolgar (1986) argue that facts in science are 'constructed'. They show with the case of TRF that facts do not exist 'out there' to be discovered by the scientists. Rather, they argue that the process of fact creation depends more on social conditions than on the existence of, say, TRF in the real world. Furthermore, they showed that the laboratory practices they analysed did not investigate things in themselves; they rather examined 'literary inscriptions' produced by technicians working with

instruments. They also stated that once the product is finished, all of the intermediary steps that made the production possible are forgotten. Lynch (1993) has summarised the two main aspects of their analysis as follows: a) that the scientific role is mainly a literary and interpretive activity, and b) that scientific facts are constructed and distributed in the form of statements²⁹.

These claims were extremely controversial, not only because they challenged the traditional belief in science as a way of discovering the truth, but also because 'Sociology was intruding upon philosophers' turf; philosophers were no longer the (sole) arbiters of which standards and practices could ensure reliable scientific knowledge' (Woolgar, 1996, p. 828). This generated interesting discussions through the 1970s and 1980s. The main critique that the Strong Programme received related to what was considered by some authors as an extremely relativistic position. However, Woolgar and Ashmore (Woolgar, 1996; Woolgar & Ashmore, 1988) have rejected the accusation that they hold a relativistic perspective, arguing that the recognition of the influence of social factors on the production of knowledge does not by itself imply a relativistic position.

One example of a derivative of this movement is actor-network theory or sociology of translation, developed mainly by Latour and Callon (Latour, 1987; Callon, 1986). The focus of this approach is to call attention to the power relations involved in the scientific work. For them, successful scientists are not those who best follow the rules of the scientific method, but those who manage to provide effective representation and to enrol the most people or institutions into a network. It is worth mentioning that most of the studies resulting from the Strong Programme have focused on analysing the process of knowledge production in natural (pure / hard) sciences. Fields such as mathematics, physics, statistics, biology, and astronomy are the most studied, and ethnographic, ethnomethodological and historical case studies have been the privileged methodologies.

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²⁹ This position allowed them to carry out intensive analysis of the written statements of scientific research. For a more detail description: see Lynch (1993) and Latour and Woolgar (1986).

By the end of the 1980s a reorganisation of the study of science had been achieved, turning the sociology of science into a broad field of problems named Science and Technology Studies. This is an *umbrella* expression for a growing number of overlapping fields in the humanities and social sciences whose objects of inquiry are science, technology, knowledge production and/or medicine. More recently, the field has received the additions of economy, psychology, the rhetoric of science, along with feminist and multiculturalist critiques of science (For a review of the literature on psychology of science see for instance Feist, 2006). The newer developments in Science and Technology Studies have maintained and further developed the interdisciplinary character postulated by the Strong Programme and have included other theoretical perspectives in their analysis.

In Bourdieu's terms, one significant contribution of laboratory studies was to break 'the rather distant and undifferentiated vision of science' (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 21) promoted by the Mertonian developments, and to encourage a closer look at the sites of knowledge production. Bourdieu would also agree with various authors from the laboratory studies perspective in understanding that analysing only published accounts implied an impoverishment of the possibilities of analysis of research practice. For example, Gilbert and Mulkay (1984) emphasised the 'double character' of the scientific repertoire. They showed that discourses generated by scientists varied according to the context, and they identified two types of repertories used by scientists. On the one hand, there is the empiricist repertoire, which is typical of formal experimental research papers, and reflects an empiricist representation of scientific action. On the other hand, a contingent repertoire coexists with the empiricist one. This is related to the informal discursive products of scientists and stresses the importance of the personal contingencies in their actions and decisions. However, Bourdieu would be critical of some aspects implicit in work within the Strong Programme. He argues that in these types of studies this 'double character' of the scientific repertoire is understood as 'conscious' strategies of the researchers 'not to say, cynical, strategems, oriented toward the glory of the researcher' (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 25). Moreover, he states that laboratory studies

have not considered the wider social spaces in which each laboratory is situated.

A laboratory is a social microcosm, itself situated in a space containing other laboratories, these together constituting a discipline (itself situated in a hierarchized space, that of the disciplines), and that it derives a major part of its properties from the positions it occupies within that space. If one ignores this series of structural interlockings [...] one is likely [...] to look in the laboratory for explanatory principles which in fact lie outside it, in the structure of the space within which it is located (Bourdieu, 2004, pp. 32-33).

Bourdieu's critique of the understanding of researchers' strategies as 'conscious' and of the interactionist approach that does not recognise the existence of objective structures beyond the laboratories under study allows him to justify the importance of using the concepts of field and habitus in the study of scientific practices. In the next section I present the contributions of Bourdieu's theory of fields to the study of science and universities.

3.2.4. Fields, habitus and capital in the analysis of science and higher education institutions

Bourdieu's theoretical developments have been an important contribution to the study of the scientific field and of the higher education systems. In a series of works, Bourdieu (1971, 1975a, 1975b, 1976, 1977, 1990, 1995, 2004, 2008) opted to take science, scientists, academics and intellectuals as his objects of analysis. As with other approaches in the sociology of science, he was interested in recognising science's social and historical nature as a way of collaborating in strengthening scientific practices.

The main Bourdieusian concepts for a sociology of science are the notions of field, habitus and scientific capital. Both the concepts of field and habitus are a result of his attempt to overcome the traditional dichotomies that have characterised philosophical and sociological thought such as subject and object, structure and agency, and society and individual. These concepts take into account a dual characterisation of the social life, and what were traditionally considered antagonistic paradigms are, for Bourdieu, two necessary moments

of a particular form of analysis (Gutiérrez, 2009; Meo, 2007). While habitus refers to the embodied matrix of dispositions and practices that allows agents to participate in different social spaces, field is a spatial metaphor for the structure of relationships that guides practices. The field represents the space where power relations take place, where the struggle for the imposition of legitimated forms of capital occur (Bourdieu, 1976; Díaz, 1995). Although the notion of field is more related to the objective aspects of the social life, and the notion of habitus holds a more subjectivist scope and is related to the positions and dispositions of agents, neither concept can exist independently nor can they make sense if not working together.

The concept of field enables Bourdieu to move from an image of science as a 'pacific' scientific community acting according ideal norms (as stated by the Mertonians) to a conception of scientific practices as spaces for the struggle of forces. The scientific field is a field of symbolic production³⁰, as is the religious field, the intellectual field, the artistic field and so on. Its particularity lies, according to Bourdieu, in the fact that the products resulting from the scientific field are presented as 'objective truths' and the mechanisms of social production within the scientific field tend to be invisible. Although scientific products are usually presented as the result of a disinterested community which follows the ideal of construction of scientific truths, for Bourdieu the scientific field does not escape the 'law of interest' (Bourdieu, 1976). In a discussion of Mertonian theories, he states that the representation of scientists as professionals guided by 'disinterestness' and unselfishness only shows that the interest of the scientific field is to construct itself as a field beyond interests. In his view, the scientific field is a social space for the struggle for the monopoly of scientific authority (Bourdieu, 1976). The scientific authority is a form of capital that can be accumulated, distributed and restructured in other species of capital. The accumulation of scientific authority gives legitimacy to the agents who hold it, as well as prestige and recognition, and the power of influencing the constitutive mechanisms of the field. Bourdieu also adds that, in the struggle for

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³⁰ Fields of symbolic production are, for Bourdieu, those spaces where the production, reproduction and circulation of symbolic goods (understood as instruments of knowledge and communication in human practices) take place.

the legitimacy and authority within a scientific field, the conception of science is also a territory of disputes. Each member tries to impose not only their findings but also their conception of science, that is, which problems, methods and theories should be considered scientific (Bourdieu, 1976).

As previously stated, Bourdieu (1975b, 2004) understood that the main contributions that the concepts of field and habitus have for the sociology of science was the possibility they offered for going beyond internalist and normativistic representations of change. In Bourdieu's words, each scientific act 'is the product of the encounter between two histories, a history embodied, incorporated in the form of dispositions, and a history objectified on the very structure of the field and in technical objects (instruments), writings, etc.' (Bourdieu, 2004, 35).

A scientist is a scientific field made flesh, an agent whose cognitive structures are homologous with the structure of the field and, as a consequence, constantly adjusted to the expectations inscribed in the field. These rules and regularities, which 'determine', so to speak, the scientist's behaviour, exist as such – that is, as factors effectively capable of orienting scientists' practice in the direction of conformity with the demands of scientificity – only because they are perceived by scientists endowed with the habitus that makes them capable of perceiving and appreciating them, and both disposed and able to implement them (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 41).

Habitus is a system of unconscious dispositions and a principle for the production of practices. It is related to the production and reproduction of social identities and it is the result of the interiorisation of objective structures (Bourdieu, 1971). The concept of habitus, as a structured and structuring principle, can be understood both as a general principle of the theory of action and as a specific principle of a particular category of agents (Bourdieu, 2004). According to Bourdieu, in the scientific field the habitus, as a system of dispositions, takes specific forms depending on the knowledge specialty, and also according to secondary principles such as educational or social trajectories, sex, social origin and country (Bourdieu, 2004).

The habitus manifests itself continuously, in oral examinations, in seminar presentations, in contacts with others, and, more simple, in a bodily hexis, a way of tilting the head, a posture of the body, which is most directly visible transcription, and the social reception of these visible signs sends back to

the person in question an image of himself which means that he feels authorized and encouraged, or not, in his dispositions, which, in other people, would be discouraged or forbidden (Bourdieu, 2004, p. 44).

In Bourdieu's theory the concept of capital (in its different forms) enables the analysis of the micropolitics of power in every field. The notion of capital focuses on the stakes, which organise competition and conflict among agents. In every field the main objective of players, in his view, is to gain legitimacy, dominance and authority. The scientific capital is distributed among agents according to the past struggles and the present objectifications in institutions and dispositions. The unconscious strategies deployed by different players to gain or maintain legitimacy, that is -to accumulate capital- are the realization of the notion of habitus in practice (Bourdieu, 1976). Strategies deployed by each agent within the field and their chances of success depend on the position occupied within the structure. Those who hold certain types of capital would prefer some strategies over others, while those who are struggling to obtain certain amounts of capital, and recognition would prefer other strategies. For example while the consecrated agents within a field would promote strategies of conservation of capital, the newcomers to a field would produce strategies of subversion or succession (Bourdieu, 1976).

Bourdieu's approach has been very useful in the analyses of power relations in higher education institutions and of intellectual fields. For example, 'Homo academicus' (Bourdieu, 2008) is an analysis of the university world in France where he puts his concepts to work, exploring the various forms of capital that organise the university system and the different types of career paths expected in each faculty. Bourdieu argues that economic and cultural capitals organise the field of power in society, and states that in general university professors are closer to the cultural capital (the dominated pole in the field of power). However, he points out that the division between the economic and cultural capital that configures the field of power is reproduced within each faculty and among the different faculties. That is, science faculties are dominated by the economic capital but are dominant in their cultural capital, while medicine and law faculties are dominating with respect to their economic capital and dominated in their cultural capital. He also argues that institutions are means for the generation of

similar habitus and in this sense academics are recruited to maintain the stability of these institutions.

More recently, other authors have drawn on Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and research and academic capital to analyse the research profession and the configuration of fields of knowledge. Thus, with respect to the former, Lucas (2006) has studied the changing rules of the 'research game' in the UK context of the implementations of the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE). She analyses how universities, departments and individual academics have dealt with this new regulative context and how it has changed the cultures and values of academic life within universities. She highlights the fact that in this new context, the dominance of research as the main activity within universities has served to influence and often distort other academic practices such as teaching and management.

3.2.5. Discussion: The social study of scientific knowledge and the concept of field in this research

The previous sections have provided an overview of some of the main developments during the last century in the study of science and scientific knowledge from a sociological perspective. The approaches presented, such as the Mertonian, the Kuhnian, and the Strong Programme, have opened up the space for the discussion about the implications for a sociological study of science and scientific knowledge, and have been the starting point from where Bourdieu has developed his proposal for a sociology of science (Bourdieu, 2004). In this section I focus on discussing Bourdieu's contributions in relation to the problems posed in the present research.

Bourdieu's theory of fields provides this research with a comprehensive approach for understanding how actors' dispositions shape and are shaped by knowledge production practices, considering knowledge fields as social practices produced and reproduced by people in their discourses and activities, and as the enactment of power relations and legitimation mechanisms operating in every field.

Moreover, the work of Bourdieu is useful in this thesis because universities have constituted the object of study in various of his works regarding fields and habitus and had provided empirically tested tools -as Lucas (2006) has stated-to better understand the modern university system, organisation and cultures within universities and the construction of academic status and identity' (Lucas, 2006, p. 54).

Bourdieu's approach is also enlightening in this research in providing tools for an approach to the empirical that can take into account different layers or dimensions of problems and forces interacting in the dynamic configurations of intellectual fields and the professional activities associated with them. In this sense, his tools have helped in the development of a research design which considers different kinds of forces operating simultaneously, thus enabling the establishment of different layers of analysis within a field (as opposed to some kinds of analysis undertaken within the social realist approaches, which -as will be presented in chapter 4- tend to totalize fields of knowledge through the development of single homogeneous descriptions of each field). Bourdieu's concept of field is also enriching in this research because it overcomes the more essentialist and static conception of knowledge that has been traditionally associated with the concept of discipline and allows the researcher to move away from a more 'idealistic view' of science, such as the one held by the Mertonians, as a rational community where everybody is working for the sake of the community. Social practices have proved to be more complex and agents' motivations tend to be more varied and grounded in dispositions coming from their present and past participation in very different fields of practice. This aspect has guided the inclusion in the interviews with academics of questions oriented toward their past experiences, in which may influence their present conception of their profession and their knowledge production practices.

However, one central discussion in this thesis in the decision to adopt the Bourdieusian concept of field relates to the question of whether the empirical studied in this research can be strictly defined as a Bourdieusian field. The answer, as usual, would depend on the aspects of the Bourdieusian definition of field that are considered as central. For example, the concept of autonomy of a

field would be problematic in the Argentinian social sciences context and most of the intellectual fields there could be disregarded as fields of knowledge if only defined by this characteristic (e.g. Tenti Fanfani, 2010 in relation to sociology of education). Moreover, while Bourdieu's work on the university system in Homo academicus is an excellent description of the French university system in the 1960s, in Argentina, university systems and research practices (especially in the social sciences) seem to be much less structured, their legitimation and hierarchical mechanisms are much more varied, and their dynamics are less predictable. In the same sense, the types of capitals analysed by Bourdieu in the aforementioned book (operationalized, for example, in indicators such as social origins, father's profession, geographical origins, religion of the family; school attended, educational success, establishment attended for higher education, TV appearances) are directed towards identifying social stratification and reproduction of social order which are not the central questions organising this work. In this sense, as the next chapter will demonstrate, Bernstein's analysis of fields of knowledge seems closer to the focus of this research than Bourdieu's types of capital, which do not help to get inside the discursive formation of forms of knowledge, or the relation of this to institutional/social and subjective forces.

In answering the question of whether the empirical studied in this research can be defined as a Bourdieusian field, following Lucas (2006), I argue that a way of discerning what is central in a definition of a field is to look at the aspects that are considered as invariant in this concept. Lucas states: 'The invariant of a field is that it is a site of struggle; the variants of a field are what need to be analysed in order to understand its operation. Thus, the variants of forms of capital are different across and within fields, at different times' (Lucas, 2006, p. 59). In this sense, this research uses the concept of field as a spatial metaphor for the analysis of the different forces operating, that is, the invariant dimension of the concept of field. Part of the analysis of the empirical would be to identify the variants of the field in the analysed context. The position adopted in this thesis is that in the understanding of fields (whatever they are), historization and contextualisation strategies need to be used to explain local cultures and practices. The same concept of field, understood as a dynamic and changing

space of forces, allows the Argentinian situation and the focus chosen in this study to be interpreted using some of Bourdieu's interpretations and dismissing others. In this sense, the dialogue between the Bourdieusian language of fields and the Bernsteinian and social realist approaches that will be presented in chapter 4 aims to deepen the analytical tools needed for the type of engagement with the empirical defined in this thesis, this being another contribution of this research to the knowledge field in which it is embedded.

The next section continues with the enterprise of presenting the key pieces of work within with this thesis is situated, focusing on the works that have taken the academic profession and the knowledge production practices within higher education institutions as their objects of study.

3.3. Academic profession and knowledge production in the academy: Higher Education studies

3.3.1. Mapping the production

Unlike the sociology of science and sociology of knowledge, whose developments date back to the beginning of the twentieth century, the field of higher education studies is much more recent. Academics in higher education institutions had not been a frequent object of study in research until the late 1960s. In 1977, more than a decade after systematic studies of academics started to be developed, Philip Altbach wrote:

Research on the academic profession is at present a small subspecialty of the growing field of studies on postsecondary education. There is no doubt some resistance within the academic world itself to research on the professoriate. Social scientists have long conducted research on juvenile delinquents, tribal aborigines, and religious sects: They have seldom turned their analytical tools on themselves and their colleagues [...]. There is no doubt some fear about exposing academics' mores to public scrutiny and a feeling that academic work is somehow above critical analysis (Altbach, 1977, p. 1).

But the panorama has changed in the last decades and nowadays – as is presented later - the study of the academic profession and its working conditions, academics' attitudes and perceptions towards different aspects of their profession, and academic identities and cultures is a widespread field of inquiry across the world. As presented in chapter 2, most of the current literature presents the study of academics and the academic profession in terms of transformation and change, providing an account of a profession that is in process of redefinition. References to changing roles in the academy, new challenges in the academic profession, academic identities in crisis, and so on, are common discussions in these studies (See for instance Lechuga, 2006; Maassen, 2000; Trowler, 1998; Welch, 2005a).

Gumport (2007), Clark (2007) and Altbach (1977) report that these studies started to be developed together with the consolidation of the broader field of sociology of higher education. By the end of World War II, sociological studies of higher education began to systematise as a field of study in its own right and to develop a specific research agenda. This was favoured by a context in which massification of higher education institutions and growth in the importance of knowledge in society transformed these institutions and the people working in them into objects more visible to the interests of both the general public and the government and economic elites³¹. The growing interest in studying academic work as a profession was also connected with the development of a corpus of knowledge in the general sociology of occupations and professions (Clark, 2007; Gumport, 2007).

Teichler (2000) provides a classification of recent higher education research based on four 'spheres of knowledge' which reflect also the main disciplines currently developing each kind of study:

 Quantitative-structural aspects (such as admission, diversification and the relationship between higher education and employment, which tend to be studied by economists and sociologists);

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³¹ It must be acknowledged that some isolated studies about academics were developed before the institutionalization of Higher Education studies in the 1960s and 1970s. For example, in the USA: 'The academic Man' by Lazarsfeld and Thielens in 1958; and in the U.K: 'The British academics', by Halsey and Trow in 1956.

- Knowledge and subject related aspects (such as disciplinarity and interdisciplinarity, acquisition and use of knowledge, which are addressed mainly by specialists in education and from the fields of sociology of science and knowledge);
- Person or teaching and learning related aspects (e.g. guidance and counselling, teaching and learning styles, particularly addressed by education and psychology researchers); and
- Institutional aspects (such as planning, administration, and management, which are addressed by law, political science, economics, administration and sociology of organisations.

Higher education studies on academic professions have become a very heterogeneous field in recent years, comprising a wider variety of topics, an eclectic body of theories and conceptual frameworks, and a prolific output in very different countries.

There is a prolific group of studies focused on the employment and working conditions of academics, which analyses aspects such as: salaries and job security, employment type and contract conditions, professionalization and unionisation, academic mobility, workload, career tracks and staff development. (e.g. Bryson & Barnes, 2000; Enders, 2000; Hockey, 2004). The problem of professional trajectories of academics, and the ways in which early career academics are introduced to academic work have also received special attention in some studies (e.g. Akerlind, 2008b; Bath & Smith, 2004; Blackwell & Blackmore, 2003; Hodkhinson, 2004; Trowler & Knight, 2000). There is also a significant number of studies that link academic work to specific contextual aspects of higher education systems at present. For example, studies on academics working in an audit culture, the marketisation of the profession, and academic work in the face of a cult of efficiency and accountability (e.g. Evans, 1999; Ketteridge, Marshall, & Fry, 2002). Furthermore, studies based on the discussions presented in chapter 2 about new knowledge production forms (Gibbons et al., 1995; Nowotny, Scott, & Gibbons, 2002) and the new forms of relations among university, state and market or industry (e.g. Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 2000; Rhoads & Torres, 2006) analyse the ways in which these structural factors impact on the academic profession. Other studies focus on the phenomenon of globalisation phenomena and/or on the internationalisation of higher education to analyse their impact on academic work and academic identities (e.g. Currie, 2005; Welch, 2005b). Another strand of research on academics can be characterised by the researchers' interest in analysing inequalities within the academic profession, such as studies on women academics (e.g. Brooks, 1997) and the already mentioned work of Bourdieu in *Homo Academicus*, in which he analysed the linkage between academia and social class, identifying a clear correspondence between disciplinary prestige and original social class of faculty members (Bourdieu, 2008).

Of special interest for this research endeavour are two further types of works, one related to the role of researcher in higher education institutions and the other focused on the role of knowledge and disciplinarity. They are presented in turn below.

3.3.2. Academic roles and being a researcher

Academic roles are defined following Kyvic's (2000) review on this topic. He considers that, in sociological terms,

(...) a role is a social position or task which is constituted by regulations, norms and expectations to the holder of the position. In our context, this means that the role as a faculty member, and the work tasks defined for this position, is the sum of formal regulations as well as informal norms and expectations on the holder of the position from the state, the institution, colleagues, students and society at large (Kyvik, 2000, pp. 35-36).

In general, the literature agrees in identifying three main roles characterising the academic profession: teaching, research, and administration (e.g. Clark, 1987), with the teaching functions being by far as the most studied role (Akerlind, 2008a, 2009; Blaxter, Hughes, & Tight, 1998; Brew, 2001). Studies have also looked at other roles integrating academic work, such as consultancy, applied research, activities related to the disciplinary and professional community, external lecturing, and fee paid employment as a professional. In recent years, staff development and promotion of professional development has become

another extended role constituting the academic profession (e.g. Blackwell & Blackmore, 2003).

The researcher role

Various authors have agreed in the perception that the research role is a neglected topic in the literature on academic roles (Akerlind, 2008a, 2009; Blaxter et al., 1998; Brew, 2001), which seems to be strongly focused on the analysis of teaching functions. Following the review undertaken by Tight (2003) two main problematizations within the studies carried out on the research role can be found: a) the teaching and research nexus in higher education institutions, and b) academics' experiences and perceptions of research and being a researcher³².

With regard to the first group of studies, the ones interested in the relations between research and teaching, much of the literature is engaged in the general discussion about the double function expected for higher education institutions: production of new knowledge and training of professionals. Most of these studies, independently of their approach, are concerned with analysing the nature of this relationship and different ways in which research and teaching are connected (Griffiths, 2004 provides a review on this topic). For example, a controversial work undertaken by Hattie and Marsh (1996), based on a metaanalysis of the available research on the topic came to the conclusion that the correlation between research productivity and teaching effectiveness is zero, and that the usual perceptions in the academy about the benefits of linking these two activities are more a myth than a result of empirical research. However, research on academics' perceptions about the actual and desirable relations between these two roles have provided useful insights into the ways in which this relation is experienced by academics (Deem & Lucas, 2007; Neumann, 1992; Robertson & Bond, 2001). In a phenomenographic study

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³² He also acknowledges a third prolific group, to which he does not give the same status but which he identifies as 'sub-literature' in the topic: pedagogical oriented books focused on providing tools about 'how to' carry out research, get funding, prepare research proposals, and so on.

undertaken by Robertson and Bond (2001) five different academics' experiences related to the relationships between teaching and research are identified: research and teaching are seen as mutually incompatible activities; at the undergraduate level little or no connection is experienced; teaching is seen as a means of transmitting new research knowledge; teaching benefits from the modelling of research activities, encouraging a research/critical inquiry approach to learning; and teaching and research have a symbiotic relationship in a learning community. Additionally, another study undertaken by Griffith (2004) defines four models of the research-teaching nexus. Teaching can be research-led in the sense that the curriculum content selected is directly based on the research interests of the teaching staff and where the emphasis is on understanding research findings rather than research processes; teaching can be research-oriented in the sense that the curriculum places emphasis on understanding the processes by which knowledge is produced and of the knowledge produced; teaching can be research-based in the sense that the curriculum is largely designed around inquiry-based activities rather than on the acquisition of subject content; and teaching can be research-informed in the sense that it draws consciously on research into the teaching and learning process itself.

With respect to the second group of works related to the researcher role, these studies share a focus on the ways in which research and being a researcher is experienced and conceptualised by academics (e.g. Akerlind, 2008a; Bills, 2004; Bowden & Green, 2005; Brew, 2001; Bruce, Pham, & Stoodley, 2004; Ingerman & Booth, 2003; Kiley & Mullins, 2005). Although all of them are focused on analysing researchers' conceptions of research and researching, their works vary in their research interests, research subjects, and methodological approaches used.

The research interests vary from conceptions of research and of being a researcher (Akerlind, 2008b; Brew, 2001; Meyer, Shanahan, & Laugksch, 2005), conceptions of researchers of their object of study (Ingerman & Booth, 2003), academics' conceptions of success in research (Bowden & Green, 2005), and the significance and value which academics give to research (Bruce

et al., 2004). With respect to the sample selected the focus of the studies varies from national, cross-national to specific institutional settings; from cross-disciplinary to disciplinary-specific studies (e.g. Ingerman and Booth (2003) on physics, Bowden and Green (2005) on technology, and Bruce, Pham and Stoodley (2004) on information technology), and from early career researchers and postgraduate research students to consecrated researchers (e.g. Kiley and Mullins (2005) examining supervisors' written comments to research students; Bills (2004) on PhD supervisors conceptions of research; and Brew (2001) on established senior academics). With respect to methodological approaches, there is a considerable predominance of ethnophenographical research, although other types of approaches such as ethnomethodology, interview-based research, and content analysis were also found.

These studies have provided some tools for analysing research conceptions. For example, Brew's study (2001) provides an organisational language for understanding conceptions of research by established researchers from various disciplines. Using a phenomenographic approach, she searched for variations in academics' ways of understanding the nature of research and identified four different categories of research experience: a) domino: research perceived as a series of separate tasks; b) trading: research as a product that is exchanged for money, prestige or recognition; c) layer: research as a process of unveiling meanings or discovering; and d) journey: research as a personal experience that transforms the researcher as a person and as a professional.

Based on the questions guiding my own research, I have identified the different dimensions considered by these studies in analysing academic conceptions of research and being a researcher. They are: individual, professional, institutional, disciplinary and social. The individual dimension comprises those meanings of research that are related to the very personal motivations behind the role (e.g. those works that have identified academics' conception of research as enjoyable, as a personal journey of discovery, as learning). The 'professional' dimension refers to the conceptions related to the development of academics' professional career (e.g. the extent to which further research and career opportunities are created for the research group and their institution).

The 'institutional' dimension accounts for the conceptions related to the institutional culture where research practices are carried out. The 'disciplinary' dimension refers to the conceptions related to the sense of belonging to a scientific community (e.g. the conceptions that emphasise the contributions of research to enriching the knowledge field) and the 'social' dimension refers to conceptions of research based on the impact that research should have in improving social aspects of the world, finding a solution to particular problems, and providing new tools to practitioners (e.g. the extent to which the research outcomes are useful and make a difference to the world). These dimensions were taken into account for the construction of the interview guide to academics in the present study.

Another aspect to recover from these studies for this research is the presentation of what is generally analysed as 'technical conceptions of research' (e.g. Kiley & Mullins, 2005) as opposed to other types of conceptions that take into account a broader definition of research. Technical conceptions of research define the activity as a series of tasks to be applied, where the researcher is conceived as an expert in applying a set of techniques. What has been mentioned as a 'broader definition of research' is diffuse in the available literature, with references to concepts such as 'producing new knowledge' and to broader constructions of the professional role of researcher as a thinker, intellectual, or creator.

3.3.3. Academic knowledge and disciplinarity

In his review of the field of higher education studies, Tight (2003) has pointed out that knowledge is the least studied aspect within this field. With the exception of some approaches that are currently being consolidated in the last few years, and that are presented at the end of this section and in the following chapter, knowledge and disciplinarity have traditionally taken a secondary role in the research on the academic profession. For example although disciplinarity has been an aspect commonly taken into account in studies analysing academics' working conditions, career development and conceptions and

meanings given to their work, in most of them (especially in the cross-national and cross-disciplinary studies), disciplines tend to be considered only as an independent variable to show variation of a dependent variable among groups, while the nature of the variation generally remains poorly examined. For example, Welch (2005a), used the indicator 'foreign highest degree' to analyse the level of 'internationalisation' of different disciplines and countries, and concludes that computing sciences and physics, and humanities and social sciences are the disciplines that are most consistently rated highly across the 16 countries studied. In another study using an international survey considering academics' opinions about institutional management and decision-making processes, it is concluded that the variation in the opinions is more influenced by the factor country rather than by the factor institution or discipline (Geurts & Maassen, 2005). These examples show a common use of academics' disciplinary affiliation only to show variation among groups, while the reasons for the variation are in general not explored.

Moreover, in research about the academic profession in specific disciplines, in most of the cases the disciplinary influence is traditionally acknowledged as a starting point rather than an issue to be investigated. For example, in a study about the nexus between research and teaching, Griffiths (2004) points out that 'There are profound differences between fields of study in the nature of their knowledge base, the drivers behind discipline development, the processes governing curriculum design, the dominant methods of teaching and assessment, the way academic staff are recruited, and other features that require careful analysis in drawing conclusions about how the research—teaching nexus might be fostered' (Griffiths, 2004, p. 711). In this sense, the study of a specific field of study, such as the one proposed in this thesis with respect to educational psychology, is understood as a way to contribute to discussing these types of knowledge claims through the analysis of empirical evidence.

Moreover, within higher education studies, knowledge and disciplines have been traditionally more likely to be included as an object of examination in research on teaching and on practices of knowledge transmission rather than on knowledge production. They are focused on typical curricular issues such as domain knowledge and subject cultures in teaching and learning in higher education. However, since the 1990s, knowledge production and disciplines or fields of knowledge have started to be positioned as a relevant object of inquiry in some approaches developed from higher education studies and from the sociology of education.

The work of Becher (1989) and Becher and Trowler (2001) on 'academic tribes and territories' represents important contributions which were very influential in their approach to connecting disciplinary knowledge and academic cultures. Based on the sociology of knowledge and social studies of science, but exploring the borders with higher education studies, they have investigated the relationship between the distinctive cultures within academic communities and disciplinary epistemologies. They understand culture as 'sets of taken-forgranted values, attitudes and ways of behaving which are articulated through and reinforced by recurrent practices among a group of people in a given context' (Becher & Trowler, 2001, p. 23). In interviewing academics working in different disciplines, Becher (1989) argues that the ways in which academics organise their work is strongly related to the intellectual tasks implied in their research.

The notions of academic tribes and territories have had a lasting impact in the academic discourses about disciplinarity and knowledge production, but have also been the object of controversies in recent years (Trowler, 2011). As Manathunga and Brew note, 'Becher's book provided a way of thinking about disciplines and about the people who inhabit them which appeared to be intuitively 'correct' and provided a framework for further thinking at the time. However universities have substantially changed since the publication of tribes and territories. Notions of knowledge have undergone radical shifts' (p. 44). In this sense, Manathunga and Brew argue that the focus on disciplines as distinct tribes 'tends to bleach out the complexity and variety of different ways of thinking about knowledge' (Manathunga and Brew, 2012, p. 46) and acts to reify perceptions of disciplinary identity formation, forcing academic work into

artificial structures that do not take into account the dynamics and different layers of identities related to knowledge production.

Moreover, some reviews of the Becher's initial book have argued that the design of the study falls into the problem of considering some kind epistemological determinism. As Trowler has recently affirmed, 'perspectives that emphasise the determinant power of epistemological structures within disciplines represent a misplaced essentialism that wrongly posits a deterministic relation between the causal power of knowledge and a range of social practices. Perhaps the most famous example of epistemological essentialism is Tony Becher's 1989 study' (Trowler, 2012b, p. 18). In this sense, Trowler (1998) judges that there are also structural factors influencing academic culture, such as: patterns of educational ideologies in each university, unique pre-existing culture configuration within universities, 'profitability' paradigms, norms, values and attitudes associated with the characteristics of the national culture, and external factors such as gender, ethnicity, social class and so on.

Manathunga and Brew (2012) also consider tribes and territories as a 'pejorative' classification intimately entangled with the forces of colonialism and white imperialism. 'These disciplinary classifications proved to be as false and illusory constructions of indigenous tribes, as western based misunderstandings and mistranslations of disciplinary social structure, conceptual geography and history' (Manathunga and Brew, 2012, p. 50). Inspired by Bauman's (2000) concept of 'liquid modernity', they propose the metaphor of oceans to describe the dynamics of knowledge and research practices in terms of fluidity, as constantly moving, vast, unpredictable, and lifegiving and acknowledging the fact that in some spheres change occurs faster than the formation of structures. 'Before new ideas have been integrated into habits and routines, further change has taken place. The static ways in which disciplinary structures are traditionally conceived leave no room for the speed of change in understanding and knowledge' (Manathunga & Brew, 2012, p. 46)

I consider that Becher's study has been useful for showing that academic cultures and academic ideas are related, and that they can only be separated

for analytical purposes. However, from my point of view, its implicit 'epistemological determinism' of the academic profession has downplayed many other aspects that influence identity production and reproduction with regards to the research profession and knowledge production practices. Disciplinary stances cannot by themselves explain the complexities of identity formation in different groups and actors. For example, following Trowler's more recent work (2011), it is possible to anticipate that there is often more commonality between professional practices across disciplines than within them, where it is common to find diversity and conflict of very different kinds.

Academics as individuals draw on different sets of discursive and valueladen resources which mean their focus may be on students, on the discipline itself (which was the underlying assumption of the original tribes and territories thesis), on the world of commerce and industry, or in some cases on challenging the status quo through their intellectual work (Trowler, 2011, p. 1).

The study of knowledge production within the academic profession is further analysed in chapter 4, introducing in detail the Bernsteinians' contributions in this aspect. In the next section I discuss the contributions of the field of higher education studies to the present research.

3.3.4. Discussion: Knowledge production and the researcher role in higher education institutions

The main contribution of the studies on the academic profession in the field of higher education studies to the present research is that they have provided key knowledge about the **specificity** of the activities of knowledge production within higher education institutions. That is, both the role of researcher, as well as the knowledge produced, acquire specific configurations when they are carried out within these types of institutions, and this aspect is crucial for the analysis undertaken in this research. For example, on the one hand, these studies have shown that the researcher role in higher education institutions is configured globally as one role among many others comprised within the academic profession. In this sense, their contribution for this study is that they highlight

the importance of looking at the other practices being carried out as part of the academic profession in order to understand certain aspects of the knowledge produced and of the identities associated with being a researcher within these institutions. Specifically, the investigations presented here which have studied the relations between teaching and research illuminate the fact that -in analysing the research practices in higher education institutions- one important dimension to take into account is the kind of dialogues that are established with teaching practices both in the configuration of the research role and in the analysis of the knowledge produced. As will be seen in the methodology chapter (chapter 5), the relation of the research activities to other professional activities carried out by academics has been transformed in this thesis into one of the central dimensions considered to analyse the data collected.

On the other hand, the collection of studies on the academic conceptions of research and being a researcher has been useful to the present research in orientating the development of an analytical tool comprising different layers from which to analyse academics' conceptions. As presented in section 3.3.2, the dimensions identified in these studies, which were used in this thesis to organise the analysis of academics' conceptions, are: individual, professional, institutional, disciplinary, and social.

Although these studies have proved useful to this research in offering descriptions of the variations of conceptions of research and being a researcher, they do not consider how these conceptions influence decisions related to the research being carried out and to the research profession. In this sense, the Bernsteinian developments to be presented in the next chapter will contribute, in this thesis, to identifying the underlying principles organising the conceptions and their relations to knowledge produced.

3.4. Conclusions

This chapter has been focused on presenting key work from the theoretical field in which the present investigation is situated. It has presented the literature that has paved the way for recent research in the field, and has especially focused on discussing the contributions of Bourdieu's proposal for a sociology of science and the work within the umbrella of 'higher education studies' to the present research.

This thesis will enhance knowledge production in two areas that have been identified as neglected spaces in the study of the academic profession: the study of the role of researcher and of knowledge production. The role of the researcher has been traditionally the less studied role in a context where most of the research output related to the academic profession has been centred in the teaching functions. In a similar way, the study of knowledge has tended to be focused on the activities of knowledge reproduction and recontextualization within the teaching functions, rather than on the activities of knowledge production. As was shown, although there are plenty of studies that acknowledge the relation of disciplinarity to the configuration of the academic profession, the inclusion of the structuring of knowledge as a central object of analysis has been traditionally downplayed within higher education studies and its inclusion as a dimension to be considered in this study, together with the other dimensions presented, is one of the central contributions of the present research to the theoretical field under analysis.

In sum, this research will enrich the theoretical field presented in this chapter by furthering our understanding of how knowledge production works in higher education institutions and how this production is influenced by the ways in which the researcher role is organised. In this sense, the present research will provide knowledge about a particular case study and a methodological design to put in relation knowledge production practices and the role of researcher within higher education institutions, whilst aiming to avoid the epistemological determinism observed in previous works by including in its design a wider group of dimensions of analysis.

The next chapter (chapter 4) will continue the analysis of the theoretical field, focusing on the contributions of the work undertaken by Basil Bernstein and recent work within social realist approaches, which -as will be seen- are crucial theoretical tools used to interpret the data collected in this research.

Chapter 4

Knowledge production in intellectual fields:

Bernstein and social realism's contributions

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has presented a part of the theoretical field in which this study is included, discussing a selection of the studies and theoretical approaches that have considered the analysis of knowledge production practices and the academic profession. This chapter continues developing the theoretical field, now focusing on presenting the contributions from Bernstein's theory and social realism approaches to the study of the social character of knowledge and its structuring aspect. The work to be presented here was initially developed within the sociology of education and has proved useful for the study of the reproduction and recontextualisation of knowledge in pedagogic practices. However, both some of Bernstein's later developments as well as social realism's proposals have moved beyond the educational field to propose specific tools for the exploration of intellectual fields and knowledge production.

As is well known, much of Bernstein's work has contributed to the development of a theory of knowledge in education. For Bernstein, dominant approaches in the sociology of education have traditionally focused on 'relations to knowledge' rather than 'relations within knowledge'. While the former refers to the ways in which pedagogic discourses reproduce external social relations of power such as of class, race, and gender, the latter involves the analysis of the structuring of knowledge itself and its intrinsic features. In his view, educational researchers have traditionally taken knowledge for granted, considering pedagogic discourse as a 'relay for power relations external to itself that has no consequences for what is relayed' (Bernstein, 2003, p. 158).

Bernstein's work has covered a varied range of theoretical and methodological issues, and since the early 1970s has a growing influence in certain schools of

thought in education, sociology of knowledge, and linguistics³³. In his work, he proposed a theoretical model to put in relation the macrosocial, microsocial and subjective aspects in the analysis of the power relations involved in every pedagogic process. As with Bourdieu, Bernstein was also concerned with overcoming traditional dichotomies that have characterised sociological thinking, such as the macro and micro and objective and subjective binaries.

In his analysis of knowledge Bernstein has moved first from an initial period focused on the transmission/acquisition of pedagogic discourses, their generating contexts and change (which occurred mainly in the 1970s) to the study of the structuring of pedagogic discourse in the 1980s through the concept of pedagogic device. His work in the 1990s continued to develop these previous discussions and started to include the analysis of knowledge structures from which pedagogic discourse is 'recontextualised', initiating in his later work the development of a theoretical model for the analysis of the production of knowledge structures (Bernstein, 1999). His distinction between reproduction, recontextualisation and production of knowledge is the basis of these movements. Bernstein's conceptualisation of a theory of knowledge in education has differentiated three specific fields of activity with their own rules of formation: a field of production where new knowledge is created and where intellectual fields are developed; a field of recontextualisation where discourses from the field of production are selected and recontextualised to become educational knowledge; and a field of reproduction where knowledge is taught, and where pedagogic practice occurs. Although his work was mainly orientated towards the production of an organisational language to describe the reproduction and recontextualisation of knowledge in education, part of his later work focused on the problem of the structuring of knowledge in the intellectual fields of knowledge production and the conditions for their productivity³⁴.

³³ The functional sociolinguistics of Michael Halliday and the social realist school of knowledge proposed by Maton and Moore are examples of these varied developments. Bernstein's code theory has had impact on a growing set of studies into knowledge not only inside education but also across other fields, and covering knowledge production, teaching, and learning.

³⁴ Some of these latest ideas can be traced back to Bernstein's early work, and represent the elaboration of long-standing concerns on his part.

Following this path initiated by Bernstein, especially in his later writings, other scholars have furthered his work under the social realism approach. This work has produced conceptual tools to analyse the production of knowledge in intellectual fields, positioning their work as the 'natural next step' in conceptual development and empirical enquiry in order to continue developing a Bernsteinian theory of educational and intellectual knowledge (e.g. Maton, 2007; Maton & Moore, 2010b; Moore, 2006).

This chapter is organised as follows. In the next two sections (4.2 and 4.3), I introduce a selection of the concepts of Bernstein's theory that have paved the way for analysing the structuring aspect of knowledge in intellectual fields and the role of researcher in the present thesis. In doing so, I introduce Bernstein's analysis of the structures and grammars of fields, the concepts of classification and framing, and the recognition and realization rules underpinning his concept of code, as concepts that provides tools to this research for describing intellectual fields in terms of their organising principles. Also, as will be seen in the analysis chapter, these concepts have been useful for the construction of an organisational language to describe the ways in which the research profession is configured in the analysed case.

In sections 4.4 and 4.5 I focus on the discussions arising from the social realism perspective, presenting how they position and legitimate their proposal for the study of intellectual fields, and developing with detail the concepts of epistemic device (Moore & Maton, 2001) and the Legitimation Code Theory (Maton, 2004, 2007, 2008; Moore & Maton, 2001). Finally, in the discussion section (4.6.) I discuss some of the criticisms that the perspectives have received and I present the contributions of a Bernsteinian model to the present research with respect to the analysis of the role of researcher, to the ways in which academics establish knowledge disputes and legitimate their own positions in the psychoeducational field, and to the principles organising this field in the faculties analysed.

4.2. Knowledge production in intellectual fields. Bernstein's structures and grammars

Analysing the underlying principles of the theories of cultural reproduction in education, Bernstein (2000) suggests that these theories tend to understand education 'as a carrier of power relations external to education' (p. 4). In his opinion, these theories have not taken into account the internal structure of the discourse that enables power to be relayed. He also argues that these sociological approaches have concentrated on providing 'highly general' models for the analysis of social practices, but that they do not provide specific languages of description of the underlying principles present in any pedagogic practice and discourse, and the ways they shape consciousness differently. This aspect was discussed by Bernstein, for example, with respect to the Bourdieusian concept of habitus (Bernstein, 2000, p. 133).

Bernstein (1999, 2000) has developed distinctions between the forms taken by differing structures of knowledge within intellectual fields. In a paper published in 1999 he proposes to generate a language putting in relation 'the internal structure of specialised knowledge, the positional nature of their fields or arenas of practice, identity constructions and their change, and the forms of acquisition for successful performances' (Bernstein, 1999, p. 157). He begins this paper by distinguishing between what he considers two fundamental forms of discourse: horizontal and vertical discourses, stating that in both discourses different forms of knowledge are realized. While the former refers to everyday or 'commonsense' knowledge and is deeply context dependent, tacit, segmented and multilayered, the latter refers to educational, formal or 'official' knowledge, and it is highly decontextualised. Both discourses operate with distributive rules that allow the circulation of knowledge, these rules being, in the case of vertical discourses stronger and more explicit.

Bernstein then makes a second distinction within vertical discourses between hierarchical and horizontal knowledge structures, which he considers are different modalities of vertical discourses. Hierarchical knowledge structures, such as those of physics, are a 'coherent, explicit and systematically principled structure, hierarchically organised' (p. 161) and progress through integrating

knowledge in an attempt to create very general propositions in order to cover greater number of phenomena and to operate at more abstract levels. By contrast, horizontal knowledge structures, such as the humanities and social sciences, take the form of 'a series of specialised languages with specialised modes of interrogation, specialised criteria for the production and circulation of texts' (p. 161), are strongly bounded (in the sense that there are clear distances between categories) and work through the addition of a new perspective or school alongside existing approaches. In Bernstein's view, hierarchical knowledge structures are based upon what he calls an 'integrating code', while horizontal knowledge structures are produced by 'collection or serial codes'35. Concerned with progress within each type of knowledge structure, Bernstein highlights that in the case of hierarchical knowledge structures 'development is seen as the development of theory, which is more general, more integrating, than previous theory' (p.163). In contrast, in the case of horizontal knowledge structures, each language has its own criteria for the production of legitimate texts, procedures, evidence and questions, and this means that they are not 'translatable'. Because the integration of different languages is impossible, what counts as development in his view is the introduction of a new language³⁶.

The speakers of each language become as specialised and as excluding as the language. Their capital is bound up with the language and, therefore, defence of and challenge of other languages, is intrinsic to a horizontal knowledge structure. A particular field is constructed by the internal characteristics of a horizontal knowledge structure. Thus, the internal characteristics and external field amplify the serial character of a horizontal knowledge structure (p. 163).

Bernstein then goes further in analysing horizontal knowledge structures, identifying relatively strong and weak grammars. Grammaticality, in Bernstein's terms, is related to how theory deals with the world or how theoretical languages deal with their empirical predicates (Muller, 2004:3). While mathematics, logic, linguistics, economics, and parts of psychology are

³⁵ His concept of code is developed in the next section.

³⁶ Even though Bernstein illustrates horizontal knowledge structures as a series of languages, in his writing he recognises that these languages are in tension, as a constant fight for the control of the field and the establishment of the legitimacy of knowledge produced is present.

examples of horizontal knowledge structures with strong grammars, social anthropology, cultural studies and sociology illustrate, in his view, horizontal knowledge structures with weak grammar. Knowledge structures with a strong grammar are 'those whose languages have an explicit conceptual syntax capable of 'relatively' precise empirical descriptions and/or of generating formal modelling of empirical relations³⁷ (p. 163). Alternatively, in knowledge structures with weak grammars these powers are weaker, and their organisation is serial and more segmentally organised. The weaker the grammar is, the weaker is its capacity to identify empirical correlates (Muller, 2004). Concerning the acquisition of knowledge structures with strong and weak grammars, Bernstein asserts that in the case of strong grammars the switch from one theory to another does not imply a break in the language. By contrast, managing the different array of languages together is central to the transmission and acquisition of weak grammars. In the latter, it implies the acquisition of a particular 'gaze', understood as a 'particular mode of recognising and realising what counts as an 'authentic' sociological reality' (p. 165). That is, the selection of the languages implies a principle of recontextualisation based on a social basis.

I say that this principle is social to indicate that choice here is not rational in the sense that it is based on the 'truth' of one of the specialised languages. For each language reveals some 'truth', although to a great extent, this partial 'truth' is incommensurate and language specific. The dominant perspective within any transmission may be a function of the power relations among the teachers, or of pressure from groups of acquirers, or, particularly today, a function of indirect and direct external pressures of the market or the State itself (Bernstein, 2000, p. 164).

In this analysis of the differential structuring of knowledge, Bernstein recognises the importance of relating the external conditions of the context of the fields to the internal conditions of the discourse, considering field and discourse as interdependent. In his own words:

The structuring of the social relationships generates the forms of discourse

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³⁷ Even though the link with the empirical is central in his definition of 'strong grammars', he acknowledges that mathematics and logic would have a special status because they are mostly not designed to satisfy empirical criteria (Bernstein, 1999).

but the discourse in turn is structuring a form of consciousness, its contextual mode of orientation and realisation, and motivates forms of social solidarity (Bernstein, 2000, p. 160).

Bernstein is implying the recognition of a relation between the structures of fields and the social character of the knowledge produced. In chapter 7, these concepts will be used to analyse the ways in which the psycho-educational field of knowledge production is organised. The following section introduces the concepts that have provided a theoretical model for the analysis of the relations of power and control in knowledge fields and social practices, and their consequences for identity formation.

4.3. Codes and identities

Very early in his theoretical development, Bernstein introduced the concepts of classification and framing as ways of considering the analysis of power and control relations. Briefly, classification involves power relations and is concerned with the strength of the boundaries or the degree of insulation between the categories, agents, actors or discourses (Bernstein, 2000). For him, it is in the space between categories where discourses are specialised and so develop a special identity with a special voice and their own internal rules. In this sense, the specialisation of a category (in this case a discourse) is not created by something internal to that discourse but by something that it is between discourses. He uses the term insulation to describe the space between categories that creates particular identities. In this sense, classification is a principle that regulates relations between categories.

Framing, by contrast, involves the principle of control which regulates relations within a specific context and determines the 'locus of control' over the selection, sequencing and pacing of the instructional discourse (Bernstein, 2000, p. 13). In a pedagogic practice, for instance, framing is strong when the locus of control lies with the transmitter and the pedagogic practice is visible (the rules of instructional and regulative discourse are explicit), or weak when the locus of

control lies with the acquirer and the pedagogic practice is likely to be invisible (rules are implicit and the acquirer has more apparent control over the activity).

The concepts of classification and framing translate power relation and control relation respectively. Power and control are two analytically distinguishable dimensions which operate at different levels of analysis, but which are empirically embedded in each other. Power operates in the space between categories through its classificatory principle. Conversely, control regulates the legitimate forms of communication and socialisation within each category. Specific rules are enacted in the classification and framing principles. The classificatory principle relates to the strength of the insulation between categories and indicates how one context or category differs from another. These provide the key to the distinguishing features of each context and orientate the participant to what is expected, and to what is legitimate in that context (Bernstein, 1990, 1996, 2000). Recognition rules are the means that allow the participant to recognize the specialty of the context. While strong classification favours clear contextual specialties and identities that favour the recognition of the context, weak classification gives rise to more ambiguities in contextual recognition and the participant has a more active role in the way of interpreting it. Realization rules, on the other hand, are related to control relations and impact on how the acquirer puts meanings together and makes them public. In other words, the definition of legitimate meanings is a question of power, so it belongs to the classificatory principle and it is defined in the relation between contexts. By contrast, meanings that are privileged in a particular context are a function of the control system operating within this specific context, and are related to the framing principle.

The concept of codes has enabled Bernstein to develop an approach that integrates micro and macrostructural aspects, and objective and subjective dimensions through the consideration of three levels of analysis: institutional, interactional and subjective. Codes are, in his view, the regulating principles of subjects' experiences. They are tacitly acquired through the participation in social activities and that operate in the three levels. Once codes are acquired, they become a device that regulates individuals' positions, thoughts, modes of

being and of interpreting situations. 'Possessing' the code implies being able to recognise what meanings are relevant in every context and to generate behaviours and actions that respond to what is considered to be acceptable in each context. For Bernstein codes are meanings rather than a linguistic principle, so they are transported through language. The realization of meanings refers to the processes in which meanings are made public through language, gestures, and also body language.

General similarities can be traced between the Bourdieusian concept of habitus and the Bernsteinian concept of code. Although the concepts respond to different theoretical frameworks, and various contrasting aspects can found between the two (e.g. Harker & May, 1993), both proposals share in common an interest in the conceptualization of the profound and durable dispositions acquired during socialisation processes that direct the behaviour of the subjects into a particular direction (see for example the comparative analysis by Brigido (2006) and the proposal of a theoretical framework that integrates insights from both approaches by Maton (2010a)).

The pedagogic device is the mechanism that explains how power and control relations are enacted as an arena for the struggle and dispute over relevant meanings in any given context. It accounts for the way in which the classification and framing of knowledge are united in pedagogic practice (Bernstein, 2000).

In sum, Bernstein's definition of his research endeavour for analysing practices in three interrelated dimensions (macro, micro and subjective) implies a general interest for the study of the nature of symbolic control. As he has stated about his proposal:

A continuous attempt to understand something about the rules, practices and agencies regulating the legitimate creation, distribution, reproduction and change of consciousness by principles of communication through which a given distribution of power and dominant cultural categories are legitimated and reproduced. In short, an attempt to understand the nature of symbolic control (Bernstein, 2003, p. 108).

The concepts presented in this section will be used in the analysis chapters to analyse both the ways in which the role of researcher is produced in relation to other professional roles and to identify the classificatory principles operating in the field with respect to the knowledge produced. With respect to the analysis of the research profession, even though Bernstein's work did not explicitly focus on analysing professional practice, some authors such as Young (2008), Beck and Young (2005), and Daniels (2010a, 2010b) have drawn on his ideas to address the nature of professional knowledge and the conditions for its production and acquisition. For example, Daniels's study (2010a) is focused on the learning of professionals working in children's services and seeking to promote social inclusion, and it is concerned with the establishment of new forms of practices through inter-agency working. Drawing on the work of Vygotsky and Bernstein, he develops a model that takes into account both the shaping character of institutions and its transformation through the agency of participants, analysing the power and control relations involved communicative action. Beck and Young (2003) and Young (2008), in contrast, use the Bernsteinian theoretical proposal to analyse the recent challenges to the academic profession and how the ordering of knowledge (through singulars, regions and genericism) has consequences for academics' identities.

The next section will consider how Bernstein's code theory and the concept of pedagogic device are the starting points from which social realism has further developed a Bernsteinian theory for the social analysis of intellectual fields of knowledge.

4.4. Social realism, knowledge production and epistemic devices

As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, an array of perspectives and outputs has continued the work of Bernstein on the structuring of knowledge, proposing an approach that attends both to the epistemic and to the social character of knowledge. Moore and Maton (2001), Moore (2004), and Maton and Moore (2010a) acknowledge that Bernstein's work has introduced useful tools for systematically describing differences between intellectual fields in

terms of the organising principles of their knowledge. However, they recognise that these concepts need further development in order to build up a theory of knowledge structures and their underlying generative principles. In accordance with Bernstein's appreciation that sociology of education has prioritised 'relations to knowledge' rather than 'relations within knowledge' at the traditional approaches have been trapped in a false dichotomy about knowledge. On the one hand there is what they name as the 'positivist absolutism', which views knowledge as value-free, detached, objective, and not related to context, and which has focused on analysing the formal and epistemological properties of knowledge. On the other hand there is 'constructivist relativism' which holds that knowledge is socially constructed in particular cultural and historical backgrounds and which focuses its analysis on the power relations between actors. Maton and Moore state that a social realist perspective implies considering both aspects of the dichotomy.

A major concern for the social realist school is to replace this "either/or" with a refined and developed "both/and". This alternative view recognizes, contra positivism, the inescapably social character of knowledge but, contra constructivism, does not take this to inevitably entail relativism (Maton & Moore, 2010a, p. 2).

From this point of view, the fields of knowledge production comprise both 'relational structures of concepts and methods' which are related to the empirical world and the actions of actors positioned in institutions within particular contexts (Maton & Moore, 2010a).

Social realism is presented as a 'coalition of minds' that embraces the ideas of a number of intellectual developments. The theoretical proposal encompasses research and conceptual tools by a set of different authors. Among others, the sociological works of Pierre Bourdieu and Randall Collins, the philosophical

focus or perspective'. It is not that traditional sociology of education 'has failed to address the intrinsic features of knowledge through neglect or misplaced priorities, but rather that it cannot see an object of this kind as an object of study in its own right because of the way in which the intellectual field itself has been constituted and located' (p. 157).

Moore and Maton (2001) take the two sociologies of education 'relations to' and 'relations within' and state that the difference between them is a 'difference of principle and not just of

approach of Roy Bhaskar's critical realism, Ernest Gellner and Bernard Williams, and the linguistic perspective of the systemic functional linguistics of Michael Halliday are all considered (Maton & Moore, 2010a).

From Maton and Moore's perspective, the principles that validate the knowledge space of these 'coalitions of minds' are ontological realism, epistemological relativism and judgmental rationality. Ontological realism recognises that knowledge "is about something other than itself: there exists a reality beyond pure symbolic realm" (Maton & Moore, 2010a, p. 4). The principle of epistemological relativism acknowledges that knowledge is not necessarily a universal and invariant truth; on the contrary, knowledge is conceived as socially produced and as varying over time and across contexts. Finally the principle of judgemental rationality holds that 'there are rational, intersubjective bases for determining the relative merits of competing knowledge claims' (Maton & Moore, 2010a, p. 4).

Proposing to focus their object of inquiry on analysing the ways in which knowledge structures are produced, social realists seek a theoretical development for describing the underlying generative principles of knowledge structures (Moore & Maton, 2001, p. 154). The concept of epistemic device, as 'deliberately analogous' to Bernstein's concept of the pedagogic device is proposed to achieve this. While the pedagogic device relates to the recontextualisation of knowledge and explains how knowledge produced in intellectual fields comes to be transformed into pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, 2000), the epistemic device is proposed to explain the form taken by an intellectual fields and is understood as the means that "regulates how knowledge comes to be viewed as legitimate by altering relations between the arbitrary and non-arbitrary in knowledge" (Moore & Maton, 2001, p. 156). As with the pedagogic device, the epistemic device is considered the main source of conflict and struggle among actors, through what do social groups attempt to dominate how knowledge is constructed and distributed in every specific social context. The device regulates the different principles of legitimation active in

different intellectual fields³⁹ and it is realised in the differing modes of legitimation present in a field. It is considered as the instance through which knowledge structures and grammars of intellectual fields are maintained, reproduced and transformed.

The epistemic device is the means whereby actors, group of actors, or institutions may alter these relations. In other words, control of the device is access to a ruler and distributor of legitimate claims to new knowledge, legitimate membership of the field (professional identity), legitimate practices, and so forth. The epistemic device is thus the precondition of knowledge production; without the epistemic device there is no means of establishing the basis of knowledge claims (Moore & Maton, 2001, p. 161).

They forewarn about "an empiricist tendency to substantialism" (p. 161) that could try to find the epistemic device elsewhere, that is, "asking where the device may be seen, rather than when. Crucially, such postulated generative principles are realised not in space, but in time. One sees the effects of the device rather than the device itself" (Moore & Maton, 2001, p. 161).

In the next section, the proposal to consider languages of legitimation as realizations of the epistemic device is presented. The identification of languages of legitimation in the accounts of the academics' interviews will be used in chapter 7 as a way of analysing the underlying principles present in the psychoeducational field of knowledge production.

4.5. Legitimation Code Theory

Maton states that relations between the arbitrary and non-arbitrary⁴⁰ claimed by

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³⁹ The principles of legitimation are constructed from the relations between the arbitrary and the non-arbitrary of knowledge within intellectual fields.

⁴⁰ 'Arbitrary' is understood as the way in which knowledge is related to social relations of power and highlights the historical, contextual and social dimensions that have an influence in the organisation of knowledge production practices (previously presented as the 'relations to knowledge' scope). 'Non-arbitrary' refers to principles intrinsic to knowledge itself and it is related to the 'ontological imperative' that characterises realist research. The 'non-arbitrary' dimension recognises that knowledge has attributes specific to it and which are non-reducible to external and contextual interests (previously presented as the 'relations within knowledge' scope).

actors within fields of intellectual production represent what he names as principles of legitimation. Maton's Legitimation Code Theory is a proposal to explore within social realism the ways in which knowledge claims are legitimised in every specific knowledge field⁴¹. Considering that every practice, belief or knowledge claim "is about or oriented towards *something* and by *someone*", he distinguishes between an *epistemic relation* (ER) of the knowledge produced to the known object, and a *social relation* (SR) of the knowledge produced to the subject acting as knower. While the epistemic relation is about *what* can be claimed as knowledge and *how*, the social relation is about *who* can claim knowledge (Maton, 2004) (See figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Legitimation Code Theory. Three relations of knowledge claims

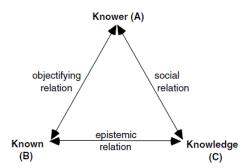


Figure 1. Three relations of knowledge claims.

Source: (Maton, 2003, p. 57)

As in Bernstein's work, the relation between the strength or weakness of these relations, expressed in their classification and framing principles, together form different variations of a code, as the regulating principles of subjects' experiences. The codes resulting from the relations ER[±] and SR[±] are: knowledge code, knower code, elite code, relativistic code⁴² (see figure 4.2).

• a knowledge code (ER+, SR-), where possession of specialised knowledge,

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⁴¹ Legitimation Code Theory is presented by Maton as a toolkit for the analysis of the underlying principles of any socio-cultural practice, inspired by the work of Bernstein and Bourdieu. The proposed theory consists of a set of analytical tools comprising dimensions such as autonomy, density, semantics, specialisation and temporality. Specialisation is the most developed and used dimension and it is the one presented here.

⁴² Knowledge codes and knower codes are the codes more commonly found in the literature that uses this perspective.

skills or procedures is emphasised as the basis of achievement and the dispositions of authors or actors are downplayed

- a knower code (ER-, SR+), where specialist knowledge or skills are less significant and instead the dispositions of the subject as a knower are emphasised as the measure of achievement, whether these are viewed as natural (e.g. 'genius'), cultivated (such as an educated artistic gaze) or socially based (such as a specific gender, e.g. being female)
- an elite code (ER+, SR+), where legitimacy is based on both possessing specialist knowledge and being the right kind of knower ('elite' does not mean 'socially exclusive' but rather highlights the necessity of possessing both legitimate knowledge and legitimate dispositions)
- a relativist code (ER-, SR-), where legitimate insight is ostensibly determined by neither specialist knowledge nor specific dispositions. (Van Krieken, 2014, p. 190)

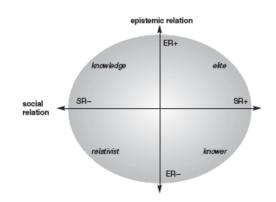


Figure 4.2: Legitimation Codes of Specialisation

Source: (Maton, 2007, p. 97)

As can be deduced from the argument, the principles of legitimation are regulated by the epistemic device. The principles of legitimation represent different modes of legitimation, and the dominance or absence of certain modes of legitimation within a field conceptualise the kind of relation between the arbitrary and the non-arbitrary in each specific field of knowledge. The form acquired by these legitimation codes conceptualises the 'rules of the game' in any particular social context.

Legitimation Code Theory has been applied to analyse the structuring of knowledge in different fields of knowledge production and reproduction. Maton

(2007) focuses on the debate between science and the humanities as two distinctive cultures, and identifies in them a knowledge structure and a knower structure respectively. Moore and Maton (2001) focus on the intellectual fields of literary criticism and mathematics to analyse how the epistemic device shapes the structuring of knowledge differently in thet two fields. They point out that in literary criticism legitimacy within the field is measured by focusing on the knower, and the principles of socialisation in the field are social rather epistemic. Mathematics, in contrast, generates a stronger grammar which enables cumulative and integrative knowledge. In the latter case, the epistemic dimension is stronger while the social relation is weaker. With respect to the study of fields of reproduction, Maton's (2007) analysis of Music in English school curriculum (2007)and Luckett's (2012) study of the sociology courses Urban Studies and Diversity studies are works that have analysed the challenges that the differential ways in which knowledge is structured poses for the teaching and learning of the field.

The present research will assess the tools proposed by Legitimation Code Theory in the identification of the languages of legitimation present in academics' discourses with regards to the psycho-educational field and to the knowledge produced by them within this field.

4.6. Discussion: The Bernsteinian toolbox in this research

In this section I first present a selection of issues related to the Bernsteinian approaches that have been discussed in recent years, such as the problems related to the Bernsteinians' realist conception of knowledge and what is considered by some authors as a 'deficit view' in their conceptualization of knowledge structures. Further, the discussion will highlight some of the problems found in the engagement of the theory with the empirical, and in the applicability and limitations that a theory of pedagogic knowledge, as in the Bernsteinian work, would have in this research focused on knowledge production practices. Following this, I outline the ways in which the concepts presented were used in the analysis of the empirical in the present research.

Although both Bernstein's theory and social realist approaches acknowledge the social character of knowledge, their proposals imply a conception of knowledge as something that has an existence beyond the social practices where it is used. In the case of social realists, this aspect is explicitly acknowledged in their writings. For example, Moore and Young (2010) state that "... a social theory must recognise that some knowledge is objective in ways that transcend the immediate conditions of its production" (Moore & Young, 2010, p. 26), and Maton and Moore (2010a) hold that knowledge is "emergent from but irreducible to the practices and contexts of its production and recontextualisation, teaching and learning" (p.5). In the case of Bernstein theoretical model, the realist conception is in general not explicitly developed. In Moore's view: "He was a realist, but without a theory of realism" (Moore, 2013, p. 190). This author says that even though Bernstein did not show interest in this aspect, in order for his theory to make sense, a realist position is needed.

Bernstein declined to engage in debates about epistemology –he insisted that we should move out of theory into methodology and create 'news' in the world rather than agonize over what is the world. But the question of the epistemological position of his theory is important. It is clearly a form of realism, in that he did believe that there actually is a world, a 'reality', beyond discourse, beyond the postmodernist margins of the text. His strictures on theory and method make no sense otherwise and the very idea of the 'discursive gap', the distinction between 'internal and external languages of description', between 'horizontal and hierarchical knowledge structures' make no sense except on a presumption of ontological realism (indeed, a Durkheimian one). Codes are real: they are social facts with real effects that profoundly affect the lives of real people throughout their lives (Moore, 2013, p. 190).

Realist approaches have been the object of some critiques regarding their way of conceiving knowledge. Dowling (2009) argues that these types of realist approaches carry within themselves the risk of 'fetishising' knowledge in their conception of knowledge as an entity with certain qualities that can, by itself, be described and analysed. Claims that knowledge reveals 'things as they are' are metaphorically named as forensics by Dowling, contrasting with construction as an 'attempt at semantic organisation' (p. 271).

The fetishising of knowledge -or indeed of discourse- as an entity or entities that have an existence that is in some sense independent of the actual practices with which it or they are being associated may be a helpful

initial organising move in thinking about cultural regularity. It seems to me, however, to be a very unhelpful move if we have any interest in engaging with the empirical. Bernstein takes possession of the empirical only to enable him to ignore its voice. Similar strategies have been adopted by some (though by no means all) other sociologists of knowledge, see, for example, Beck & Young, 2005; Maton, 2000; Moore & Muller, 1999, 2002; Moore & Young, 2001 (Dowling, 2009, p. 105).

The discussion as to whether or not knowledge is knowledge by itself goes beyond the remit of my research project. The focus of this research is to analyse knowledge as it produces and is produced in particular social practices, and Bernstein's tools have proved to be useful for the inclusion of knowledge as a dimension of analysis of the empirical of this research.

With respect to the critique of the interpretation of a 'deficit view' in Bernstein's work, Muller (2007) and Luckett (2012) argue that Bernstein's typologies have favoured a viewpoint where verticality, hierarchical knowledge structures and strong grammars are considered the desirable types of knowledge structures. In this sense, horizontal knowledge structures and weak grammars (as found in most of the social sciences and humanities) are forms of the structuring of fields that lack what are considered as valued ways of structuring knowledge. Luckett states that Bernstein's development favours a 'knowledge-building' model which considers the knowledge structure of the natural sciences as an ideal. Taking this critique as a point of departure, she propose Maton's Legitimation Code Theory and the sociolinquistics of Halliday as conceptual developments to overcome the deficit view⁴³. Related to this, the same problem is sometimes posed with respect to Bernstein's values 'weak' and 'strong', arguing that their use promotes a binary organisation of the world and impoverishes the variety of descriptions that can be achieved in relation to intellectual fields. However, in my view, the binary interpretation of the role of the values strong and weak in Bernstein's theory can be disregarded as a misrecognition of his work. Bernstein has highlighted on many occasions the relative character of the values depending on the social context that is under analysis. In this sense, the

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⁴³ In her study, she identified different ordering principles organising the grammars of the sociology courses Urban Studies and Diversity Studies, and how these differential grammars have an influence on the assessment criteria.

analysis undertaken in this research uses the values of strong and weak as relative dimensions to engage with the analysis of the data collected, rather than considering them as two opposing and fixed types that 'totalize' the interpretation of the empirical.

Another aspect that has created controversies with respect to Bernstein's work is related to the problems that some researchers have found in the empirical engagement with the theory (Dowling, 2009; Galant, 2008; Muller, 2004; Power, 2010). Muller (2004) has acknowledged that Bernstein's theory results in a useful starting point for the analysis of variation in knowledge forms. However, he states that certain aspects of the theory, such as the nature of the relation between verticality and grammatically, is unclear and that empirical studies should help in developing further elaboration or discussion within the theory. Galant's (2008) exercise of applying Bernstein framework illustrates some problems about where or how knowledge considered as an entity can be studied empirically. She analyses interviews undertaken with academics in the fields of education and medicine where they talked about a paper authored by the interviewee as well as another paper in the field authored by someone else. Using Bernstein's framework she analyses parts of the interviews that could be illustrating the verticality and grammaticality of discourses, and participants' conceptions of how knowledge grows in their fields. Pointing to the difficulties she finds in interpreting the academics' accounts, she reflects:

These critiques acknowledge shortcomings in the theory and anticipate the kinds of problems I raised here when trying to engage the theory with the empirical. However, my whole analysis could be dismissed by arguing either, that I am 'looking' in the wrong places or I am 'applying' the theory incorrectly. In other words, arguing that 'education' and 'medicine' are not appropriate fields⁴⁴ to focus on for this kind of analysis, or that academics' reflections on their practice is not an appropriate data context in which to 'apply' Bernstein's theory. Or even more specifically, arguing that for example talking about 'incremental advances in the discipline' is not the same as talking about 'verticality' of the discipline, or talking about publication choices people make cannot be compared to 'grammaticality' of a discourse. My challenge to such criticism however is, where then should I be looking and how should this theory be operationalised, that is, what are the appropriate data contexts in which one might 'apply' Bernstein's theory as a useful interpretative tool? (Galant, 2008, p. 18).

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⁴⁴ See for example the distinction Bernstein (2000:9) makes between 'singulars' and 'regions'.

Power (2010) has also encountered problems in organising 300 educational biographies into Bernstein's typology of pedagogic identities: "From the entire sample, I could only find five students to illustrate the different modes of identity [proposed by Bernstein], and even with these five, the connections were often somewhat tenuous" (Power, 2010, p. 246). Additionally, Dowling (2009) holds that any field of knowledge will necessarily present variations not only in its vertical, hierarchical and horizontal structuring, but also in the strength of its grammaticality, depending on the social practices where it is enacted.

All these authors have acknowledged the possibility of dismissing some of Bernstein's ideas while using others, and of developing further some aspects of his theory in order to make the theory work with the empirical. These critiques have foreshadowed the analysis of the data collected in this thesis, and have guided the types of relations established between the data and the theory in this thesis.

A final aspect that deserves refection in this thesis is how a theoretical proposal, such as the Bernsteinian, directed toward the analysis of pedagogic practices, can be used in the analysis of the researcher role and knowledge production in intellectual fields. Even though Bernstein has provided a wide definition of pedagogic practice 'as a fundamental social context through which cultural reproduction-production takes place' (Bernstein, 2000, p. 3) that could justify the use of this framework, I agree with the idea that the analysis of knowledge production seems to require further development of theoretical tools. This aspect is also acknowledged by Moore and Maton (2001), who affirm that in order to analyse intellectual fields or knowledge production, it is necessary to have a framework that moves 'from pedagogies to knowledge' (Bernstein, 2001). In this sense, this research aims to contribute to the further development of the theory in relation to its capacity to empirically study intellectual fields and knowledge production practices.

The Bernsteinian toolbox in this research

Bernsteinian approaches provide a general framework for this research for the analysis of intellectual fields in terms of the organising principles of knowledge forms. This framework enables me to study not only how identity shapes knowledge, but also how knowledge itself has an influence on identity, consciousness and actors' interactions. Further, these approaches give this research an organisational language that helps in overcoming various traditional binaries operating in sociological knowledge. On the one hand, Bernstein's proposal to study how codes operate in the macro, micro and subjective dimension implies an analytical proposal to overcome the dichotomies subjective-objective, macro-micro, and agency-structure that have organised much of the production within the social sciences. In other words, his proposal gives this research analytical and methodological tools for analysing the selected cases in terms of their subjective, interactional and structural dimensions. On the other hand, the Bernsteinians' proposal of relating the arbitrary and the non-arbitrary in the study of knowledge, that is, the epistemological or formal properties of knowledge and its social character, is useful for the kind of dialogues I aim to present in the analysis. Compared with the other frameworks presented in the literature review, a Bernsteinian perspective provides interpretative tools to focus on aspects of discursive practices such as how knowledge is developed in different domains and how 'progress' is understood, how different strategies to legitimise knowledge are deployed, and how specialised identities are constructed through particular organisations of knowledge.

However, as Dowling and Chung (2009) have argued, the research within social realist approaches has promoted 'totalizing' descriptions of knowledge fields, that is, it has described them under a homogenous characterisation of the underlying principles of each field. This kind of analysis poses important problems for the analysis of the empirical in the present research. As will be shown in the analysis, the configuration of fields and the legitimation strategies deployed tend to vary across contexts, actors and layers of analysis. In this sense, Dowling's proposal of identifying the varied strategies in play within fields, rather than totalising fields' descriptions is considered here as a more

suitable way of adapting the conceptual tools proposed by Maton in working with the analysis of the empirical in the present research.

Turning to more specific problems considered in the engagement with the data collected in this research, Bernstein's theoretical framework is central for organising three crucial aspects of the analysis. First, this research will draw on his code theory and the concepts of classification and framing in order to analyse the construction of professional identities as researchers. The researcher role will be assessed in this investigation in terms of the classificatory principles operating between the different professional roles played by academics, and of the framing principles operating within the researcher role. As stated previously, there is at present little work that has drawn on the Bersnteinian model to study the nature of professional knowledge and the conditions for its production and acquisition. In this sense, this research will aim to contribute to the theoretical field through testing in the analysed cases the potential of those conceptual tools for analysing professional roles.

Second, with respect to the analysis of knowledge produced, Bernstein's developments regarding the ways in which identities are produced through the establishment of insulations between categories and actors has guided the construction of a methodological tool for the analysis of the empirical in this particular case. The principle of classification has enabled the identification in the interviews of those accounts where, in describing knowledge which they have produced, academics establish distance from or boundaries with other types of knowledge being produced. These accounts have been used in this research as a way of making visible the points of the field where academics define and struggle for their identities.

Third, this research is considered an opportunity to test, in an empirical case, Bernsteinian languages of knowledge structures and grammars to describe intellectual fields, particularly Bernstein's concept of horizontal knowledge structures, and Maton's Legitimation Code Theory. In this sense, and taking into account the previously mentioned difficulties faced by other researchers, the engagement of these theoretical tools with the empirical in this thesis would be a two-way process. As the theory has to have the power to organise empirical

descriptions, the empirical should also be allowed to challenge the theory and transform it, and this is the way in which these concepts are used in the analysis of the data collected. It is from this dialogue that the contributions of this thesis to this theoretical field will be constructed.

4.7. Conclusions

This chapter has presented the main contributions of the Bernsteinians' developments for the study of academic knowledge production and the role of researcher. The chapter has also discussed the ways in which these developments will be used to make sense of the data collected, and it has reflected both on their potential and their limitations for providing an organisational language to engage with the empirical.

In sum, Bernsteinian models are used in this thesis to construct a description of the power and control relations structuring the psycho-educational field of knowledge production in the faculties analysed, to identify the kinds of social relations to knowledge and epistemic relations to knowledge that are favoured, the legitimation strategies of the knowledge produced, and the ways in which professional and disciplinary identities are produced in this context.

In the next chapter, I present the methodological design of this thesis. I continue to discuss selected aspects of the Bernsteinian model presented in this chapter and Bourdieu's theory of fields presented in chapter 3 in order to show how they underpin the general analytical and methodological position of this thesis.

Chapter 5

Methodology

5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the research process and presents my reflections on my role in the research, situating myself in the context of the investigation. Here, I describe the different layers and areas of work of the research project with the objective of opening up the research to the scrutiny of others and to assume my positioning with respect to the knowledge produced.

As was explained in chapter 1, the research questions guiding this work are concerned with the analysis of the knowledge produced in the intersections of psychology and education in psychology faculties of public universities in Argentina, and the forms taken by the role of researcher of academics working to produce this kind of knowledge.

In this chapter, in section 5.2 I open up the personal motives that underpin this research, my own position in the psycho-educational field in Argentina, and what I consider to be some of the relevant aspects and dilemmas that I came across during my PhD studies with regards to this research. In section 5.3 I summarise some selected aspects that help to make explicit my general analytic and methodological position in this thesis. Next, in section 5.4 I present the criteria behind the selection of the faculties and I offer an initial and general characterisation of the institutions analysed. After this I uncover, in section 5.5, the two central methods used for gathering data: the collection of research projects and their outputs, and interviews with academics. Finally, in section 5.6 I present the ethical considerations of this research and, in the final section (5.7), I describe the data analysis process undertaken.

5.2. Personal motives

When I, as a graduate in psychology, was studying for an MA in Education, one of the professors offered me the chance to work in the fieldwork of a socio-educational research project. This project was directed by a highly respected academic in the country and I was very happy both to have such an interesting opportunity and to be paid for it, because I was used to participating in different research projects, but usually as an extra activity after I had finished my paid work. When I finished working in the fieldwork of the project, the director called me and confessed to me that at the beginning she had had lot of doubts about hiring me: "Because you are a psychologist", she explained. When I asked her what she meant by that, she explained: "you know, psychologists are not very good at doing research but it is difficult to find young people with a clear vocation for research, and because of that I thought to give you a chance".

I thought she was right to have doubts, as I shared with her this perception that something in psycho-educational research practices in the country was going 'wrong', was being done differently to what was expected, or was not being well justified, although I found it difficult to specify the problem much more than that. She was right also because my background was and still is in educational psychology and I knew very little about the topics of her research. She was also right when she talked about my interest in research practices.

I have been always interested in research practices and in teaching, and in the role and responsibilities that higher education institutions have in the improvement of our societies. As an undergraduate student, I joined an educational psychology cathedra in one of the faculties, and since then I have been teaching educational psychology courses for more than 15 years. I have also participated in varied research projects related to educational or to psychoeducational topics, the latter from a sociocultural point of view⁴⁵. These experiences have encouraged me to think about the role of psychological research in education, the social responsibilities attached to the production and

⁴⁵ For example, an investigation into children's learning in schools and in out-of-school contexts, a study of the school records of students labeled as presenting learning or emotional problems and of the professional practices of psychologists working in schools, and a study of alternative forms of participation of secondary school students in their learning process.

reproduction of knowledge, and what can be done to enhance research practice and its engagement with the improvement of the social.

Sociological perspectives on knowledge production have helped me to explore most of the problems that initiated this research and that organised the research questions. An important part of my PhD studies was dedicated to learning about sociological approaches to knowledge production practices, and about power and knowledge relations in higher education institutions. However, it must be acknowledged that my core training has always been within the intersections of psychology and education. In this sense, it is important to highlight the fact that my position in this research endeavour was that of a *psychologist specialised in educational psychology who has 'visited' sociological knowledge to reflect on psychological research on education.*

Some general ideas, feelings and appreciations resulting from my engagement with the psycho-educational field of knowledge in Argentina are worth mentioning in order to provide a context for the motives that started guiding this work.

- Relations between psychology and education seem to be quite problematic in the Argentinian academic context, both within the intellectual field of education and within psychology. I have felt resistance to the psychological study of education in both domains, and these resistances seem to be motivated by different reasons in each field.
- There are very different groups of people producing knowledge in the intersections between psychology and education across the country, but from my professional experience it seems that there are very weak working links among these different groups, and very little systematised knowledge about what is being produced in other groups.
- I have found myself feeling uncomfortable reading some of the academic works in the field. This is the idea that I presented before, of the feeling that something was going 'wrong' in the research practices. For example, when reading publications of research projects it was sometimes difficult to understand what the research was about, how the research was understood

there, or how the knowledge claims included as results were being constructed from the data analysed⁴⁶.

During the last years, since I starting my PhD studies, I have observed some changes in those initial perceptions. A growth in the number of people doing research, growth in the number of publications and changes in the way of writing research reports and publications, and the acknowledgement of the importance of strengthening the training in research of future psychologists are some of the central modifications. The last few decades have been very important in the construction and redefinition of research practices and products both in education and in psychology, and are without doubt shaping new paths for the psychological research in education in the country. As mentioned in chapter 2, in the last decade some research projects and publications in psychology in the country have begun to be interested in analysing the role of the researcher in psychology (e.g. Stolkiner, 2008; Tornimbeni et al., 2011; UNR, 2004) and I have found myself surprised when reading in the rationale of those studies the same preoccupations that I presented some years ago in the research proposal of this thesis, such as the deficient training of psychologists in research practices and the lack of discussion regarding the political implications of psychological research. In this sense, this research should be considered as part of a wider, but still limited climate in the field of psychology concerned with the strengthening of its research practices.

Many things have been explored and then dismissed, reformulated, integrated and changed along the years of my PhD studies with respect to this investigation. However, my initial general interest or motivation did not change: I have started and I am finishing my PhD interested in developing research that can take into account both the role of the researcher and the analysis of knowledge produced in the Argentinian psycho-educational field from a social point of view. In section 5.6 I continue reflecting on my personal position throughout the research process and its ethical implications.

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⁴⁶ The impression of things 'going wrong' receives a careful analysis in the section "ethical considerations".

5.3. My analytical and methodological framework

With respect to the analytical and methodological approach selected to interpret the world, one crucial issue is to make explicit the way I understand knowledge and fields. As anticipated in the introduction, in doing this research I consider knowledge fields as social practices produced and reproduced by people in their discourses and activities, and as the enactment of power relations and legitimation mechanisms operating in every field. Although the epistemological status of knowledge is not a central concern in this research, I understand that if knowledge fields are separated from the social practices where they are enacted, then there is a risk of essentializing knowledge, transforming it into natural entities that exist beyond the social practices where it is used.

Another central aspect involves reflecting on the way 'agency' is understood in this research. This project has dealt with how individual subjects position themselves with regards to knowledge production practices, and how they take decisions in relation to their role as researchers and in relation to knowledge. In this sense, a reflection is needed regarding the extent to which individuals are able to act independently and to make their own free choices, and the extent to which individual actions and decisions are constrained or determined by the social and knowledge structures. In the analysis of every knowledge claim, researchers develop unique positions with regards to the way of conceiving their role as researchers and about their positioning in the intellectual field of knowledge production. However, these positions are also constrained by structural aspects that establish the extent of the thinkable and the extent of the doable. This project has understood that a dialogic relation between agency and structure, subjective and objective or macro and micro levels of analysis is needed in order to accomplish an analytical description of the forces operating in the field. As developed in the theoretical framework presented earlier, both Bourdieu and Bernstein's theories offer sociological approaches to study simultaneously the structure and the agency of every field. For example, with the concepts of habitus and field, Bourdieu emphasised the need to look at social practices, which are considered as a product of the dialectical relation between structure and action. Similarly, with the concepts of code, classification

and framing, Bernstein proposes a theory that is able to operate in the macrolevel, the interactional level and the conscience of the subject. The concept of code is a regulative principle of the experiences of individuals which is tacitly acquired through the participation in socialisation practices and which regulates the positioning of the subject in certain social practices.

5.4. Sampling: The institutions

The institutions where psychological knowledge pertaining to education is produced were selected after a careful analysis of the whole system of institutions producing research in the country⁴⁷. As mentioned previously, I decided to concentrate on public universities because they are the main centres of knowledge production in Argentina. Very few examples of research work that dealt with the topics related to this research were identified outside of public universities. From the 10 public universities that offer a psychology degree I decided to work with the 6 institutions that have a Psychology Faculty. This criterion assured a proper identification of research in education with a psychological orientation. Taking into account that the public universities which have a psychology faculty are easily traceable, and that the information regarding every research project accredited at each university is public, I decided in this research to identify the names of the institutions where this information was collected⁴⁸.

The universities selected were:

- National University of Buenos Aires (UBA)
- National University of La Plata (UNLP)
- National University of Rosario (UNR)
- National University of Mar del Plata (UNMP)
- National University of Tucumán (UNT)
- National University of Córdoba (UNC)

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⁴⁷ This review was carried out by asking key informants and by identifying bibliographies that analysed the research system in Argentina and the main institutions producing psychological and educational knowledge. After this, the available information in their websites relating to the research projects being undertaken was considered.

⁴⁸ See section 'Ethical considerations' for a detailed description of how information regarding to each institution was treated.

The degree in Psychology is also present at the National University of La Rioja, National University of Comahue, the Provincial University of Entre Ríos, and the National University of San Luis but there are no Psychology Faculties at those universities.

As stated in chapter 2, public universities have the majority of university students. For example, while in 2009 the university student population on all degrees was 1,650,150, 79.5% were attending public institutions and only 20.5% were in private universities. With respect to the psychology degree, public universities have 72.6% of the psychology students in the country (SPU, 200).

Table 5.1: Number of students in each university (all degrees), number of university teachers in each university (all degrees), number of students on Psychology Degrees. Public universities in Argentina. 2009

University	All degrees. Public universities. Number of students (all degrees) and percentage of students attending each university		All degrees. Public universities. Number of University Teachers	Psychology I Number of st percentage of psychology st each univers	udents and of students at
UBA	294,837	22.5%	21,484	23,424	37.6%
UNC	103,616	7.9%	7,409	10,554	17%
UNLP	99,197	7.6%	14,333	7,181	11.5%
UNMP	21,118	1.6%	3,153	2,875	4.6%
UNR	71,847	5.5%	5,704	6,312	10.1%
UNT	60,648	4.6%	4,283	4,804	7.7%
Other public universities	661,286	50.3%	52,642	7,093	11.5%
TOTAL	1,312,549	100%	109,008	62,243	100%

Source: (SPU, 2010)

Focusing on the institutions selected in this research, the University of Buenos Aires is by far the biggest university in the country, having 22.5% of the total of the university students in the nation. Its degree in Psychology is also the largest one. The University of Córdoba is the oldest university in the country and the second largest in terms of the number of students. The University of Mar del

Plata, the youngest university among the ones selected for this study, is the one with the lowest total number of students (see tables 2.1 in chapter 2 and 5.1 in this chapter; and figure 5.1 for the location of the faculties analysed).

Figure 5.1: Location of national universities with a psychology faculty



5.5. Methods of data collection

This section presents the different methods of inquiry and provides a description of the sources, of my engagement with them during the process, and of the criteria used for collecting data. I used two main methods of inquiry: collection of information about research projects and their associated outputs and interviews with academics, both of which I present below. Apart from these two central sources of information, I collected specific information regarding each university and each faculty, such as statistical descriptions of student and teacher populations and research practices, historical accounts of the institutions and their research activities, and regulations relating to scientific activities. I also

carried out four interviews with members of the research secretariats/departments of the faculties analysed in order to enrich the analysis of the way in which research activities are framed in the cases under study.

5.5.1. Research Projects

Looking at the research projects carried out at each Faculty of Psychology is the most straightforward way of starting to create a map of the knowledge produced in each university. Each Psychology Faculty has a research office⁴⁹, where all the research activities are managed.

When I started to define the fieldwork in 2007, I found that the information regarding research projects could be available in two different offices: a) the research offices of each faculty or university; or b) an online database developed by the National Secretariat of University Policies with information of research projects declared by each faculty in 2004⁵⁰.

I decided to construct my own database rather to use the online database because at that moment the online database included information only for the year 2004, and my research really needed to look to a wider panorama, taking into account a greater number of years⁵¹. Furthermore, after comparing the information for the year 2004, I found differences between the data provided by the research offices and the online database, as well as difficulties in the use of the online database⁵². Thus, I constructed my own database using the lists of

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⁴⁹ The names of the departments vary across the faculties. Research Department (UNT), Research Secretariat (UBA and UNLP), Research and Postgraduate Training Secretariat (UNMP), and Secretariat of Science and Technology (UNC and UNR).

⁵⁰ This database is constructed with information declared by researchers in the context of the Incentive Programme to Teachers-Researchers of National Universities, introduced in chapter 2

⁵¹ In 2011, similar databases relating to the years 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008 also became available.

Some of the projects that were mentioned in the database were not included in the lists provided by the research offices of each Faculty, and some projects included in the lists of the research offices were not mentioned in the database, or were included with different information regarding period, team, title, etc. The difficulties in the use of the database were related to the limited options for accessing the data, and in the fact that very important information such as the director of the project was unavailable. It was also found that references to disciplines and areas of application were missing or were incorrect in a number of the projects (for example, some of

formally accredited research projects provided by the research offices of each university and completing the information of each project with individual searches on the Internet, in libraries, and by contacting researchers and institutions.

I contacted each university and asked for the lists of research projects which had been accredited in the Psychology Faculty and which had a start day any time from January 1st 2000 to December 31st 2010. In some of the institutions, this information was available on their websites. In four of the universities the information for 11 years was almost complete (with only the projects accredited from January 2000 to December 2000 missing in two of them). However, in the other two universities information was collected regarding shorter periods of time (see table 5.2).

In total, information regarding 687 research projects being carried out at the selected psychology faculties was collected. The criteria used to select from them those psychological projects oriented to education were:

- Projects with reference in the title (and/or abstract) to any of the following words and their derivatives:

Education (also educational, educative)
Student (also students)
Teacher (also teachers)
School (also schools, scholar)
University (also universities)
Didactics (also didactical)
Learning (also learners, learn)
Training, Teaching, Transmission
Pedagogy

These were empirical criteria for the selection of psychological research projects interested in education, and avoided the necessity of creating strong conceptual positionings about what should be considered or not as a psychoeducational project, which would have implied a more normative view of this aspect. It is worth making clear that projects that were being carried out under

them were under the discipline archaeology). All these aspects posed problems for constructing useful criteria for satisfactory selection of the psycho-educational projects.

fields such as clinical psychology or history of psychology might be included because they stated some type of interest in education. The selection of projects was based on their interest in education rather than their stated disciplinary identities. However, even though the disciplinary identity stated for each project was not taken into account as a criterion for selection, it is worth mentioning that in most of the cases for which an application field, branch, specialty, discipline or sub-discipline, or thematic area was stated, education was in general included.

From the 687 projects identified, 246 were selected as having some kind of interest in education as a field of knowledge or as a field of practice.

Table 5.2: Research projects identified per faculty

Faculty of Psychology of	Periods	Total number of Research projects identified	Number of research projects interested in education
UBA	2001-2010	235	66
UNC	2008-2011	101	38
UNLP	2004- 2010	36	10
UNMP	2000-2010	87	49
UNR	2000-2010	170	60
UNT	2001-2011	58	23
TOTAL		687	246 ⁵³

Following this, I started a process of collecting more information relating to the 226 selected projects. In some cases the data available in the research offices included the title, abstract, director, and implementation period, while in others the abstract and/or the period were not included.

Additionally, I carried out individual searches of the research proposals, final reports, publications, conference proceedings and any other sources that could provide information related to each research project. One of the universities

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⁵³ They were originally 248. I deleted two projects from the database after contacting its directors and being informed that the projects were never started.

gave access to a substantial number of the research proposals and some final reports⁵⁴ and another university had this information in its library. I also contacted almost 50 researchers by e-mail and I asked them for access to the research proposal and/or final report presented at the Research Office of their faculties. In cases where they preferred not to provide the documents I offered them the opportunity to fill in a questionnaire (especially developed for the request and attached in the e-mail). Twelve of them answered my request and sent me information regarding their projects⁵⁵.

The work of collection of information was slow and time consuming. This is related to some features of the research field in the country. On the one hand, I found that some people and institutions were reluctant to provide information relating to the research projects, and in the interviews with members of the research offices of the faculties they explained they were not sure if the information was public or not. On the other hand, the difficulty in the access, collection and organisation of the information also illustrates a general archiving problem, which has been described as a general situation for research in Argentina (Kaufmann, 2001)⁵⁶. However, I have observed an improvement of the situation during the last few years in some of the institutions, where the Internet has become an important way of organising, archiving and providing access to some of the information I have been using for this research. In other research offices, the management of information is still in the process of organisation. For example, one of the universities that I contacted typed the lists of projects accredited during the last 11 years in response to my request, because this information was spread out in different printed documents. In sum. the collection of information required the development of different strategies that

⁵⁴ A systematic policy of archive had recently been developed in that office and information regarding previous years was incomplete.

⁵⁵ The e-mail was accompanied by a file explaining the main purpose of the research, explaining that this was not an evaluation of research projects and providing information about the way that data would be used. Also clarifications regarding confidentiality were included.

⁵⁶ The institutional instability that characterised the social and political situation of the country in many periods of the 20th century partly explains the problem of generating enduring methods for the systematic collection, storage, and access to information. For example, with respect to the Ministry of Education, Galarza et al (2007) show that the systematic generation of educational statistics and studies is a recent trend in the Ministry (the interest appeared in the 1980s but there were several technical barriers to achieving the goal, and it started to consolidate in the 1990s).

could be adapted to each particular situation, as well as important networking activities. Table 5.3 summarises the information collected with respect to the projects selected in each faculty.

Table 5.3. Information collected with respect to the psychological research projects interested in education

Faculty of Psychology of	Abstract	Research Project or Final Report	Related publications and conference proceedings
UBA	66	22	66
UNC	37	3	27
UNLP	6	2	8
UNMP	36	8	25
UNR	47	36	35
UNT	18	4	13

In Annex III, the list of projects selected as having an interest in educational projects is provided.

5.5.2. Interviews with academics

Academics carrying out psychological research on educational topics are the central object of this research. The interviews provided crucial descriptions of the conditions and cultures within which the research activity takes place in Argentina, how these conditions and cultures impact on the definition of objectives and methodologies of research investigations, how these academics conceive of their knowledge production and the psychological research on education, and what kind of professional and disciplinary identities they contribute to developing. The personal account of each personal trajectory has also proved to be a powerful source of information in developing interpretations regarding the field.

I interviewed academics who work at the selected universities carrying out psychological research on educational topics. The main criterion for the selection of the academics interviewed was that they had directed or co-directed some of the research projects selected. However, another two academics working at the faculties who did not formally direct any of the research projects selected in the period but who were identified by key informants as important knowledge producers in the psycho-educational field were also included.

The interviews aimed to build an understanding of how each participant constructs meanings of their experiences and positions. I conducted openended interviews (Silverman, 2006), delineating a general set of topics and guidelines, phrasing the questions freely and ordering them according to the situation (see annex II for the complete interview guide). The main areas covered in the interviews were:

- Professional trajectories and personal and social-historical-political events that have influenced their professional work in relation to psychology and education, and as researchers.
- Conceptions of being a researcher or a knowledge producer.
- The role and possible use of their research.
- Perceptions of the place of psychological research on education in Psychology Faculties.
- Academics' conceptions of the psycho-educational field and of their positions within it. Fashions, tendencies, and controversies.
- Academics' strategies and approaches for knowledge production.
- Academics' research interests and the ways in which they configure their research problems.
- Institutional conditions in which research is carried out.

Furthermore, I also asked the academics to share their curriculum vitaes with me in order to collect detailed information regarding jobs, publications and education. In the cases where I had access to the curriculum vitae before the interview (14 out of the 26 interviews), it helped to enrich the interview and to make it more dynamic.

With respect to the analysis of their professional trajectories, I used the accounts of the past as an aspect to help describe the ways of understanding the situation at present. I considered that the accounts that the academics gave about their past experiences were ways of explaining and giving sense to their present practices. As Trowler states, these narratives are 'historically derived but contemporaneously experienced' (Trowler, 2012a, p. 33). Whatever they are about (about disciplines, about the culture of the country, about the institutions),

these histories and stories about the past illustrate what interviewees considered worth recovering to explain their present positions and the identities they have constructed along their career.

Characterisation of the academics interviewed

A total of 26 academics were interviewed. The distribution of the interviewees per faculty is presented in table 5.4

Table 5.4: Academics interviewed in each faculty

Faculty of Psychology of	Academics interviewed
UBA	6
UNC	2
UNLP	2
UNMP	4 (1 of the records was damaged)
UNR	9
UNT	3
TOTAL	26

The average age in 2010 of the academics interviewed was 54 years old, the youngest being 40 and the oldest 71 years old. The distribution of the interviewees by age ranges is as follows:

Table 5.5. Age ranges of the academics interviewed

Age range	Number interviewed	of	academics
40-49	9		
50-59	9		
60 or more	8	•	_
TOTAL	26		

All of the interviewees were also teaching at the faculties. Of the 26 cases, 22 held a university degree in Psychology. Only 14 held a Doctorate degree at the

time they were interviewed, and at least 6 out of the 12 remaining academics were doing their doctorates at that time.

All the people interviewed had lived (in different stages of their lives) through the dictatorship in Argentina from 1976 to 1982. Some of them had already graduated when the dictatorship started and they either stopped working at public universities or were exiled in another country. Almost all of the rest of them completed either all or part of their psychology degree during the dictatorship, and in only one case was the whole degree completed after the return of democracy. This person had previously studied another degree.

About translations

The following chapters, devoted to the analysis of the data collected, present extracts from the transcriptions of the interviews. These data have undergone a series of transformations that are worth taking into account in the enterprise of making this research accountable. The oral accounts provided by academics in the interviews were first transformed into a written text where most of the body language and many of the variations in the tones of voice have been downplayed. This written text, in the Spanish language, was then translated from Spanish to English. In producing this translation I decided to focus on 'meaning', rather than on 'literality'. In other words, in translating the accounts from Spanish to English, even though I have tried to respect as far as possible a literal translation, in some cases I had to move from a literal translation of every word to a re-organisation of the sentences in order to help in transmitting into the English language what I considered to be the meaning of what the interviewee was stating. Although I have done my best in trying to respect what I considered was the intention of the interviewee, I am aware that this translation has transformed their original texts into a recontextualised text, now owned –and administrated- by me.

However, like Dowling and Brown (2010), I argue that every research activity always implies a process of continuous interaction between the theoretical and the empirical, where the subjectivity of the researcher has a central role in the

construction of each moment of the data transformations. In this sense, the way in which the translations from Spanish to English were carried out should be considered one of the various transformation processes that the data have undergone in this process of analysis.

5.6. Ethical considerations

The following ethical considerations were developed taking into account two codes of ethics: the British Educational Research Association (BERA) code of ethics and the Federation of Psychologists of the Argentinian Republic (FEPRA) code of ethics, in its section referring to research activities. Further, specific literature that has addressed the different dimensions involved in an ethical analysis of research has been taken into account to develop some of the parts of this section. Additionally, prior to the realization of the fieldwork, this research underwent an ethical review process at the Institute of Education.

5.6.1. Treatment of confidentiality and anonymity

The issue of confidentiality and anonymity required special reflections in this study because anonymity received a different treatment according to the source of information used. On the one hand, the study dealt with academics' publically available work, such as the titles of research projects and academic publications (papers, books and conference proceedings). In these cases, the name of the researchers and the content of their work are public, and easily traceable. This type of information is treated in the analysis section as public information. Every time I use a statement from a published research report or a related publication, I quote between brackets a number that indicates the project being mentioned. The projects analysed are presented in a list in annex III and every time they are mentioned a reference to the list is added.

On the other hand, the information collected through open-ended interviews was treated with respect for anonymity and confidentiality. I have taken a number of steps to protect the identity of the individuals that I interviewed as

part of this study. Information in their records relating to institutions, locations, publications and any personal features relating to the individuals has been omitted in order to ensure that the interviewees cannot be traced. In some instances, the need to protect confidentiality has had implications for the presentation of the data as certain kinds of information have had to be withheld. These include, for example, exact details of the universities where they studied, professional experiences, and so on. In the quotations extracted from the interviews references to institutions, projects, people or dates were deleted and replaced by a reference to the type of institution or project, or to the role of the person. My aim was to protect the informants' own personal reflections in relation to these institutions, actors and experiences.

As anticipated previously, faculties under study are identified when analysing public information. For example, faculties are compared and identified with regards to their number of students, year of creation, and the number of research projects accredited. However, anonymity is maintained when these faculties or aspects related to them are mentioned in the interviews. For example, in the interviewee's account of the low quality of the research projects carried out at his or her faculty, the institution is not mentioned and special care is taken to avoid identifying it and the interviewee. This was done to protect the interviewees' reflections with respect to the professional settings where they work.

5.6.2. Informed consent

When contacting the academics, whether to ask for information related to their research projects or to invite them to participate in an interview, I sent them a file with a brief description of the research project, its institutional affiliation, what kind of participation I was requesting, and how data provided by them was going to be used. In the cases of the academics invited to participate in an interview, I also described to them the main areas to be covered in the interview and explained that they would be able to withdraw from the research process at any time (see Annex I for the document sent to academics invited to be

interviewed). I took their email responses as an indication of their agreement to participate in the study.

5.6.3. Including the researcher in the research process

Another set of issues that are considered relevant in the account of the ethical implications of this research are related to the self-analysis of the role of the researcher in the research process. This kind of individual reflexivity implies undertaking a critical analysis of the unequal relations between the researcher and the researched, as well as analysing how the assumptions, values and ideas of the researcher may influence the knowledge production process. It also involves making clear some aspects previously introduced in the section 'Personal motives' of this chapter, such as where the researcher comes from and how the interest in the topic was generated. With regards to this specific mode of reflexivity, Maton (2003) has argued that although there is little agreement as to what it comprises, there are some aspects that are shared by all the discussions.

Underlying this heterogeneity, however, most discussions of reflexivity share versions of a basic argument that authors should explicitly position themselves in relation to their objects of study so that one may assess researchers' knowledge claims in terms of situated aspects of their social selves and reveal their (often hidden) doxic values and assumptions. How reflexivity may be enacted in research practice, however, is less clear (Maton, 2003, p. 54).

In this sense, reflexivity is understood as a methodological tool to simultaneously strengthen or question the legitimacy of the interpretations constructed by the researcher, as well as the potential and limitation of representing the "others" who are transformed in the object of our research. Meo (2011) has analysed the issue of reflexivity in qualitative research in the Argentinian context. Contrasting it with the Anglo-Saxon "research climate", she reflects that, while in the latter context the issue of reflexivity has become an imperative of every person producing research in the social sciences, in the

Argentinian context it is uncommon to find research and/or publications taking into account this dimension of the research process⁵⁷.

In this research, a critical point was to acknowledge that I am a professional who also takes part in the field under analysis, in the sense that I am developing my career as a researcher in education and educational psychology. Throughout the whole process my perceptions, feelings and interpretations needed to be questioned and transformed into part of the analysis, putting myself under scrutiny every time I felt myself uncomfortable, angry, empathetic or enthusiastic with respect to some accounts of the interviewees.

In the interviews, the academic always wanted to know 'who I was' and I was aware that the manner in which I introduced myself would generate different feelings in the interviewees, because they were not talking to an outsider of the field. As Dowling and Brown (2010) say 'exactly who the interviewee thinks they are talking to, and why, will affect what they say' (p. 79). Instead of aiming at controlling this aspect and trying to predict how every researcher would react to my presentation and adapting this in order to contribute to the creation of a good rapport with each of them, I decided to delineate a general presentation of myself and the project that I repeated at the beginning of all the interviews.

Doing this research in the context of the doctorate I have also experienced for myself some of the issues that are presented in the analysis. For example, I felt strongly identified with the multi-tasking aspect of participants' professions, as I have held several jobs at the same time as undertaking the thesis, and I have felt the same emotions and opposing feelings that I analyse in the next chapter. Moreover, I have understood during this process that the personal interests that moved me to propose this research were not only the result of an interior or personal or natural 'vocation' for research practices. Rather, these embodied motivations represent the structural changes that research activities and the

⁵⁷ The exception here is anthropological studies, which have institutionalized this kind of analysis in their research. Meo identified some Argentinian publications in social sciences that focus on showing what has been called by one of them as the "kitchen of the research", in the sense that they aim at making visible the process undertaken in the different stages of the research. These publications have in general a pedagogical purpose of transmitting the complexity of the research endeavour. However, reflecting on the positioning of the researcher is considered by her as an aspect downplayed in the Argentinian context.

psycho-educational field have experienced in this local context during recent years. I have started my professional career as a researcher in a context of significant growth of research practices and many of the questions that motivated this work have, in the last few years, been posed in quite similar ways by other academics in the social sciences in the country.

I consider that undertaking this research in an academic context different to the Argentinian one has helped in making visible and therefore making analysable my personal positioning during the process. 'Looking at here from there' has helped me to develop some kind of distances and positions which have added value to the production in two different dimensions. First, I think that writing for readers who are not embedded in the Argentinian context has enabled me to denaturalize the obvious. During the whole process of the research I found myself needing to explain and making explicit aspects that I have usually taken for granted as a person working in this national context and in this field of knowledge, and the act of making these aspects visible has contributed to enrich the analysis. Second, carrying out my studies in a different academic context has allowed me to engage in a fluent way with international research studies and discussions regarding both the configuration of educational psychology and the analysis of knowledge and the research role. In some cases the comparison with other countries has helped me to identify the aspects that represent a particular identity of the psycho-educational field and the researcher role in the cases analysed in Argentina. For example, the review of the traditions and trends in educational psychology in other countries, especially in the U.S.A, has highlighted the enormous influence that behaviourism has had in the psycho-educational field. In contrast, in the Argentinian work regarding the history of psychology and the present discussions within the psycho-educational field, behaviourism is not mentioned in any of the publications.

This personal reflexivity implies a political dimension of the research, in the sense that it implies attending to the way in which the research can produce and reproduce disputes in relation to the social order. It is to this topic that I turn in the next section.

5.6.4. Political implications of the knowledge produced

This research is concerned with objectifying the process of objectification that is implied in research in psycho-educational topics. That is, it seeks to transform both the actor who usually objectifies reality and the knowledge resulting from this process of objectification into its objects of analysis. As with Bourdieu's (2004) work, however, this endeavour is not undertaken with the aim of discrediting the field, but rather it seeks to strengthen both research practices and the capacity of the field to engage with social reality.

Bourdieu's proposal of epistemic reflexivity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) has gone beyond the exercised individual reflexivity presented previously, moving from the focus on individual research enterprises to a collective reflexivity, in the sense of how the social structuration of the field in relation to its objects of study shapes knowledge claims in every intellectual field. This implies paying attention to the objectifying relations operating in the field. Instead of uncovering the individual researcher's positioning, it calls for objectifying the objectification of a field. In this sense, this research should be considered as seeking to contribute to a wider collective reflexivity enterprise for strengthening the psycho-educational field of knowledge production.

Another sense of the idea of strengthening the field is that this research has connected, put together, and made visible the productions and conceptions of different groups across the country. In the context that I describe, where there is a lack of productive interactions among groups and institutions, this research has put in dialogue, compared, and contrasted the perspectives of different academics who, in many cases, had never interacted before.

Another aspect of this work where the power relations of knowledge production in Argentina are made visible is by recognising the political, economic and cultural centralized character of the city of Buenos Aires and its metropolitan area in a country with a vast territory, different traditions, and cultures. 'God is everywhere, but his office is in Buenos Aires' is an old expression commonly used in the country that refers to the hegemonic position of the capital city and

its surroundings in varied aspects of the social life of the nation⁵⁸. The centreperiphery relation in the country has been acknowledged as being reproduced in academic knowledge production practices in the intellectual field of education. For example, Merodo et al (2007), with respect to the intellectual field of education, have shown that academics working in the metropolitan area of the country produce the greatest number of publications in national and international academic journals. This aspect represented an ethical issue in the definition of the sample to take into account. Deciding to work with the research output of one or two leading institutions in the metropolitan area would have implied reproducing the unequal power relations. The decision to look at the research projects of the faculties of psychology of national universities enabled me to consider the knowledge production undertaken in five different provinces/districts of the country. This implied the additional effort of working with a larger amount of data and contacting institutions and researchers that were up to 1,200 km from my place of residence. With different levels of success, I managed to visit the 6 faculties and I collected information and carried out interviews in the 6 institutions. However, in doing so I had to put under analysis an initial, perhaps idealistic or naïve positioning in which I was interpreting a contribution of my research as 'giving voice' to different producers of research and research outputs, in an equal measure. The implication would have been that my research was only an aseptic conduit or microphone from where different researchers were going to speak by themselves. The position of "giving voice" to academics would have implied not recognising the power relations between the researcher and the researched stated before.

Reflecting on the political implications and impacts in the field that the research might have also implied planning how the research impacts of this research are going to be promoted. In order to allow this knowledge production to have an impact in the Argentinian context, making the knowledge produced available in Spanish is the first step needed and it is an aspect on which I will work in the

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⁵⁸ The centralization around the Buenos Aires Port has characterised the region since the establishment by the Spaniards of the Viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata in late 1700. In recent decades, policies in varied areas such as education, health, public administration, communication, etc have promoted a decentralization process, providing more autonomy to every province. However, Buenos Aires still holds at present a dominant place in its capacity for influence.

future. Furthermore, the distribution of the research outcomes in local meetings and workshops is considered central to contribute to the collective construction of epistemic reflexivity introduced before.

One final and very important ethical consideration with political implications is to reflect on the initial 'feeling' of things being done 'wrong' in the knowledge production in the field. In this sense, very early in my research process I decided that this research was not going to aim at assessing the quality or validity of the research carried out. This would have implied imposing external parameters of what I would consider to be research of quality and would have impeded an understanding of why things are being done in certain ways at present. Rather, this investigation has aimed to develop an organisational language from where I could analyse the ways in which research practices and psycho-educational knowledge production are enacted by particular people, with particular trajectories, in a local academic context. In this sense, my personal positioning throughout the thesis has implied moving from an initial tendency to 'judge' the validity or otherwise of every knowledge claim, to analysing the different dimensions influencing the configuration of the role of researcher and of the field of knowledge in the case analysed.

5.7. Strategies for analysis

Interview transcripts, research proposals, research reports, and publications of research results were considered as different kinds of texts. There were two strategies used to analyse the data, one of which dealt with the research projects and their related production forms, and the other served for dealing with the interviews. I will discuss each in turn. However, it is first important to acknowledge that this research provides a characterisation of the empirical that responds to the specific moments in which the data were collected and that it is influenced by the instruments used. Understanding fields as the interrelation of dynamic forces implies recognising that these forces are not static and that they are in continuous reformulation.

5.7.1. Analysis of research projects and its associated productions

The research projects and their associated products were mainly used to produce a characterisation of the psycho-educational field of knowledge production in the faculties analysed in terms of the topics and problems that are generally studied, as well as the methodological designs, ways of relating psychology and education, and their links to the professional practices of psychologists.

As mentioned previously, an analysis of the knowledge produced in the field has never been undertaken before, and producing this information was considered central in order to proceed to other types of analysis of the psychoeducational field. In order to provide a characterisation of the different knowledge tendencies comprising the field, a quantitative analysis of frequencies and distributions of selected dimensions was undertaken, and this is presented in section 7.2 of chapter 7. However, this analysis is also used in other sections of that chapter to produce dialogue with the data collected in the interviews. I present below the different dimensions considered to classify the knowledge produced by the analysed research projects.

Contexts: This dimension considered the settings being researched. First, projects were grouped according to their interest in formal education settings and in other out-of school settings (such as workplace, hospitals, community centres, sports centres, home). Then, projects identified in the first group were classified according to the educational level they prioritised (initial education, primary education, secondary education, tertiary education, university and other educational modalities). Another aspect considered was the geographic location where the fieldwork was undertaken. Here, projects were classified into national and international geographic locations, and within the ones grouped under the national location, I considered whether their fieldwork was conducted in the city and surroundings where the university is located, or if they considered contexts from other locations or provinces.

Actors: Individuals prioritised in the definition of their research questions and objectives were identified. This dimension was analysed with 2 different

variables. First, projects were grouped according to the age groups of the individuals prioritised (children: 0-12 years old, adolescents: 13-17 years old, young people: 18-27 years old, adults: from 28 years old). Second, projects identified as focused in formal education contexts were classified in relation to the main actors defining their research questions and objectives (students, teachers, psychologists, other professionals, parents and family, other).

Topics: Themes under investigation.

- Representations and trajectories of study and work
- Educational tasks and aptitudes
- Cognitive processes and personality traits in educational settings
- Health and education
- Education and training of psychologists
- Educational interactions, violence, and school coexistence
- School failure
- Educational devices
- Other

These categories were defined from the same engagement with the data, rather than being specified in advance. The strategy was to work with the different projects putting together those projects that seemed to share certain characteristics in their theme.

Methodological approaches: Methodological orientation and research design selected by each project. They were grouped into:

- General qualitative approaches
- Relations between variables
- Experimental and quasi-experimental research
- Historical documentary research
- Mixed methods
- Others (projects that could not be included in the previous categories because they either proposed different approaches or the information available was not enough to fully understand the research design)

Links to intervention: Projects linking the production of knowledge to the professional practices of the researchers were classified according to the type of link proposed in the objectives of each research project.

- Links to teaching at university

- Study and intervention
- Evaluation of intervention projects

Level of orientation to educational problems: Projects were first analysed by identifying the different ways that they engaged with the field of education. These different ways were then grouped into 3 categories that reflected the different levels of engagement to education as a field of practice and as a field of knowledge in the psychological research.

- Low orientation to education: Educational issues are mentioned in the definition of the research problem but the particularities of the educational context are scarcely considered in the research.
- Medium orientation to education: Education is not central in the objectives of the investigation but its influence is considered in the study. For example, studies that aim to analyse specific issues and that consider the educational context as one context among various other contexts studied.
- High orientation to education: Education is a core interest in the definition of the research problem and the particularities of the educational context are considered in the objectives and research questions.

5.7.2. Analysis of interviews

Data collected through the interviews with academics and members of the research offices of the faculties received a qualitative analysis. The resulting written texts from the interviews were analysed together using the qualitative data analysis software Atlas Ti.

The analysis of interviews was carried out in a continuous dialogue with the data, the research questions, the theoretical field and previous related research and some particular questions that arose during the same process of analysis. The strategy used to work with the data was thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is a method or tool for identifying, organising, analysing, interpreting and reporting patterns within a data set.

First, all interview transcripts were read and notes were taken on possible codes to be applied to the data. Second, a process of coding of parts of the

interviews was carried out. While some codes were created inductively through the engagement with the data, other codes were theoretical driven and specifically related to the research questions and analysis questions. Then, codes were grouped into themes, initiating at this stage the interpretative analysis of the data and the construction of arguments in relation to the research questions. The following questions suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) were applied to each theme in order to put them to work in the analysis chapters of this thesis.

- What does this theme mean?
- What are the assumptions underpinning it?
- What are the implications of this theme for the present research?
- What conditions are likely to have given rise to it?
- Why do people talk about this thing in this particular way (as opposed to other ways)?
- What is the overall story the different themes reveal about the topic?

Table 5.6. Codes and themes

Final codes	Themes	Definition
 Incentive Program Higher education policies Research offices CONICET Working conditions Institutional culture 	Policies and institutional cultures	Policies and institutional traditions, cultures and regulations in which research is carried out. Academic working conditions.
Conceptions of: - Research - Being a researcher - Audience or consumers of research - Good quality research - Problems of current research practices	Conceptions of research and being a researcher	Ways of conceiving research practices and the role of researchers. Meanings given to research, its utility and its consumers.
 Research and teaching Research and extension activities Research and governance of university Research and professional practices outside university 	Relations of research to other professional practice	Relations established by academics between the role of researcher and other academic roles such as teaching and extension activities, and to other professional practice carried out in other institutions and settings.
 Past experiences as knowledge producer Socialisation into being a researcher Formal qualifications as researchers Historical socio-political contexts influencing trajectories 	Trajectories of knowledge production	Professional trajectories and personal experiences that had an influence in their opinion in their choices as knowledge producers. Socialisation process into being a researcher.
- Past experiences in the psycho- educational field of knowledge	Trajectories in relation to the	Professional trajectories and personal experiences that have driven their interest

- Past experiences in the psycho- educational field of practice	psycho- educational field	in the psycho-educational field. Previous work experiences in educational institutions.
- Knowledge interests	Knowledge interests	Topics, problems, theories, and methodologies in relation to the investigations they carry out.
 Definitions of educational psychology Fashions and trends in the field Positive and negative aspects of the field 	Conceptions of the psycho- educational field of knowledge production	Ways of conceiving the psycho- educational field. Boundaries, tendencies, problems, place of the psycho- educational field in psychology faculties
 Conceptions of the relations between psychology and education Ways of conceiving education Ways of conceiving psychology 	Conceptions of the relations between psychology and education	Ways of conceiving the relations between psychology and education when producing knowledge in the psychoeducational field.
- Knowledge legitimation strategies	Knowledge legitimation strategies	Strategies of legitimation of the knowledge produced. Ways of positioning within the field and in relation to other fields of knowledge.
 Methodological disputes Theoretical discussions Institutional disputes Personal disputes 	Objects of dispute	Accounts where the interviewee explained his position differentiating it from other positions.

5.8. Conclusions

This chapter has presented the methodological design of this thesis and the strategies followed to carry out the fieldwork and to engage with the data analysis. It has also opened up my personal position in the research process and the ethical and political implications of the work undertaken. In the next two chapters, I present the analysis of the data collected.

Chapter 6

Being a researcher in the intersections of psychology and education in psychology faculties of national universities

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter and the following one (chapter 7) I present the key findings in relation to the main sources of data collected in this research: interviews with academics, and research projects and their associated outputs (research proposals, research reports and/or publications of results). This chapter is focused on aspects related to being a researcher in the faculties being studied, and the following chapter provides a characterisation of knowledge produced, as well as an illustration of the ways in which academics conceive the psychoeducational field of knowledge, their positions within it and their relation to the psychological field in general.

This chapter aims to present an analytical description of the ways in which academics understand and experience their role as researchers. Through the chapter, I argue - following Bernstein- that the accounts provide a dense description of weak professional identities in relation to the role of researcher, characterised by weak classification among professional categories, and weak framing of this professional role. Moreover, in the next chapter, I show how these blurred boundaries between professional roles are related in a dialectical way to the knowledge produced and to specific ways of legitimating knowledge. This will lead to an interpretation of certain recontextualisation mechanisms of knowledge from a field of professional practice to a field of knowledge production⁵⁹.

⁵⁹ Recontextualization is understood here in Dowling's more generalizable use of the term, as 'the subordination of the practices of one activity to the principles of another' (Dowling, 2009, p. 87).

In this chapter the main source of information comes from the interviews with academics, while in the next chapter the description of the types of knowledge produced as well as the ways of conceiving and positioning in the field draws on both the accounts from the interviews and the analysis of the material associated with each research project collected. Although the presentation of the findings is split into these two chapters, it must be acknowledged that this separation is only produced for analytic purposes and is related to the interests underlying the main questions of this research. In fact, as will be shown, every aspect being analysed is intimately related to many of the other aspects presented, and, ultimately they make most sense when conceptualised as a whole. In the conclusions chapter the different sections are put in dialogue with each other and further theoretical implications are explored.

The remainder of this chapter is organised into five sections. The next section (6.2) is focused on the ways in which academics recognise the influence of recent national higher education policies and institutional regulations in the changing role of researcher. A common account is shown of the recent changes and growth of the role in the faculties analysed, from a historical lack of tradition in research activities due to the focus on professional practice in the training of psychologists, to a rapid growth in the role due to the influence of new higher education policies and institutional regulations.

Section 6.3 is focused on providing a detailed description of the configuration of research as one task or role among many others to be accomplished by the academics interviewed. I analyse a number of aspects of their professional work, including salary and time constraints, as well as the embodiment of dispositions to the multi-tasked organisation of their profession.

Section 6.4 is focused on analysing the ways in which the different professional roles are enacted in relation to each other and the strategies developed by academics to deal with this form of organisation of their professional life. Section 6.5 presents how this multi-tasked organisation of their profession is related to their professional trajectories in the psycho-educational field and in their training as researchers. Finally, the concluding section (6.6), draws on Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing, as well as on the definition of

'integrated codes' to discuss and present a conceptual analysis of the implications of the identified configuration for the development of professional identities as researchers in the field.

6.2. Recent configuration of the role of researcher. The embodiment of policies and institutional traditions and regulations

6.2.1. Growth of research activities and research qualifications

Many academics recognise in their accounts that the researcher role, as a component of academic work has experienced considerable growth in the last two decades within the faculties analysed. The recognition of its recent development in a context of faculties with weak research traditions plays a central role in their descriptions of the role of researcher. Some academics understand that this is due to the fact that psychology degrees in the country have traditionally focused on the training of psychologists for professional practice. For example, here are three different academics who reflect on this aspect:

There is no tradition of research in Psychology in general [...] this is due to the construction we had here of psychology as a liberal profession. Since the creation of the psychology degree, the focus has been on professional psychology. (R7)

Until the late 1990s very little attention was paid to research in the training of psychologists. For example at this faculty only one course used to teach methodological aspects for research. And research, including ours, was focused on reflections about our professional practice, or on the narration of a specific professional experience. (R16)

Up to the establishment of the National Incentive Programme [1993], 6 or 7 people were researching here, at this faculty, and we did not have too many models to learn from. It must be said that even though some people used to say that they were doing research, in fact what they were doing was anything but researching, and we were very few. (R17)

In correspondence with the general tendencies in the social sciences in the country, the decade analysed here (2000-2010) also saw growth in the formal

qualifications of academics, such as master's and doctorate degrees. Until the 1990s very few academics had undertaken postgraduate research degrees. From the perspective of one of the interviewees, this was due to the negative influence of different dictatorships over the production of social knowledge in the country⁶⁰. However, from his view it did not mean a lack of further education for those professionals. It was common for psychologists to continue their further training in informal spaces, such as the study groups which were known as the 'Catacomb universities' and which continued being used decades later (see chapter 2). In the interviews undertaken, references by the interviewees to these study groups were common. While some of them had been co-ordinators of the groups, others had attended as students.

In this sense, a researcher explained that the lack of formal qualifications did not mean at all a lack of study or of expertise in those generations of academics.

Here, in Argentina, people continued studying, they set up their own curricula, with private study groups. When I came back to Argentina in the late 1980s I found a lot of people that did not have a master's or a doctorate but they had an equivalent training. In the first year of our course [the academic is talking about a postgraduate course in psychology and education], most of the students were middle-aged people with an important background in the field, but without formal qualifications of their studies. This was a very interesting group, the class discussions were a luxury. They were only in need of systematising their experience, their knowledge; they needed to do research, to learn how to do systematic research. (R7)

The last dictatorship (1976-1982) strongly influenced the personal and professional trajectories of the academics interviewed. In almost all the interviews carried out, academics talked about how this political situation directly affected the course of their lives and the form of their professional trajectories. From experiences of exile and prison, to accounts of the lack of activities and initiatives within the university, the poor academic level, and the creation of alternative informal educational spaces, they show that all the trajectories were affected by this situation. As an academic put it into words when she began talking about her trajectory, 'like all the people here, I think that all of us have broken trajectories' (R22). Exiled academics worked or continued their studies in universities in other countries such as Spain, France, Mexico, the USA and Chile and some of them obtained their postgraduate research degrees in exile, and professors fired from public universities trained others in informal study groups. The return of democracy allowed most of the academics to return or to start working at public universities through the process of 'normalization' of universities and due to the new demands which arose from the growth in the number of university students presented in chapter 2.

Another researcher made an analogy between the 'study groups' where professionals used to carry out their continuing education in the past and the actual formal offers of postgraduate courses at the faculties.

Every term I teach at postgraduate courses at the faculty. In these courses I do the same of what I used to do before in the 'study groups', but now they are carried out at the university. (R9)

In sum, from their point of view the lack of formal posgraduate qualifications did not mean a lack of continuing education of the professionals. In section 6.5, I analyse the relations between this new demand for formal research qualifications and their professional identities in more detail.

6.2.2. Recent higher education policies: research as a giant 'Pericon Nacional'

Certain aspects of the national policies regarding higher education and some institutional traditions of public universities are acknowledged by the academics as having an impact on the actual configuration of their role as researchers. The already mentioned Incentive Programme to Teachers-Researchers of National Universities, created in 1993, is acknowledged by most of the academics as a policy that has radically changed research activities in the faculties in the last decade, having a significant impact on the growth in the number of academics participating in research. As presented in chapter 2, this programme aims to promote research activities amongst university teachers and professors, creating a classificatory system where teachers-researchers are grouped into 5 categories according to their academic trajectories with respect to teaching and research at public universities. The Programme establishes a fixed fund to be distributed among some of the categorised academics⁶¹.

Until the 90s [at the Psychology Faculty] it was very uncommon to find people doing research. In that decade, the university created a programme to promote research activities and the Ministry of Education established an Incentive Programme to professors who were also doing research. Things changed from

⁶¹ The amount of money to be received varies every year according to the available funding and the categories to which the academics were allocated.

then. (R7)

I came back from the exile in 1985 and the faculty did not have at that time the idea of research as compulsory, as it is now. (R12)

When the Incentive Programme started all university teachers look for an insertion in a research project because it was a way of earning some extra 'pesos'. (R17)

Two of the interviewees used metaphors related to dance to explain this context of growth in the number of people doing research. For one of them the phrase 'money made the monkey dance' illustrates that the extra amount of money in the salary provided by the Incentive Programme is experienced by him as the main reason for the growth in the number of people doing research.

[Talking about the Incentive Programme] This is the old proverb 'Money makes the monkey dance'. If I am going to get extra pay if I do research, it is clear, everybody is going to try to do research. So you play the game of the [Research Office]. They say 'you need to publish articles in academic journals', so I do it. They say 'you need to present papers at congresses', so I do it. They set the rules for research. Anyway, I feel I am doing the same as I used to do before when I was doing research at the Ministry of Education. I only waste time now in formal aspects to play by the rules of the university. (R10)

This account shows the resistance of the academic to the new policies and regulations that affected research. Whilst he acknowledges the growth in the research practice, he disapproves of the new formal requirements, arguing that they only make him waste time, but they do not improve the production. The proverb used to explain the growth in research gives a central role to the extra monetary income to be received even though, as was stated by other academics, the amount received is not important and it is usually received at least two years after the scheduled date.

With regards to the second metaphor related to dance, another academic described the growth in research activities as a giant 'pericón nacional', a traditional dance in Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay where many couples of dancers move in a joint choreography. In his view, research began to be a populated activity but with serious questions as to the quality of the work carried out.

Look, the educational reform of the 90s forced, I always use this word, forced to do research in all the levels of the educational system because it was believed that if research was done, practices will get better. It was 'doing research at any cost'. It did not matter if you had resources, if you were trained in research, if you knew about methodology. It was a kind of a giant 'pericón nacional'. Everybody started doing research, and they did not know anything about doing research. (R21)

The illustration of this 'research growth' in the image of many people moving together with the music in a joint dance acknowledges how this Programme and the new Higher Education policies have driven the growth of research. However, various accounts agree in questioning the quality of much of the research carried out in the last few years.

If you look at the number of research studies carried out here [at a Psychology Faculty], you won't believe that we accredited more than 200 research projects in the last few years. Do you understand what I am saying? It looks like a 'Harvard School', but this is not true. This 'incentive' [he renders this word with a hand gesture] policy has 'incentivised' the realization of research activities, but there is not enough time for research in the academic roles, there is not a built-in capacity for research. There is also not enough funding to carry out proper fieldwork. But even if funding were enough, psychologists are not trained enough to do research. I see this 'incentive thing' [he repeats the hand gesture] as a waste of time because academics do not do proper research and do not invest enough time in studying for their teaching activities. I think this is not working, however, everybody pretends 'I do research, I do teaching but...' (R22)

The next account also shows the influence of macro-structural aspects in the organisation of the research role. Academics have lost the option of choosing to do or not to do research in the sense that all academics who wish to keep their positions at the faculty or to obtain better ones understand that doing research is an imperative⁶².

There is no tradition of research in Psychology in general. What we have now is a forced situation. With the categorisations [of the Incentive Programme] it was either you recycle yourself as a researcher or you leave the university. There are only isolated small groups of people doing good research. The rest is not of good quality. (R7)

⁶² It is important to mention, however, that only some of the teachers working at the faculties participate also in research projects. Nevertheless, the imperative of doing research is present for all the academics, and those who do not participate in research are aware that their employability is diminishing.

This lack of tradition in research practices and the need to make all the people dance to the rhythm of research is also seen in the evaluations of research projects by peers. In an interview with a member of a Research Office of one of the faculties analysed, the person explained:

Interviewee: - We do not have here serious criteria for deciding what is good research. There are not any criteria at all. Here they [referring to teachers of the Faculty] need to do research 'for the paper' [certification] but not with the aim of producing knowledge. Because when you go to a 'concurso' , your research trajectory is evaluated, so they only look for including their participation in a research project on their cv.

Interviewer: - All the projects submitted are approved every year?

Interviewee: - Most of them, with some few exceptions of ludicrous proposals. Sometimes a research proposal receives suggestions for improvement but it is very difficult to get a project rejected. Probably in the natural sciences or pure sciences this is different and more rigorous, but here this is the situation. (S1)

With respect to the traditional aspects that have characterised the Argentinian Public University system and that are still influencing academics' identities, the interviewees mentioned the tradition known in the country as 'the three cornerstones of public university' as one institutional identity of public universities based on the development of teaching, research and 'extension' activities to the community⁶⁴, which together represent the commitment of the university to the improvement of the society. Academics also acknowledged the organisation system of university education by 'cathedras', which characterises all the faculties analysed, as an aspect that not only organises teaching activities but also impacts on the constitution of the research practices and in the ways in which the research teams are formed. Academics acknowledge that in general research projects are designed within the spaces of the 'cathedras'. It must be acknowledged that a few of them also mentioned 'special projects' undertaken among different cathedras. However, the reference to these projects

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⁶³ Competitive examination done every certain period of time to select the academic who is going to cover the academic position in the next period.

⁶⁴ The 'extension' pillar refers to the university activities which aim to promote civic engagement and to establish a direct relationship with different areas and social entities, promoting the creation of new social practices, and including in the activities teachers, students and members of the community.

as 'special' and 'isolated' initiatives confirms the link between cathedras and research.

In sum, this section has presented how the present context is characterised by an important growth in the realization of research activities due to the national changes in macro-structural aspects, such as the identified policies promoted during the 1990s and 2000s. The section has also shown that there is weak framing⁶⁵ of the research activities and important questionings with respect to the quality of knowledge produced. The implications of this weak framing for their professional practices as researchers is analysed further in the remainder of this chapter, and receives a careful discussion in the conclusion of the thesis.

In the next section, this situation is explored in relation to a central configuration of the professional identities of academics producing knowledge: that is, being a multi-task professional.

6.3. Being a multi-tasking professional: A challenge for super-hijitus

As presented in chapter 2, studies across the globe have shown a globalised configuration of the academic profession as the sum of a variety of roles to be carried out simultaneously. While teaching, research and institutional administration or management are acknowledged as the central roles comprising the academic profession, other specific roles have also been identified by the literature on the topic, such as professional development, assessment of the performance of peers, peer-review of publications, consultancy, outreach activities, and so on.

The academics interviewed in the context of this research also acknowledged a configuration of the academic profession as a variety of tasks or roles to be performed simultaneously in higher education institutions. Furthermore, all of the academics interviewed mentioned having other professional engagements

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⁶⁵ As developed in chapter 4, the Bersteinian concept of 'framing' involves the principle of control which regulates relations within a specific context and the legitimate forms of communication and socialisation within each category (in this case, with respect to the role of researcher).

apart from their academic roles at the university, such as positions at government offices, at NGOs, at other educational institutions, and in clinical private practice. Here, a global aspect (variety of roles in the academic profession at higher education institutions) is merged with a local configuration (the combination of several activities carried out simultaneously in different institutions). Consequently, researchers in Argentina who are producing knowledge in the intersections between psychology and education are carrying out their research activity among a great variety of other tasks.

Research is, in this context, one role among many others to be accomplished by the professionals who are doing research. None of the researchers considered in this investigation work exclusively as full-time researchers. Their professional practice is a combination of a series of different roles and this is found in their descriptions of their professional practice in general:

All my experience in doing research is with a part time post. I cannot say 'I identify myself as a researcher'. In my professional life, research has always had a secondary place. (R8)

I am not a pure educational psychologist. I am saying this because I have been also working in clinical private practice for the last 20 or 25 years. It is only a portion of my life [referring to his work in educational psychology]. I have worked more or less as this: 30% of my professional life in the clinical practice, 30-40% at the university, and 30% at [educational government office]. (R10)

I am a psychotherapist, a psychoanalytic psychotherapist [...] and the clinical work with patients has been always present in my life. I worked [as a psychotherapist] for health insurance organisations; I have worked a lot in the clinical private practice. This makes me somebody who is not a full-time researcher, and who is not even a full-time academic. And at the same time this has given me economic independence to not depend only on an academic position. (R22)

This variety of roles and tasks is sometimes seen as problematic by some of the academics interviewed. For example, one researcher reflected that:

The problem of research is that [as academics] it is very difficult to be concentrated in only one role. I see we have a great dispersion of roles and tasks. (R7)

It is very difficult to think about a good production of knowledge when you need to have several jobs, and the time you can give to the university is consumed in massive teaching. (R7)

For another researcher, the variety of tasks causes poor performance for academics both in their role as researchers and in their role as university teachers. From his perspective, only a *superhero* would be able to accomplish serious work in each of his or her different academic tasks:

Doing good work as a university teacher takes time, you need time to study, to prepare materials, to keep updated all the time. And being a researcher has the same demands. I think that it is difficult to dedicate the real amount of time required for each role. It is difficult to do serious work as a teacher and serious work as a researcher at the same time. Only a *super-hijitus*⁶⁶ could accomplish serious work in both tasks. (R22)

Comparing this situation with his work experience in other countries during his exile, another academic interprets that the problem in his faculty is a lack of hierarchy in the different tasks or roles to be accomplished as part of the academic profession 'Everybody is required to do everything and there is not a real estimation of the time dedicated to each task'. (R22). He draws on a particular experience in one of the countries (where, in his view, every academic prioritises one of the roles at any given time), to highlight that the problem in his faculty is that all the academic activities are put in a horizontal perspective, and all of them are expected to be carried out simultaneously⁶⁷.

I do not agree with this model of teacher-researcher as it is proposed now at universities. For example in [mentions a European country] they have the departmental structure and only 2 or 3 research projects per department. Here everybody has their own research, there everybody works for 2 or 3 research projects, and there is a kind of rotation: one term some people dedicate more time to teaching, the next term they concentrate more on research. I think this was a better distribution of tasks. Here even though you will find a departmental structure, this is a formal name, in practice the logic of cathedras is the one used. And even within every cathedra there are some cases who have more than one research project. (R22)

multiple powers.

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⁶⁶ Super-hijitus is a popular comic character created by the Argentinian Manuel García Ferré in the 1960s, which was transformed in the following decades into a TV animated cartoon with high levels of audience in the 1980s and 1990s. Hijitus was a common child who, after pronouncing a sequence of magic words, converted himself into a law-abiding superhero with

⁶⁷ It is worth mentioning that the presented account refers to the personal account of one academic who is comparing his experience in one particular university in a European country with that in the faculty of psychology in Argentina where he is working now.

Multi-tasking roles are also seen as the cause of poor interdisciplinary research, in the sense of establishing collaborations with academics from other fields of knowledge. Talking about the importance of interdisciplinarity in the knowledge production process related to education, one researcher affirmed:

Interdisciplinarity is desirable, but it is impossible to carry out proper interdisciplinary knowledge production if you are not full-time dedicated to research. (R7)

This idea of the academic as one who does several jobs at the same time is deeply ingrained in academics' representation of their profession as an internalised structure. As Bourdieu (1998) pointed out, subjects are active agents endowed with a practical sense, in the sense of an internalized scheme of action which orients perception and action over the situation. In their subjective accounts academics enact in a distinct way a set of recurrent behaviours and meanings about the world, 'patterns of bodily behaviour and routinized ways of understanding, knowing and desiring' (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250). The entire group of academics interviewed for this research talked about the great variety of tasks and jobs with which they deal simultaneously⁶⁸. The multi-tasking character of the academic role is a core aspect in the construction of their identity as researchers.

The embodied multi-tasking character is signified by the academics as either an aspect to be suffered or as an enjoyable dimension of the profession. The common ground of all the accounts is the weak control that academics seem to have over the multi-tasking configuration of their profession. A distressing dimension of the multi-tasking role is found in the interviews in reflections such as the following quotation. One academic who was listing her professional responsibilities at present, reflected in one part of the account on her exhaustion and the impossibility of carrying out all her jobs and tasks:

I am very tired right now. I am on medical leave in some of my jobs because I cannot deal with everything. (R16)

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⁶⁸ This variety of tasks was also found in the curriculum vitaes provided by the academics.

Another researcher who was about to travel to another country for a period of one month, in the context of activities related to her doctoral studies, also gave an account of the distressing dimension of the multi-tasking role, talking about the enjoyable aspect of performing only one role or task for one month:

People ask me: 'Are you happy with the travel you are going to do?' And I answer them 'the most enjoyable thing of going to [European city], apart from the fact that I am going to visit and enjoy the city, is that I am going to do only one thing [work on her doctoral studies]. One only thing per day. Do you understand what I am saying? I am going to be doing only one thing, and not going early in the morning to my private office to see my patients, and then running to the faculty to teach, and then running to a meeting at the ministry and going back to my clinical practice. I am so happy that I am going to be one month there thinking about only one task... (R7)

However, at the same time other meanings are constructed emphasising the enjoyable dimension of having a variety of tasks. The embodiment of the dispositions to carry out multiple activities, in the sense of structures that are internalized and transformed in natural identities to the individual (Bourdieu, 1998) is shown in accounts where researchers cannot imagine themselves performing their profession in a different way. In the following reflection, for example, one of the interviewees, whose model of being a researcher is similar to the mainstream of the natural sciences, thinks that a change in this multitasking role would be 'boring':

I believe that a real scientist should work 10 or 12 hours per day, every day, with a team. And these are conditions that do not exist. However, I do not know if I feel like doing the same thing all day every day. I like teaching, I like management of universities, I like researching, I like going to schools, I like having patients. I am not that kind of scientist, I think if I were working 12 hours per day as a researcher I would get really bored. (R1)

In the same sense, obtaining a full-time position at a university, as a way of reducing the dispersion of tasks or roles, is seen by some academics as problematic because it diminishes the possibility of having multiple and different jobs:

I made great efforts to try to get full-time positions for me and for some people of my team. However, when I finally got my full-time position some of my colleagues said: 'This is not a good idea because you are limiting your career, as you will not Mixing the enjoyable dimension of the multi-tasking roles and the suffering dimension of the lack of time available when having multiple jobs and tasks, an academic reflects on the fact that her colleagues are always in a rush.

I love what I do. I feel passionate about my profession. But the other day I was saying to my students. 'I never thought I was going to lose my affection for my profession'. But look I have lost my love for the 'furor furante', not for my profession.

Interviewee: - What do you mean by 'furor furante'?

Interviewer: Sure, that thing that we all have in this profession, we are always in a rush. In fact you are not going to make things happen faster if you are hurried... (R12)

The deeply ingrained representation of the researcher as a role among many others is based in particular international tendencies, national traditions, and it is also the result of special working conditions. Some academics explain their diversification of roles within and outside the university as the result of low salaries⁶⁹.

There came a moment where clinical private practice bored me. If I were able to live solely as a researcher, I would do it. But I can't. For me research is one of the things I like doing most, but other tasks take me more time than research. (R16)

Salary is not good enough to focus only on a full-time position at the university. (R4)

I do clinical work because I like it and because I like travelling, I like going out to have dinner. Nobody can live as a full-time researcher, at least at this faculty. I need to have a varied number of professional activities. (R1)

Within the university the directors of projects interviewed commented that there are people in their teams who work as teachers or participate in research projects andw ho do not receive any salary for their work. Moreover, it is

Argentina was \$1,400.

⁶⁹ For example, according to SPU (2010), in June 2009 the gross monthly income of academics of the National University System with average years in service, ranged from \$1,106 to \$8,273 Argentinian pesos, varying according the academic category and the nature of the post (the lowest value for a part-time 'ayudante de primera' and the highest one for 'profesores titulares' with a full-time post). For this year the minimum monthly wage for workers established in

mentioned as a problem that most of the people who do receive salaries have part-time positions (*dedicacion simple*). Low salaries lead to academics having several jobs, and multiply the number of tasks and responsibilities. This diversification results in insufficient time to carry out all the tasks. A massive teaching load is stated as one of the activities that takes the majority of the time available for participants' work at university. However, this massive teaching load was acknowledged by one of the interviewees as a great opportunity to spread knowledge produced by his team amongst the future professionals of the region.

Look at this. We have approximately 1,000 students per year. This means that in the whole province and nearby provinces our knowledge is being disseminated, these are people who are trained with us and then go to different institutions and disseminate our way of working. (R10)

Some aspects are common tendencies in international contexts, while others represent local configurations of the role. The researchers interviewed reflected upon the similarities and differences in the working conditions in other countries. For example one of them emphasised the globalised aspects in her description of the research role:

Nowadays the requirements and demands for doing research are similar all over the world, publishing your work, going to academic conferences, evaluating other colleagues' work... these are global demands, not local ones. (R9)

In contrast, another interviewee reflected on the local differences of the role and the conditions in which research is carried out, comparing it with the situation in other countries. She told me that having lived, studied and worked abroad for 20 years (exiled from Argentina due to different coups d'état) has allowed her to question some aspects of the academic work conditions which, in her opinion, are taken as natural by most of the academics in the Faculty, such as the fact that some of the people work in teaching and research without receiving any salary, the fact that most of the funding is given to natural sciences, and the fact that a teacher-researcher can do his or her work while holding a part-time position.

In sum, all the academics interviewed acknowledged a great variety of roles being carried out by them simultaneously. Although the variety of tasks of the academic profession can be identified as an international configuration of the academic role, there are also some specific dimensions that contribute to a local configuration of this aspect. On the one hand, the academics interviewed not only carry out the many tasks required of them in their role as university teachers and researchers but at the same time they also hold other jobs in other educational institutions, NGOs, private clinical practice, and the government. Their daily activities are segmented into a variety of roles and institutions. On the other hand, comparing the configuration of the academic role with their own experiences in other countries, the academics drew attention to a lack of hierarchization of the different tasks in the faculties analysed. This means that there is an implicit understanding that academics must carry out the diverse roles simultaneously. In this sense, personal strategies directed towards reducing insulations or distances between the different roles are expected in this configuration of the research role.

6.4. Strategies for the production of the researcher role in a context of multiple professional activities

The academic world and the professional worlds outside the university are closely linked, and even overlap, from the perspective of the researchers. This aspect, which is present in a general sense in most disciplines or intellectual fields, seems to acquire a particular emphasis in the case of the academics interviewed and is closely related to the hegemonic configuration presented above of psychology as a liberal profession. For example, arguing about who he believes the audience for his output of psycho-educational knowledge would be, one respondent reflected on the fact that in psychology in the country, the world of professional practice is closely linked to the academic world.

I think the target of my audience is more by the side of the academic world but here we have a mix, haven't we? The academic world is also a technical professional world at the same time, I am meaning it as a good thing. If you analyse their trajectories, almost all the academics have worked in intervention programmes, even [gives the name of an academic], even though he has always been associated with a more aseptic knowledge production role, he has also worked in Ministries and intervention. (R4)

As we have seen the researcher role is weakly insulated from other professional roles, and two main strategies are found to be are used by the academics to deal with the multiple roles expected in their academic practice: a) shrinking distances among professional categories, and b) establishing hierarchies among professional categories.

The strategy of shrinking distances among professional categories implies weakening the insulation between categories and making the switch from one to the other easier. The most extreme example of this strategy is the one explained by one academic, who has found a way of enjoying her profession 'doing the same' in all the contexts, roles, and activities where she undertakes her professional life.

Interviewer: - From all the different professional roles you talked about, what role is the one you enjoy most?

Interviewee: - Look, I have developed my own way, I am all in one. This is after years of suffering doing so many things. I was making things complicated, but this is over now. Now my teaching role is merged to the research role, to the professional role. It is the same thing; I do the same when I teach, when I intervene in a school or a community centre, when I do research. This is my own method, it is mine. I do not feel divided anymore. This whole academic 'thing' was very difficult for me, I got very tired, but now I changed it. (R12)

Another academic reflects on his research role as something similar to his desire for knowledge. Research here is related to his 'study agenda'. Knowledge production overlaps with the learning and study processes related to the continuing professional development, and distances between the two activities are weakened.

What's happening is that I think I merge the research agenda with the personal one, with my own 'study agenda', more related to the things I want to learn, I want to think. (R4)

An academic who directs a research project and some 'extension' projects in one faculty explains the satisfaction she has found in merging the extension projects with her role as a teacher of future psychologists and her role as researcher. She considers that the extension programme offers opportunities for doing interventions in primary and secondary schools in order to help them to solve specific problems, while enabling psychology students to do internships to learn about psycho-educational practice and at the same time these activities are used to collect data for their research project.

And what we did there [psychology faculty] was another 'space adventure' [sic]. We presented two extension projects, one for primary [education] and the other for secondary education, then the students register themselves to do an internship and they go one year or two. (...) They learn a 'north', it is their chance to see and practice. (...) This has revitalized me. And besides, we have a beautiful group of people in the cathedra that follow all the process and write diaries, everybody is very enthusiastic. It is the ideal practice for me. We transfer knowledge from research to the design of 'intervention' projects and we collect data there for our [research] project, this is constructing knowledge in context, it is like creating social experiments, very small ones, as a way of contributing to articulate knowledge and reform practice. (R22)

By contrast, the strategy of establishing hierarchies among professional categories can be found in accounts that argue, for example, that one of the professional roles should be at the service of other professional roles. For instance, one of the academics talked about research as one role that can help to authorize and legitimate the role of university teacher. For him, research is a way of improving the training of future psychologists as it provides knowledge and tools to university teachers to carry out their role.

I was a student here [Psychology degree], and the woman who used to teach Educational Psychology was a disciple of Piaget. Therefore Educational Psychology was only studying Piaget. We changed that. First, because most of the people in the cathedra have worked for more than 20 years in [mentions an educational government agency]. That means that we have had always a field of professional work, an action field, an experimental field, a laboratory, where to try our ideas, a field to nourish our conversations with students. We understand this: in order to talk in front of the students [at the Educational Psychology Course] we need to authorize ourselves from somewhere. Reading books is a possible way, but it is the weakest way of legitimising ourselves as teachers. I think researching and professional intervention are stronger ways. We need to collect information from our own interventions or carry out research on certain problems. (R10)

This account shows that for the academic interviewed, research, in conjunction with professional practice, is seen as a way for academics to legitimise

themselves as teachers in the university subject which they teach. This aspect is further developed in the next chapter, due to the fact that in various research projects the main problem driving the realization of the research originates from their teaching experiences at the faculty.

Another significant finding was several accounts from academics arguing that, in their opinion, some of the research being carried out in the field should be considered more as 'intervention projects' rather than research projects. In these accounts academics state that in some cases research projects are just the written account of extension projects to the community carried out within some cathedras. In these cases, there is also a hierarchical relation, now between extension activities and research. Research is no more than a way of enriching their professional interventions.

6.5. Becoming a researcher in the psycho-educational field

The academics' stories about their past professional trajectories, especially those related to their introduction to the psycho-educational field and to research activities add value to the comprehension of the ways in which knowledge production practices are framed in the psycho-educational field in the analysed faculties. In this section, two aspects are recovered and analysed: first, participants' stories about how and when they think they began to be interested in knowledge production in the psycho-educational field are presented; second, a specific dimension of what can be considered the process of socialisation in research practices as a specialised activity is analysed. In the latter case, the focus is on the ways in which academics experience or take positions with regards to the completion of post-graduate research degrees such as masters and doctorates that provide formal credentials as researchers.

6.5.1. Initiation in the psycho-educational field

In their accounts about how they began working to produce knowledge in the intersections between psychology and education, most of the researchers

identified the realization of professional activities in educational contexts as an aspect that led them to develop an interest in producing psycho-educational knowledge. In these accounts, early job opportunities in the educational field influenced them in their later choices for psycho-educational knowledge production.

Interviewer: - How did you start producing knowledge on psycho-educational topics?

Interviewee: - I will probably need to sit and think about this a bit more but ... let me think... when I started working in the School Orientation Teams of the city, there I started writing. And I was interested in thinking the institutional intervention, how changes are produced in institutions [...]. And at that moment one of the hot topics was sex education. In fact I think that I got interested in this topic not because of the topic itself but because it was an opportunity to work on producing knowledge about other ways of teacher positioning. And I started writing about this and nowadays I still receive calls from people that ask me to provide a workshop, conference or write about this topic. (R8)

In some cases, the professional development in the psycho-educational field was initially unexpected. The clinical and psychoanalytical approaches act in the representations of psychologists as privileged meanings (Bernstein, 2003) for professional development. During their undergraduate studies they embodied the disposition for clinical practice and, in some cases, for the psychoanalytic paradigm, and this was the main representation of the professional role of the psychologist they have constructed. In this sense, the participation in professional activities in educational contexts was experienced by some of them as a fortuitous event.

Interviewer: - How did you start working on psycho-educational knowledge issues?

Interviewee: - Well, by pure chance, because I was finishing my psychology degree and, precisely because of the orientation we have in the majority of the universities, I was thinking that my professional career was going to be clinical work with children in private practice, and I was attending some study groups related to this. I was finishing the psychology degree and [mentions a personal familiar situation] and I had to start working immediately. I had previously qualified as a primary teacher, which at that time was something you could do in certain secondary schools. So, I started working as a teacher [in primary schools]. I thought that I was not going to like working in schools but it started liking me and then I got other job at a secondary school teaching psychology, and because of that I began to get interested in psycho-educational knowledge. Then I got another job opportunity in some psychological teams of [an educational government agency] and we started developing a test for measuring literacy skills [...]. (R23)

Fortuitous events and socio-political contexts determined specific paths in participants' trajectories. For example, in the next interview the unexpected job opportunity in university management is identified as the aspect that influenced the academic in her later knowledge production choices.

Interviewer: - First, I would like to ask you how did you start working on knowledge issues related to psychology and education.

Interviewee: - Previous to the dictatorship I was working as a teacher assistant in a cathedra of developmental psychology [...]. But this was interrupted in the dictatorship. Then, I had a work opportunity at [religious private university] [...]. I developed my first steps in my career there: vocational guidance, orientation to students, development of students' profiles, induction of students. [...] The work in university management left a mark on me. With the democracy I started working in [public university] again, teaching and managing students' internships. This aspect has been always present, [...] the research projects in the cathedra during the last 10 years were related to this, university, training of professionals, professional practice... (R22)

Another type of accounts privileges participants' previous interest in the educational field, especially in those who worked as teachers in the educational system. In these cases, this experience is recognised as having implicitly conditioned their later professional choices.

Interviewer: How did you start working on psycho-educational topics?

Interviewee: - Well, in fact I come from the old 'normalismo'. That means that my secondary school degree was as a 'normal teacher'. This has meant that, may be consciously or unconsciously my interest in learning problems emerged. I worked as a school teacher for a brief time, 3 or 4 years, and then I became director of primary schools. And even when I was a psychologist I have been always concerned with two big issues: the problem of the school drop-out and school failure [...] (R19)

I think one of the factors that influenced my decision was because I had concrete experience in the educational context. And also because I was interested in the theory of Piaget, to be more precise, in the psychogenetic perspective in psychology *contrario sensu* to psychoanalysis, specially of the Lacanian tendency, which has the most weight in the region and which I do not identify myself with. (R19)

However, there are other accounts, less extended, where the interest arises in issues more related to knowledge problems. This is the case of one of the researchers interviewed who holds an undergraduate degree in philosophy instead of a psychology degree.

How did you begin producing knowledge on psycho-educational topics?

Looking at epistemological problems, trying to change the way in which the psychogenetic psychology of Piaget was applied to education. The consequences of the 'aplicacionismo'⁷⁰ of the theory in education were very hard, and I was interested in the way in which the theory was built and to analyse what it is necessary to change there to propose other types of applications of the theory to the educational field. (R5)

In other cases, the researchers identify their participation as students in psychoeducational subjects as the moment in which they began to be interested in the psycho-educational field. The following quote is an example in this sense:

When I finished [as an undergraduate student in psychology] the course on educational psychology, I did the final oral examination with the titular professor. I remember that when the evaluation was finished, I stood up from my chair, walked two steps and then came back to him and asked if it would be possible to participate in his cathedra. From there, I have worked in schools, I have started participating in research projects... (R18)

The analysis of the ways in which academics describe their introduction to the psycho-educational field of knowledge production shows that the most extended path is related to job opportunities in the educational field. Descriptions regarding knowledge problems as the main reasons motivating them to produce psycho-educational knowledge were scarce compared with the main tendency presented.

6.5.2. Introduction to knowledge production as a professional practice: Postgraduate research qualifications

As I discussed in the characterisation of the academics interviewed in the methodology chapter, even though all of them were coordinating research projects only 14 out of the 26 academics interviewed had completed their doctorates by the time they were interviewed, and at least another six were at that moment progressing in their doctoral studies. Of the 14 academics with their doctorates completed, half of them received this degree in foreign

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⁷⁰ 'Aplicacionismo' is usually used to describe the negative effects of applying theories to a field of practice without taking into account the specific characteristics of the field of practice. See, for instance, Baquero (1997) and Coll (1988a).

universities, in most cases as the result of the years exiled in another country during the last dictatorship. Of the seven that obtained their doctorate in an Argentinian university, six of them obtained the title in the late 1990s and during 2000s.

In accordance with the description provided in chapter 2 regarding the recent growth of postgraduate courses in the country, especially in social sciences and humanities, doctorates are a recent creation in the faculties analysed (most of them were created in the late 1990s and during 2000s). This aspect explains the recent completion of the doctorates of those academics who stayed in the country and the fact that some of them did their doctorates in other provinces of the country, because the doctoral degree was not yet created at their faculties when they decided to study for this degree. For example, one researcher who finished his PhD in the middle of 2000s said that he did his doctorate in a university in another province because, when he started it, very few institutions were offering it.

The [name of one public university] was the first one in Argentina that offered a Doctorate in Psychology. Did you know that? And it is related to accidents of history. Psychology was there at the side of the natural sciences, so it followed their traditions of more provision of postgraduate research degrees. (R3)

Another academic explained that the reason that motivated him not to complete his doctorate was that at the faculty where he works, researchers holding a model of psychology as a natural science dominate the research field and act as gatekeepers of what they consider the only valid method of producing knowledge.

Nowadays, the research institute is dominated by 'the neurologists'. It is difficult to compete with their requirements. I would like to do my doctorate here, and maybe I am going to be able to do it, but the problem is that 8 or 9 academics of the research secretariat are all neuroscientists, and if I am going to do fieldwork in educational psychology or health psychology and I do not carry out experiments, numbers, there are a lot of possibilities that they are going to reject my work. Do you understand? Because of that many people here in this faculty go to other universities to do their doctorates. [...] They started with a small place in the secretariat, studying the problems of alcoholism in rats, and nobody questioned them, and now they grew, nobody saw this people coming... (R10)

The account of an academic about the moment in the professional trajectory in which a doctorate should be carried out shows the coexistence in the last decade of two professional models: one model focused on the value of the professional experience of the professional but not preoccupied with formal qualifications and one model that gives great importance to early postgraduate research qualifications.

This is a very interesting thing. I first saw it when I was living in [Latin American country, in the 1970s, exiled from the dictatorship in Argentina] There were 'kids' of 22 years old doing their doctorate, travelling to the USA to get it. So, when they were 28, 29 years old they were doing their post-doctorate research. You could find people younger than 30 years old with two post-doctorates. Unbelievable, an incredible thing. I did not do the doctorate there [in Mexico]. I could have, but I did not do it. I think now is the moment to do it. You know, there are two models: the 'American' model where you are 22 years old and are doing a doctorate; and the 'European' model, Maud Mannoni got her doctorate degree when she was 65 or 67 years old. With Freud something similar happened, I think. This is the 'European' model: to get your doctorate at the end of your career, as a moment where you integrate the experience and knowledge gathered and constructed over the years. (R10)

Another academic recounts a discussion in her *concurso* in the middle of the first decade of this century.

Interviewee: - When I was at the 'concurso de antecedentes y oposición' for my position at the Faculty, I won it, and it was very interesting because a discussion between 'oficio' and 'doctorate' is held...

Interviewer: - 'Oficio'. In what sense do you mean?

Interviewee: - 'Oficio'. I do have 'oficio'. I do not have a doctoral thesis Do you understand? I have done two doctorates but I did not finish them. One with [names a foreign psychoanalytic author] and the other here. Even at that moment [middle of 2000], having a doctorate implied a better position for winning the "concursos". I did my presentation and I reflected about the 'oficio'. This created a big debate in the city, and in another faculty a panel to discuss oficio vs. academia was organised. I have taught in other countries, I went to work with people in [European country] and [an academic there] used to say to me: 'it is a shame that you, who has taught us, now we are teaching you' [...] I am not against having a doctorate. It is a concrete reality that I would be able to obtain a doctorate if I wish to. I did not finish them due to personal reasons. But personal reasons are ideological also.

Interviewer: -In what sense?

Interviewee: -Sure. In the sense that I chose to privilege the 'oficio', because for me the profession has an ideological background. What moves you in your professional choices? So, while I was working in 2001 [year of a national economic and social crisis] in community psychology in some neighbourhoods of the city [...] other people were doing their doctorates. I will publish my thesis in some moment in the future, it is just that until now I have not prioritised this.

(R12)

The last accounts show the tension between two models of doctorate and research formal qualifications and how actors position themselves and deploy strategies to legitimate the validity of their own trajectories. While the shift towards what is called the 'American' model can be identified as a global scale phenomenon, the accounts presented here illustrate how that shift happened in a specific field in the Argentinian context and how academics socialised in an old model develop particular strategies to legitimise their positions in this new context.

Formal research credentials are privileging meanings – in Bernstein's (2003) terms - in the analysed context at present, in the sense that such meanings confer differential power upon participants. Those academics who have socialised themselves in a different social division of labour with respect to the academic profession struggle for legitimating their own trajectories in this new context. In doing so, the use of privileged meanings in other professional roles, such as the extended experience in professional practice, is used to validate their role as researchers.

6.6. Discussion: The production of weak professional identities as researchers

This whole chapter has presented an analytical description of the major aspects recognized by the academics that characterise the conditions in which research is carried out and the ways in which their role as researchers is configured in the faculties analysed in relation to other academic roles and other professional activities outside university. The analysis presented here shows those aspects of government policies, institutional traditions and cultures, working conditions and personal trajectories that are recognised by the people interviewed as having an impact on the configuration of their role as researchers in the psychoeducational field.

In general, academics agree on a general description of the situation of research in the faculties analysed, recognizing the following set of characteristics:

- Growth in the number of researchers and in research productivity.
- Growth in the level of qualifications and in the number of postgraduate research programmes.
- Multi-tasking work as an unavoidable dimension of their professions.
- Quality disparity: Some research projects are acknowledged as good production of knowledge in psychology while others are evaluated as poorly designed and implemented, and in some cases they are even seen as not being research at all.
- Insufficient funding and salary, and not enough time dedicated to each role. Massive teaching loads are seen by some of the academics as the task that takes the majority of the time.
- Lack of tradition in research and lack of training in research activities at the analysed faculties.
- Strategies for dealing with different roles.

Following Bernstein (1990, 2003), the examples presented show that the role of researcher is characterised as exhibiting weak classification among professional categories and weak framing of the role of researcher. With respect to the classificatory principle in play, in the cases analysed 'being a researcher' is conceived by the interviewees as one role among many others to be accomplished within an array of professional activities, and this aspect is at the same time both suffered and enjoyed. Moreover, it was demonstrated how certain activities show a superposition among different roles and how some of the academics interviewed have developed strategies for making it easier to switch from one role to the other (the already presented strategies of shrinking distances and establishing hierarchies among professional categories). Bernstein (2000) has argued that the specialisation of a category (in this case

professional roles) is not created by something internal to that discourse but by something that it is between discourses. In this sense, classification involves power relations and is concerned with the strength of the boundaries or the degree of insulation between the categories, agents, actors or discourses (Bernstein, 2000). In the cases analysed, classification among different professional roles or positions is weak. As Bernstein explains, it is in the space between categories where discourses are specialised and so producing the potential for a special identity with its 'own internal rules and special voice' (Bernstein, 2000, p. 6). For the academics interviewed, insulation between professional categories is weak, and thus so are their professional identities as researchers. In the next chapter, this weak insulation among professional categories is used to analyse its relation to the knowledge produced.

With respect to the framing principle, the recent growth in research practices, the new policies organising the academic work and the present working conditions influence a weak framing in the configuration of the researcher role. These objective aspects constrain academics' choices with respect to participating in research activities. Academics understand that, in order to succeed in their academic profession, they *should* do research. Higher education policies and institutional regulations strongly establish a model of teacher-researcher. Money constraints promote a need for multiple jobs and the multi-tasking dimension of their profession is embodied in academics' dispositions. It was also shown that even though those academics who were most closely identified as researchers, or who were formally working as full-time CONICET researchers, were also framed by this multi-tasking aspect of the profession.

However, even though these structural aspects determine their choice for participating in research activities, the strength of the framing principles operating within the professional category as researcher is weak. While, as presented previously, classification regulates power relations *between* categories, framing involves the principle of control which regulates relations *within* a specific context and the legitimate forms of communication and socialisation within each category. The accounts provided in this chapter have

illustrated that within the professional category as researcher, there are no clear or explicit rules (Bernstein, 1990). Academics cannot easily identify and deploy explicit recognition and realization rules in this context. Further, there are no clear rules about how to undertake the socialisation process in the role of researcher, nor are there explicit rules about research is and what research is not, or about what being a researcher means and what kind of tasks one is expected to do. For example, section 6.5 'Becoming a researcher' has shown the fortuitous character of participants' immersion in knowledge production in the psycho-educational field and the resistances of some academics to consider the formal research training as a privileging meaning. Moreover, the accounts mentioned in section 6.4 about their reflections that some of the research projects being undertaken in psychology and education in the faculties should not be considered as research illustrates the lack of agreement in the field with respect to what doing research means.

Understanding that the strength of the classification and framing principles of any given social practice results in different modalities of a code, this case would imply, in Bernstein's terms, an integrated code. Bernstein (1977) distinguished between two types of educational knowledge codes. While collection codes refer to codes where boundaries between categories and framing are strong, integrated codes account for codes where insulation between categories is weaker and identities are less certain and require constant negotiation. Distribution of power and control acquires a particular arrangement in integrated codes. In the case analysed here, realization rules and markers enabling actors to know how to operate in the researcher role are less explicit. While in collection codes, professional identity is prescribed and every actor aiming to be socialised in the social practice is able to anticipate the ways of doing it; in a professional role configured as an integrated code, the professional identity is uncertain and it often has to be achieved in the context of interpersonal negotiation with colleagues.

In sum, the present arrangement of the practice as an integrated code determines the ways in which the professional identities as researchers are developed. The research carried out by Daniels (2010b), shows that a relation between the strength of these insulations and the possibilities of emergence of

new professional identities can be found. In the accounts analysed here, a context with weak insulation among professional categories and weak framing is evident; therefore the possibilities of the emergence of specific forms of professional identities as researchers are diminished. In this sense, identities as researchers are constructed, borrowing realization and recognition rules from other professional contexts.

Chapter 7

Knowledge and field

7.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I have provided a detailed description of the ways in which academics conceive their role as researchers, and I have constructed an interpretation of relatively weak professional identities as researchers. In this chapter I move the analysis of the field to the level of the knowledge relations, and to how researchers position themselves and their production of knowledge in the intellectual psycho-educational field. As argued previously, the separation between the knowledge produced and the professional practice as researchers has been carried out only for the purpose of the analysis. In the academics' accounts and in the analysis of their research outputs all aspects are closely intertwined.

The following conversation with a member of a research office of one of the faculties is a clear illustration of the tight articulation between aspects of the knowledge produced, and the institutional cultures and professional identities constructed by people producing knowledge: references to theories and knowledge coexist with references to professional cultures and institutional regulations, and dialectical relations are evident between them. Talking about the requirements for submitting research proposals, this interviewee reflects:

Interviewee: - Psychologists in general do not feel comfortable with 'organisation'. Psychologists do not appreciate the value of having databases, systems to organise things. So they have a lot of resistance to these kinds of things. 'And why?' They ask you why about everything. They want to know all the time the 'cause of the thing'. As if knowing the cause would help solve the problem. For example, the use of a system of bibliographic references. They ask you 'why do I have to present references in this way?' They are ...

Interviewer: - Are all psychologists like this or are there some specific groups with this characteristic?

Interviewee: - It is independent of the theoretical framework they use. Of course that there are certain theoretical frameworks that help justify this position. This comes from the fact that 'the symptom is produced by an excess in the repression mechanisms', or something like this, they use these kinds of

explanations. But, for example, in [the knowledge production about] education it is the same. Most of the publications are in fact focused on questioning the educational system, questioning the teacher, questioning the head teacher, questioning the institution [...] However, in the last few years I am observing some changes. There are more people every day asking *how* instead of *why*. 'How can I win a project, win some funding?'. (S 3)

This account illustrates the deep relation between the different dimensions of the problem being analysed. The interviewee is talking about a general resistance on the part of the academics in the faculty to following the rules for research accreditation⁷¹, probably related to the poor research traditions in the faculty (presented in chapter 2) but also as a resistance to the new global configuration of academic life as 'audit cultures' presented in the same chapter. Moreover, what is recognised as a specific culture of the psychologists, the questioning of every aspect of the social reality, is mentioned also as an aspect that helps this production of resistances. Further, the interviewee is also talking about how knowledge from the intellectual fields where research is carried out is also used by academics to legitimise their positions with regards to the researcher role. The knowledge claims of researchers about 'symptoms' and 'excess of repression mechanisms' show the use of a psychoanalytical perspective to legitimise their resistance to the formal rules that make research a specialised or distinct activity within their academic role. In another part of the discussion, he also argues that psychologists researching in education are also influenced by this culture of 'questioning', and this aspect is seen in the form taken by their knowledge production as principally 'questioning the educational system, questioning the teacher, questioning the head teacher, questioning the institution'. Finally, at the end of the quotation selected, the interviewee also confirms an aspect introduced in the previous chapter: the observation that the research culture is changing. The move from 'why' to 'how' shows that academics' dispositions are moving from a resistance to following the formal rules for research accreditation to an interest in understanding the best way of playing the game imposed by the institution in order to do research.

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⁷¹ By research accreditations I mean here the process that each university carry out in order to assess the quality of each research proposal presented. Once the proposal is approved, the research proposal is accredited by the university.

Having signalled the tight relation between the discussion in the previous chapter and what is presented in this chapter, I will move now to focus on the analysis of the structured and structuring aspect of knowledge. In doing so I start with a characterisation of some of the tendencies found in the field with regards to actors, topics, methodological designs, and the contexts prioritised in research, and then I analyse how different academics position themselves within the field and how they struggle for the control of the definition of the field or for the legitimation of their positions. I use both the analysis of the research projects collected and the accounts extracted from the interviews with academics. In doing so, as will be seen, I will continue showing evidence of relations between the construction of professional identities as researchers presented in chapter 6 and the structuring of knowledge in the field.

This chapter is organised into five further sections. The next section (7.2) presents an initial characterisation of the knowledge tendencies found in the research projects, and the selected research projects are grouped according to the topics, actors, methodological approaches and contexts in which research is carried out. This characterisation provides a general description of the tendencies in the psycho-educational knowledge produced in the period being analysed (2000-2010). This is mainly a quantitative analysis of the information collected of each research project, such as research proposals, final research reports, and/or publications where the main results of the research were presented.

The following section (7.3) looks at the interviews carried out with academics, and presents and analyses the establishment of insulations within the field of knowledge. I have found in the interviews that the strategies which every agent deploys for positioning themselves are influenced by a series of principles that structure the field, and that in the act of establishing these positions the field itself is enacted. When talking about their work, about their theoretical orientations and about the work of others, every academic pinpoints demarcation lines, which works as a way of fixing limits or boundaries of a semiotic field where some perspectives, ideas or orientations are legitimised. Although the position of each academic in the field is unique, there are also

collective dispositions that determine to some extent the points of the thinkable, the points of what can be voiced, and the issues that can be disputed. Every researcher, at the same time, not only reproduces structural aspects of the field but also performs his or her distinct position in the field. In this section, I have selected three dimensions along which to analyse the establishment of insulations: legitimate topics, methodologies, and theories.

Having shown the array of insulations that academics establish in their claims, in section 7.4 I focus on the analysis of the descriptions made by academics of the ways in which they conceive the psycho-educational field as a whole. In doing so, I use the internal language proposed by Bernstein (1999, 2000) to analyse knowledge structures and grammars and hence to develop an empirical description of certain characteristics of the field. I also discuss there some aspects of the empirical that are not placed under consideration using the Bernsteinian model, and this is the main reason for the development of the following two sections.

In section 7.5, as a way of enriching the analysis of the underlying principles organising the field, I analyse the ways in which the relationships between psychology and education are understood by the researchers, and how these conceptions affect the definition of research problems and research designs. Finally, in section 7.6, I establish a dialogue with the language of description proposed by Maton in his proposal of a Legitimation Code Theory to identify different types of legitimation modes encountered in the data, which are expressions of some of the organising principles of the field.

7.2. The research projects. Knowledge tendencies and gaps

This section resumes the analysis undertaken of the contents of the research projects selected with the purpose of presenting a general characterisation of the knowledge produced in the psycho-educational field. As introduced in the methodology chapter, the dimensions analysed are contexts, actors and topics under study, as well as the prevailing methodological approaches, the relations of the projects to professional practice and the level of engagement of each

project with respect to the educational field. The characterisation presented in this section will provide a picture of the main knowledge tendencies and gaps in psycho-educational research in the faculties of psychology of national universities in the country in the period 2000-2010.

7.2.1. Contexts

The term 'contexts' refers to the main settings that are considered in the topic under analysis in each research project, and it refers to where the subjects under study are mainly based.

a. Formal education settings and out-of-school contexts

Firstly, I have classified research projects according to their context of participation, whether in formal education settings (such as university, secondary and primary school, and kindergarten) or in other non-formal education contexts (such as home, sports centres, hospitals, community centres, workplace). Projects are overwhelmingly concentrated in the formal education system. 77% of the projects are focused exclusively on formal education contexts and another 17% of the projects are concerned both with formal educational settings and out-of-school contexts, proposing in their questions comparisons or relations among school and out-of-school settings (category 'mixed contexts' in table 7.1)⁷². In sum, of 246 projects, 231 show some kind of interest in formal educational settings and only 4% of the projects are exclusively related to out-of-school contexts. An example of the latter is a study focused on ways of learning across generations in family businesses (34 UNMP).

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⁷² Examples of projects with this mixed interest are follow up studies of trajectories of work and education of young people who have finished secondary education (e.g. 1 UBA) and projects that consider educational settings as one setting among various settings studied.

Table 7.1: Contexts prioritised in the research projects (n=246)

	Resea	rch projects
Contexts	Absolute values	Percentages
Formal education context	189	77
Out-of-school contexts	11	4
Mixed contexts	43	17
No data available	3	1
TOTAL	246	100

b. Educational level

Secondly, within the group of research projects that examined formal education settings (the sum of projects under the categories 'formal education context' and 'mixed contexts', n=232) higher education is by far the most common context. 53% of the projects considering formal education settings are concerned with this level, while 22% are interested in secondary education, and 27% in primary education. Initial education and tertiary education are neglected educational levels in knowledge production, with only 3% and 1% of projects respectively.

Table 7.2: Educational level studied in the research projects interested in formal education settings (n=232)

	Resea	Research projects	
Level	Absolute values	Percentage	
Early years education (kindergarten)	6	3	
Primary education	63	27	
Secondary education	51	22	
Tertiary education	3	1	
University	122	53	
No data available	15	6	

^{*} Multiple options answer

c. Geographic location

Thirdly, in the analysis of the location under study it was found that the fieldwork of the projects tends to be carried out in the city and surroundings where the faculty is located. There are a very few projects that include other regions of the country or other countries, but they represent less than 5% of the projects (e.g. 11 UBA; 26 UNC; 28 UNC; 15 UNR; 14 UBA). An example of a project studying beyond the geographic location of its university is one investigating the academic writing of primary students using ICT, based in three schools: one in the same city where the university is located, another in another city of the same province, and another in a city of a different province of Argentina (28 UNC). Only 3 projects considered international comparisons. For example: a) A transcultural study of eating disorders in students of one university in Spain and one university in Argentina (15 UNR); and b) A research project focused on the study of 'pro-social aptitudes' in children and their transference to educational institutions, which considered Argentinian, Spanish, Cuban, French and Portuguese children (14 UBA).

d. Fieldwork in the psychology faculties

Moreover, an important proportion of projects not only undertake their fieldwork in the same city where the university is located, but they also carry out their fieldwork in part or entirely at the same faculty of psychology where the project is accredited. It was found that at least 46% of the total of projects consider the Faculty as part of their fieldwork. Two examples of research projects that carry out part of their field-work in the same faculties are: a) a project about the production of academic texts by university students focused on the students of the Faculty of Psychology (32 UBA); and b) a study of perfectionism in university students and its relation to psychological health and academic achievement, that considered 300 students from 3 different faculties, of which the Faculty of Psychology was one (58 UBA).

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⁷³ Pro-social aptitudes is a concept that questions traditional research on school violence and bullying, and which aims to make visible those aptitudes that help the development of positive interactions among children in schools.

Table 7.3: Fieldwork. Research projects that undertook their fieldwork at the Faculty of Psychology (n=246)

	Research projects	
	Absolute value	Percentage
Yes. Faculty of Psychology is part of field-work	113	46
No. Faculty of Psychology is not considered in the field-work	111	45
No data available	22	9
TOTAL	246	100

7.2.2. Actors

Most of the research projects prioritise certain actors in the definition of their research questions and objectives. For example, in a research project about learning styles of new university students and their relation to ICT, the main actor considered is the university student (15 UNMP). By contrast, in another study, analysing the influence of the role of the teacher in the production of bullying situations among students, the actor prioritised was the teacher because the project was mainly concentrated on analysing teachers' representations and practices (6 UNR).

The analysis undertaken with respect to the actors prioritised in each research project considered: age groups, educational role (in the cases of projects that showed interest in formal education settings), and the presence of particular vulnerable groups.

a. Educational roles

With regards to actors that were prioritised in the projects based totally or in part in formal education settings (232 projects), the role of the student is by far the most studied. 82% of the projects consider the role of the student as central in the definition of their research questions, while only 17% consider teachers, and 3% mentioned psychologists working in formal education settings. Other professionals such as head-teachers and social assistants are considered

central in only 3% of the projects, and families of students are only considered amongst the central actors in 3% of the projects.

Table 7.4: Educational roles studied in research projects interested in formal education settings (n=232)

	Research projects	
Educational roles	Absolute value	Percentage
Students	191	82
Teachers	39	17
Psychologists	7	3
Other professionals (Doctors, head-teachers, social assistants)	6	3
Parents and family	7	3
No data available	12	5
Not applicable	26	11

^{*} Multiple options answer

b. Age groups

With regards to the age groups of the actors prioritised in each research project⁷⁴, it was found that the most studied group is the one of the young people between 18 and 27 (43% of the projects). In most cases, they have been chosen because they are university students. Studies interested in children from 0 to 12 years old represents 24% of the projects, and the ones considering adolescents from 13 to 17 years old comprise 20% of the projects. Research considering adults (from 28 years old) in the core of the analysis represents 21% of the sample. However, in these projects the adults under analysis are, most commonly, teachers, psychologists or other professionals working in educational settings. By contrast, studies analysing adult learning in the adult population in general are not found.

⁷⁴ In the cases of research that prioritised university students, they were categorised in the 'young people' group because this is the main age group attending to university. For example, in 2003 in Argentina only 15% of the students' population was older than 29 years old (SPU, 2004). In the cases of research that considered professionals, such as teachers, psychologists, doctors, they were categorised in the group 'adults'.

Table 7.5: Age groups prioritised in the studies (n=246)

	Resear	Research projects	
Age groups	Absolute value	Percentage	
Children (0-12 years old)	58	24	
Adolescents (13-17 years old)	50	20	
Young people (18-27 years old)	107	43	
Adults (from 28 years old)	52	21	
No data available	16	7	
Not applicable ⁷⁵	15	6	

^{*} Multiple options answer

c. Disadvantaged groups

With regards to the membership of the actors under study to particular groups, it was found that 19% of the projects (46 projects) explicitly mentioned an interest in studying particular vulnerable or disadvantaged groups, showing that the concern for inequalities in education is part of the knowledge production in the field. However, this concern is perhaps not as central as it is for sociology of education in Argentina: Meo (2008) has pointed out that the study of inequalities in educational settings has been a core topic for sociology of education in Argentina, especially focused on social class. Sociological and psychological studies on education about inequalities share, however, the interest in social disadvantaged socio-economic rather class or groups, than other disadvantaged groups or situations such as those related to migration, disabled people, gender, and indigenous population⁷⁶. Of the 46 projects that explicitly mentioned an interest in analysing disadvantaged groups, 31 are interested in socio-economically disadvantaged groups and only 7 projects in people with disabilities. An example of such focus is a project that aims to study teachers' conceptions of the influence of their role in the educational inclusion of children with disabilities (6 UNLP).

⁷⁵ In the category 'not applicable', three projects studying cognitive processes involved in learning activities in animals and other projects where the problem defined is not focused on particular aspects but rather on institutions and theoretical discussions were included.

⁷⁶ For a more detailed description from a sociology of education perspective, see: Meo, Cimolai and Pérez (2014).

The belonging of the population under analysis to rural / urban areas is scarcely taken into account, even though in Argentina the rural population represents more than 3,000,000 people – approximately 7 % of the population of the country - (World Bank, 2013). Only 4 of the projects were explicitly interested in rural populations or in differences between rural and urban areas.

Gender is another poorly considered aspect in psychological research on inequalities in education. 4 projects showed some level of interest in gender inequalities and only two of the analysed projects stated a concern for gender in their titles (33 UNMP, 14 UNC). Projects focusing on indigenous groups were not found, even though they represent almost 1,000,000 people in the country (Meo, Cimolai and Perez, 2014). In most of the identified research the concern with the disadvantaged group is central to the definition of the problem and it appears in the title of the project. In other projects, however, the interest is not central and it is presented as a secondary aim, seeking to identify variations in the topic according to certain groups. For example, in the study of the representations of 'health' held by parents whose children are attending initial education, variations in the representations according to gender and to the socio-economic level of the interviewee are taken into account (UBA 22).

Table 7.6: Research projects studying vulnerable groups (n=46)

	Research projects	
	Absolute value	Percentage
Socio-economic disadvantaged groups	31	67
Disability	7	15
Rural areas	4	9
Gender	4	9
Immigrants	2	4
Other	2	4

^{*} Multiple options answer

7.2.3. Topics

This section outlines the most common topics chosen for psychological research in education. First, table 7.7 presents the topics and their distribution

in the field analysed and then each of the topics is described and examples of investigations of each of them are presented.

Table 7.7: Topics prioritised in the research projects (n=246)

	Research projects	
	Absolute value	Percentage
a. Trajectories of study and work	27	11
b. Educational tasks and academic aptitudes	42	17
c. Cognitive processes and personality in educational settings	56	23
d. Subjectivity processes in education	41	17
e. Health and education	28	11
f. Education and training of psychologists	71	29
g. School coexistence	24	10
h. School failure	42	17
i. Educational devices	44	18
j. Learning in the workplace	19	8
k. ICT and education	27	11
Other topics	7	3

^{*} Multiple options answer

a. Trajectories of study and work

In this group all research that linked aspects of work, study, identity construction and life projects of people were included (27 projects). The most commonly studied groups are adolescents finishing secondary education (e.g. 18 and 46 UBA; 2 UNLP; 9 UNC; 5 UNT; 43 UNR) and young people finishing university and starting to develop their professional experience (e.g. 31 and 32 UNMP). These studies uncover social representations, experiences, and trajectories with regards to education and work. They consider the process of identity construction and life crisis, and pay attention to the psychological processes and social strategies deployed by adolescents and young people in developing their own path in life. Also, this group includes the study of vocational and professional guidance practices as strategies used by professionals to support these transitions.

Examples of this group are: a) trajectories of study and work of adolescents attending or finishing secondary school (1 UBA; 13 UNT; 43 UNR) or of young people finishing university studies (31 UNMP), b) study of intervention strategies and projects of Vocational Orientation (2 UNLP; 46 UBA; 13 UNT), and c) meanings given to education and work by people in vulnerable situations such as being in prison or working as sex workers (9 UNC).

The theoretical and methodological tools more commonly mentioned in these projects are: social representations, construction of life histories, vocational guidance theories, sociology of work and education, social psychology, psychoanalysis and identity psychology. Social, cultural and labour changes in modern societies, as well as the particularities of the local context, are usually considered in these research projects.

b. Educational tasks and academic aptitudes

42 projects (17% of the total) are interested in tasks and aptitudes typical of educational activities. This group comprises projects focused on two types of topics. The first of these is particular academic tasks normally carried out by students (such as text writing, text revision, construction of summaries of texts, development of semantic networks, reading comprehension of academic texts, Internet search for academic information, resolution of academic activities in groups, realization of school homework). The second type focuses on the academic abilities or skills needed by students in educational settings to perform particular tasks (for example, the uses of analogies in the learning of specific contents, development of research competencies in university students, study habits, development of critical thinking).

Examples of this group are: a) two projects focused on the production of summaries of texts by primary education students (7 and 27 UBA); b) a study that was motivated by the finding that university students reject group activities as part of their learning process (7 UNR); c) a research project studying search and selection of academic texts on the Internet by primary school students (64 UBA).

The theoretical and methodological orientation of projects included in this group is varied and ranges from designs based on Piagetian or sociocultural approaches to classic cognitive approaches in psychology.

c. Cognitive processes and personality traits in educational settings

This area applies to the study of cognitive or personality aspects of individuals or groups in relation to educational activities and 56 projects were found with this interest. Cognitive processes comprise mental processes such as memory, attention, perception, problem solving, thinking, metacognition, abstract thinking, reasoning, mental models, and mental imagery in relation to learning and educational contexts⁷⁷. For instance, a project included in this category is one that aims to study the cognitive strategies of university students with high anxiety in academic exams (16 UNC).

The focus on aspects of personality in educational contexts comprises the study of pessimism and optimism in students, tendency to depression, self-esteem, masculinity and femininity, self-efficacy, social skills, and other emotional and cognitive strategies to deal with different aspects of the social life. It also includes the study of pro-social attitudes in students, anxiety, perfectionism, internal and external motivation, and will power of students. For example, one project aims to analyse psychological profiles of university students, their satisfaction with the university degree, and their perception of their future entry to the labour market (48 UBA).

Most of these research projects are based on cognitive theories of mind and personality and the most common methodological approach is one that I categorise as 'relations between variables' in the following section⁷⁸. Examples of projects are: a) The influence of motivation and future expectations of students in the completion of university studies (UNT 17); b) social anxiety and academic achievement in university students (33 UNC); and c) adolescents' academic achievement in maths, taking into consideration variables such as:

⁷⁷ It also includes cognitive development discussions when this aspect is studied in relation to education.

⁷⁸ Other kinds of approaches are also found, such as projects based on sociocultural approaches and psychoanalysis.

cognitive aptitudes, personality traits, self-efficiency, and results and goals expectations (12 UNC).

d. Subjectivity processes in education

There are a group of projects where the concern is less related to cognitive and personality aspects involved in educational activities; rather the focus is on the subjectivity processes involved in educational settings, and symbolic processes that affect educational achievement. Psychoanalysis, philosophical and postmodern approaches are the main theoretical options organising these projects. Examples include: a) a project entitled 'Authority, symbolic law and subjectivity in secondary schools. Paradoxes of relations that conforms subjectivity' (57 UBA); and b) a study entitled 'Subjective positioning in relation to the symbolic law in actors involved in bullying situations' (7 UNMP).

e. Health and education

This theme, representing 11% of the projects (28), is centred on health processes involving the care of physical, mental and social wellbeing of a person or a group of persons in educational settings. Examples of projects included in this group are: a) suicidal risk of primary and secondary students (21 UBA); b) social representations of health in teachers and parents of children attending initial education (22 UBA); c) the involvement of schools and other institutions of the community in the prevention of teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases (33 UNR); and d) eating disorders in university students (55 UBA) and in ballet students (42 UBA).

Some of these projects propose a 'relations between variables' methodology and a strong focus on the individual as the central unit of analysis, while others propose qualitative designs and have a clear focus on prevention and interdisciplinary approaches. There is also a group with a strong focus on clinical psychology, which aims to study psychological disorders and their treatments, considering some kind of relation to educational contexts. An example from this category is a project entitled: 'Psychic change:

psychopathological characterization, psychotherapy and psycho-educational context. A study of students from poor households' (13 UBA).

f. Education and training of psychologists

This group deserves a special analysis because a significant number of projects (71 projects 29%) were identified as focused on the educational processes undertaken in the training of future psychologists. The topic includes the teaching and learning problems at the faculties of psychology and preprofessional or undergraduate practices in institutions, as well as the historical analysis of the training of psychologists in universities. The latter topic, which is particularly strong in one of the universities, is composed of studies carried out under the history of psychology discipline (9 projects).

Examples of projects in this area include: a) the training of psychology undergraduates in strategies for the psychological observation of babies and elder people (24, 25 and 26 UNR); b) undergraduate professional practices of psychology students (17 UBA; 30 UNR); and c) students' dropout from the psychology degree programme (19 UNR).

g. School coexistence⁷⁹

10% of the selected research projects are interested in interactional problems or situations derived from educational activities, and take into account aspects such as violence, bullying, verbal assault, intentional exclusion, teachers' attitudes toward student violence, etc. Almost all these studies are focused on interactional problems developed in schools (43 UBA; 29 UNC; 27 UNC), except for one project that aims to link students' behaviour at school with possible violence situations experienced by children at home (28 UBA).

⁷⁹ 'Convivencia escolar' (school coexistence) is a common concept in Argentina and refers not only to negative aspects derived from interactions in educational settings (such as bullying situations) but also to positive aspects such as ways of promoting better interactions among actors.

One research project aims to identify the social representations of violence among peers held by children between 9 and 12 and their teachers and parents in urban and rural schools in one province of the country, and to develop intervention strategies (11 UNT). Another example is a research project that aims to study head-teachers', teachers' and students' conceptions about interactional conflicts between actors within secondary education (27 UNC).

The theoretical approaches used in this area are varied and range from psychoanalysis and cognitive approaches, to systemic psychology. The methodologies are also varied, with most of the projects included in the 'relations between variables' approach and in the 'general qualitative approach'.

h. School failure

42 projects (17%) define their topics with a clear interest in analysing situations of academic underachievement, dropout, educational delay, and learning difficulties. These include: a) a project identifying different types of difficulties faced by university students (21 UNT); and b) a project centred on students' resilience when facing situations of school failure (19 UNT).

i. Educational devices

This group refers to all research where the focus is on the design, implementation or evaluation of specific devices for the orientation, education and training of groups of people. These devices range from specific academic arrangements such as the organisation of pre-professional practices of university students or special workshops for vocational guidance to specific pedagogic proposals within the classroom. Research focused on the analysis of alternative methods for academic assessment or evaluation is included as a special category in this group. Forty-four of the projects consider this aspect in their topics. While some of the research is focused on evaluating devices already implemented, other research proposed as part of its objectives the design of the device (see section 'Links to intervention' for a more detailed description of this aspect).

Examples of projects in this group are: a) a project concentrated on assessing the efficacy of a new device for vocational guidance of adolescents and young people (46 UBA); and b) a project that evaluates alternative strategies for the teaching of the construction of writing summaries of texts in primary education (7 UBA).

i. Learning in the workplace

Nineteen projects are interested in learning situations in the workplace. However, most of the projects identified in this group are focused on the professional practices of psychologists, although there are also few other projects interested in professional learning in other professions, such as professionals holding an education degree, doctors and music therapists. For example, one project focused on the inferential process and the acquisition of clinical skills in psychologists and doctors working in public hospitals (29 UBA).

k. ICT and Education

Another group of projects consists of those that show some interest in the links between new information and communication technologies (ICT) and Education. Twenty-seven projects (11%) were included in this group. Examples of this type of projects are: a) cognitive processes involved in the strategies of search and selection of texts through the Internet in primary education students (UBA 64); b) subjectivity processes of adolescents and young people in relation to new technologies (39 UBA); and c) computer assisted learning as a resource to support the learning of university students in contexts where classes are large (23 UBA).

7.2.4. Methodological approaches

In this section aspects related to the methodological orientation and research designs are presented and analysed. Information on this aspect was found in 207 out of the 246 projects collected.

Table 7.8: Methodological approaches of the research projects (n=207)

	Research projects	
	Absolute value	Percentage
a. General qualitative approaches	90	43
b. Relations between variables	39	19
c. Mixed methods	33	16
d. Experimental and quasi- experimental designs	18	9
e. Historical-documentary	15	7
f. Other	12	6
TOTAL	207	100

a. General qualitative approaches

This is the most common type of methodological design. Of the 207 projects analysed with regards to their methodological orientation, 43% of them proposed this design. In this type of project the idea of flexible designs is emphasized, as well as the importance of reviewing questions, actors and techniques as data is collected. Authors also mention the need for an in depth examination of the situations under analysis, the need to capture the complexity of a phenomenon, or to interpret a process.

References to methods of data collection, the selection of the sample, or of the subjects to be analysed are sometimes vague and are also considered as something to decide in the process of the fieldwork. However, when they are mentioned, the most common methods of data collection are: interviews, document analysis, questionnaires, and observation. Although they are less common there are also references to focus groups and construction of life stories. A common feature in this group of research is the combination of various methods of data collection together in the same design. In this sense references to the concept of 'data triangulation', as the use of a variety of data sources, is also common.

The size of the samples used in the studies is varied. While some of the projects state relatively small samples, others work with larger ones. In some of the projects, references to ethnography are included, but as part of a strategy within a general qualitative approach and not as the central methodology. For example, one research proposal defined its methodology as follows:

This research project will use some contributions of the ethnographic approach, particularly using open interviews and participant observation as the main strategies for collecting data (UNC 14).

b. Relations between variables

There is also a group of projects (19% of the analysed projects, n= 207) where the main aim of the research design is to put in relation a group of variables linking psychological and educational aspects (e.g. 7 UNT; 40 UBA; 14 UNT; 10 UNLP). Variables (such as self-efficacy, academic achievement, self-confidence, and thinking styles) are defined at the beginning of the project and are usually measured through standardized questionnaires, tests, or scales. In a few cases these instruments are also accompanied by structured or semi-structured interviews (e.g. 55 UBA, 42 UBA). In these projects it is more common to find a detailed description of the sample selected.

It is also common to find as a specific objective the aim of adapting a particular test or scale to the local context or to a specific group or population (33, 32 and 10 UNC) or to develop specific scales (35 and 19 UNC).

In these projects, certain aspects of the phenomena are quantified and statistically sound methods are used for analysis. Quantitative data are collected through formalised processes and standardised tools. The research questions are formulated before the data gathering process and instruments are developed, tested and applied following standardised procedures. It is common to find references to an interest in predicting some possible behaviours or results. For example, a project that looks forward to verify the efficacy of a set of variables for predicting academic achievement in Language courses (30 UNC).

Some of the standardized tests or scales used in the research projects analysed are:

- Weschler Intelligence Scale for children and adolescents (WISC III).
- The Matson Evaluation Social Skills in Youngsters (MESSY).
- Beck's scale for suicidal ideation and Beck's Depression Inventory.
- Differential Aptitude Tests (DAT).
- Eating Disorder Inventory, General Health Questionnaire, and FS Figure Scale, Mizes Anorectic Cognitions Questionnaire.
- Liebowitz Social Anxiety Scale Test.

A few projects propose a comparison with a control group. For instance, a study of the alimentary habits of ballet students compares a group of ballet students with a group of young women who do not practice ballet. Both groups are asked to complete a set of questionnaires and scales, and then a selection of students from the ballet group are invited to participate in an interview (42 UBA).

c. Experimental or quasi-experimental designs

Only 9% of the analysed projects propose experimental or quasi-experimental methodological designs. These designs are used in the analysed projects to test the effectiveness of a particular intervention strategy in educational settings. The main interest is related to providing insights into cause and effect by demonstrating what outcome occurs when a particular factor or aspect is manipulated. One example is a research project that designs four experiments with the aim of analysing the effect of some particular cognitive strategies in improving the production of informative texts by students (45 UBA).

Other projects aim to evaluate the causal impact of a psycho-educational intervention on its target population. In these designs, two groups are defined, one group receiving the intervention proposed and another control group which does not receive the intervention. This is the case in two projects interested in school violence and conflicts: both propose a quasi-experimental design to evaluate the impact of an intervention strategy directed toward enriching classroom interactions, solving conflicts and stopping violence (65 UBA, 37 UBA).

This concept of experimental approach also includes the three aforementioned studies with animals. One example of these is a project that carries out learning and spatial memory experiments in rats and toads (31 UBA).

d. Historical documentary research

These projects (representing 7%) are developed from a historical point of view and use documents as the main sources for the construction of knowledge. In a very few cases oral history is also considered (UBA 24; UBA 66; UBA 4). The documents usually considered are: syllabi and programmes of education and training courses in psychology, academic journals, books, magazines, newspapers, legislation, and letters.

For example, a research project interested in historical problems of the teaching of psychology in Argentina proposes to identify 'psychological objects' from the creation of the first university courses of Psychology to the creation of the first degrees. Documents used are academic journals, syllabi and programmes of different courses and books published in the relevant period (UBA 15).

Historical research that links psychology and education is focused on the history of the Faculties of Psychology. Historical analyses of other settings that put in relation psychology and education are not found.

e. Mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative approaches)

16% of the projects refer to a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (mixed methods approach) as the central characterisation of the methodological aspects of research. For example, one research proposal stated:

This project aims to study the relations between the psychological profile and the academic achievement of students starting their degree in Psychology [...] A methodological strategy of triangulation is proposed using both qualitative and quantitative approaches to the object of study. The quantitative approach will be present in the analysis of questionnaires to students participating in the induction day. [...] The information, duly tabulated, will allow us to construct graphs and tables and analyse the collected information. The qualitative approach will be used with the purpose of knowing the perspective of the students. The

techniques used will be focus group and participation in specially designed workshops (36 UNR).

This section has presented the most common methodological designs identified in the research projects. In the next section the types of links between research and professional practices of psychologists are analysed.

7.2.5. Research and its links to professional practice

During the process of analysis, references were found to relationships between the proposed research and specific interventions related to the professional practices of psychologists. This aspect shows that some research projects tend to explicitly link their knowledge production activities to intervention activities in the educational field. Of the total of 246 projects, information about some type of link to professional practices was found in 135 projects. The relationships between the proposed research and professional practice can be grouped into three main types: a) projects with links to the teaching role at the faculty, b) projects that aim to study a phenomenon and design a strategy to intervene in it, and c) projects that evaluate devices, programmes and strategies developed in the context of professional practices.

a. Links to teaching

In 68 out of the 135 projects studied in this section the emergence context is directly related to the teaching activities that academics undertake at the psychology faculty, and to the problems they observe in their daily practice as university teachers. These projects aim to improve learning in their courses, contents, and teaching strategies, as well as to understand students' representations about their education and future professional practice in order to improve their educational provision. Examples include two projects that aim to study learning and teaching strategies in the teaching of biological concepts to psychology students (4 and 49 UNR). There is also a significant group of projects that are initiated as a result of the academics' observations of the

difficulties experienced by university students in reading comprehension and production of academic texts, and their concern regarding low academic achievement in the subjects they are teaching (e.g. 5 and 10 UNLP).

b. Study and intervention

There is an important group of research projects (60 studies) where the researchers aim not only to study a phenomenon but also to design and evaluate strategies for intervention. In general, these studies propose some initial objectives directed toward studying and analysing a particular phenomenon or problem, and then some final objectives concentrated on designing, implementing and in some cases evaluating an intervention for the phenomenon (e.g. 7 UNT; 11 UNT; 13 UNT; 10 UNT)

For example, one project seeks to analyse the representations of children in relation to violence among peers and the representations of teachers in relation to peer-interactions and bullying in schools. It also proposes as an objective to develop interventions to transform the ways in which schools cope with violence situations (11 UNT).

c. Evaluation of programmes, projects and strategies for intervention

There is also a group of projects (27 projects) where the link to intervention is to evaluate a strategy, programme, project, or device used to tackle an educational problem, and to assess its impact. (e.g. 10 UNR; 49 UNR; 15 UNT; 23 UNMP; UBA 23). While some of the studies are concentrated on assessing projects and programmes developed by government programmes or other institutions, other projects aim to evaluate devices and practices developed previously by the professional team carrying out the study.

This section has illustrated the common presence in the knowledge produced of links to other professional activities in which researchers are engaged. Table 7.9 summarises the distribution of the projects with respect to their links to intervention.

Table 7.9: Types of links to professional practice in the research projects. (n=135)

	Research project	
	Absolute value	Percentage
Link to teaching	68	50
Study and intervention	60	44
Evaluation of projects,	27	20
programmes and interventions		

^{*} Multiple options answer

7.2.6. Conceptions of education

The analysis undertaken with all the projects showed the different positions of each research endeavour in the ways in which the place of education is conceived. While there are some research projects in which an educational problem is part of the objectives and the questions and methods of the study, in other projects education has a secondary role. I have organised the research projects into three main groups that reflect different levels of engagement with education as a field of practice and as a field of knowledge in the psychological research: low, medium and high orientation to educational problems. Due to the limited space available, the type of research projects included in each group are only summarised in table 7.10 and their distribution is presented in table 7.11.

Table 7.10: Level of orientation of the research projects to educational problems. Types of research projects included in each group

Level of orientation to education	Types of research projects
Low orientation	 Educational contexts or actors mentioned in the definition of the problem but the particularities of the educational context or the educational role are scarcely considered. Educational setting only considered as a place for the detection of out-of-school situations.
Medium orientation	 Education is not central in the objectives but its influence is considered in the study. Multi-institutional research. Studies bringing together trajectories of study and work. Application of intervention models designed in out-of-school situations to resolve problems in educational settings. Clinical scope: individual diagnosis and individual treatment of children and young people. Study of the relation between the variable school achievement and a specific cognitive or personality aspect.
High orientation	- Education as a field of practice and as a field of knowledge is a core interest in the definition of the research problem. Educational situations are clearly mentioned in the objectives and questions.

Table 7.11: Level of orientation to education of the research projects (n=246)

	Research projects	
	Absolute value	Percentage
Low orientation	21	8
Medium orientation	90	37
High orientation	135	55
TOTAL	246	100

This initial quantitative analysis shows that education as a specific field of knowledge and as a field of practice has different levels of influence in the definition of the research projects. In section 7.5 this analysis will be the starting point for a more comprehensive interpretation of the types of relation between psychology and education in the research projects studied.

7.2.7. Synthesis and discussion

A considerable proportion of the studies carried out in the period 2000-2010 in the psychology faculties are interested in educational aspects. From the total of 687 identified projects accredited in the period, 36% of the projects (246 projects) state an interest in educational aspects. This shows that education is an important object of interest in knowledge production within the field of psychology.

The analysis of the selected projects has shown that the study of educational aspects in non-formal educational settings is a neglected area of problems within the psycho-educational field. For example, although some projects were found that were interested in the study of learning in the workplace, in the majority they are focused on the role of psychologists. Learning and pedagogical processes involved in the professional practices of other professions is an issue that is scarcely addressed.

Within formal education settings, early years' education, tertiary education and postgraduate education are the least studied levels. Furthermore, projects focused on alternative educational provisions such as special education and intercultural bilingual education are not common settings of analysis. As was shown, higher education represents the highest percentage of studies and this aspect is related, as argued previously, to the close relation that research proposals have to the teaching roles of the researchers.

With respect to the actors prioritised in the research projects, young people tend to be the most studied group. Adults are almost only studied in their professional roles in formal education settings. Lifelong learning, adult education and education of elderly people is a neglected area in the field. A distinctive characteristic of the psycho-educational field analysed here is its preference for the study of the role of the student, rather than other actors taking part in formal education processes. Students are analysed in their educational trajectories, educational tasks, cognitive processes and personality aspects, and in situations of exclusion, violence and school failure. The most studied student is by far the student attending the psychology degree and this aspect is related to the weak insulations between the role of university teacher at the faculties and their role as researcher. The next section will link the preference for the study of the student role to how learning processes are privileged over the analysis of the teaching functions.

The identification of the main methodological designs has shown the presence of a variety of methodological and theoretical approaches. Although qualitative research designs are the most common methodological designs in the field, the analysis has also shown the significant presence of some types of quantitative designs, such as 'relations between variables' and 'experimental research designs'. This aspect is also analysed in more detail in the following section and it is put in relation to a particular configuration that the field of psychology has had since its foundations.

The analysis has also illustrated how many of the projects are linked in their definition of the problem and fieldwork to other activities carried out by academics. This aspect confirms the analysis undertaken in the previous chapter with respect to the weak insulations presented between the professional roles and shows how particular configurations of the research role has a direct impact on the types of knowledge produced. Additionally, the classification of projects in relation to their level of engagement with the educational field has also introduced a variety of relations between psychology and education. This aspect is the starting point for a more detailed analysis in section 7.5.

This section has provided a general and initial characterisation of the knowledge produced in the field. In the following sections of this chapter many of the aspects identified in this quantitative analysis are put in dialogue with the accounts of the interviews undertaken with academics and then are further discussed in the conclusions chapter. In the next section, the analysis continues by focusing on the establishment of knowledge insulations with respect to methodologies, theories and topics.

7.3. Knowledge insulations

One aspect that attracted my attention since my first engagement with the interview data was the consistent tendency of interviewees to establish boundaries or to state disputes with others when talking about their research practice and the knowledge that they produced. In this sense, Bernstein's

proposal of looking at the strength and weakness of the insulations that different actors produce in their practices or discourses is considered a powerful strategy for understanding the specificity of the knowledge identities produced in each field. As presented in chapter 4, Bernstein (2000) argues that discursive identities are mainly produced in the space between one discourse and another. Defining insulations as 'the full stop between categories', Bernstein (2000, p. 6) argues that a category can only produce a special identity when it establishes insulations from other categories.

In the interviews, academics stress demarcation lines over a set of very different aspects, such as legitimate topics, theories, methodologies, ways of conceiving research, ways of conceiving the psycho-educational field, and ways of conceiving the relations between psychology and education. These aspects represent different *layers* where researchers position their discourse differentiating it from others' discourses when talking about knowledge produced. In the action of establishing boundaries within the field academics are, at the same time, both producing specific identities in relation to the field, and instantiating the different principles operating and struggling in the field for the construction of legitimate knowledge.

In this section I illustrate three different dimensions or aspects of the knowledge produced where academics coincided in establishing boundaries or distances. In doing so I present examples of disputes with regards to three aspects: methodologies, theories, and topics. With respect to 'methodologies' I present what I have named as 'the war of the methods' between scientific and humanistic research as competing ways of legitimating knowledge produced in the field. With respect to 'theories' I bring together the disputes claimed by interviewees regarding psychoanalysis. Finally, in relation to 'topics' I focus on the controversies regarding the legitimacy or not of considering 'teaching' as a valid topic of research and I will link this dispute to what appears to be the central object of the field: learning. As will be seen, academics construct different positions with regards to each of the insulations.

These disputes were selected because they were the most common ones found in the interviews with regard to the definition of valid objects of study, valid ways

of producing knowledge, and valid theoretical approaches. Furthermore, as will be seen later, these controversies are exemplars of the particular configuration that the psycho-educational field has in the Argentinian context.

7.3.1. The war of the methods

One strong knowledge claim that establishes insulations among research practices and power relations among the different productions is related to the methodological stance adopted to producing knowledge.

Methodological approaches are presented by many of the academics interviewed as forms of legitimating knowledge produced. A strong insulation is established between what I call 'scientific research' and 'humanistic research' and these are underpinned by opposing epistemological stances. In brief, 'scientific research' gathers references to the need to analyse a large number of cases, to generate findings which can be generalised, and to guarantee both researcher objectivity and study replicability. Positivistic epistemology underpins this way of conceiving relations of knowledge to the empirical world. In contrast, 'humanistic research' groups make references to less structured research designs, giving importance to the in-depth analysis of the problem and arguing against positivistic epistemology. This is a debate that has marked modern psychology since its institutionalization in the early 1900s (Foucault, 1957) and it can be observed operating in the psycho-educational field in struggles for establishing the legitimated way of producing knowledge.

The following quotations illustrate how knowledge identities are produced in the act of establishing insulations with other forms of knowledge production. The first account is by a researcher who is explaining the methodological stance he and his colleagues are using in their research. He contrasts their 'on-going' development of a qualitative methodology during the process of data collection, with what he calls the 'neuro-boys' way of doing research, which advocates 'classic quantitative methodology, classical experimental designs'. The academic claim that the other perspective is 'out-dated' is simultaneously a

mode of dividing waters in the field, of setting up hierarchies, and of struggling for the legitimate way of producing knowledge.

Interviewee: [In our psycho-educational research] we are asking students to write about their learning history. We obtain very interesting stories, and the process itself of writing the history is useful for the students because they reflect on their own learning process [...] This is what is useful for us, it is an emergent methodology, we are developing it, and it is also a political struggle with the 'neuro-boys' who have this classic quantitative methodology, classical experimental designs...

Interviewer: The ones studying learning?

Interviewee: They are interested in learning, but they are not interested in education. Even to my surprise, they still insist in installing a laboratory for rats in the faculty. This is something totally outdated. Nowadays I can listen to these kinds of things and take it easy, patiently. When I was young I would have driven myself crazy if they had come with this request.

Interviewer: And why do you think it is outdated?

Interviewee: It has been always outdated. It has been always obsolete. Not only nowadays, always. When I arrived in [Latin American country] in 1976 I looked for psychology in a university catalogue. I looked in the social sciences and it wasn't there. I looked in the humanities, and it wasn't there. So I went to ask a friend: 'Where is psychology?' And he replied: 'you are looking in the wrong place, it is in the natural sciences section'. Do you understand what I mean? They were using the model of natural sciences... (R10)

Holding a similar position, the following interviewee responds affirmatively to the question of whether he considers his work as psycho-educational, but warns at the same time of what he considers a strong insulation in the field, which makes him feel identified with some products of the field but not with others.

Yes [...], but I would not feel identified at all with the historical tradition of educational psychology. That educational psychology with a classic view, centred on problems of motivation, learning, measuring of individual differences. The use of all the methodological artefacts of psychometrics, I do not feel identified with this tradition... (R4)

In the act of illustrating his position, he talks about the things that do not represent his position. The 'measuring of individual differences' and 'the methodological artefacts of psychometrics' are acknowledged as ways of conceiving the field and producing knowledge which do not represent his own work.

Another academic became very passionate when he began talking about the epistemological-methodological stance towards research. He considers that, although scientific and humanistic research are competing and incommensurable paradigms, the way in which humanistic research is enacted in the field is 'trapped', in his opinion, by the use of the legitimation strategies of knowledge imposed by scientific research.

Those who do research in social sciences, we are all the time trying to mark the difference with positivism, but we answer to the positivistic approach with the elements defined by the same positivism. We are worried about objectivity, because we know that objectivity does not exist and we constantly search for something to replace it. We feel that our knowledge is not valid if we do not replace objectivity with another thing. And we do not have to replace it! We have to create new criteria, from a different epistemology, from the social sciences, to feel comfortable for example with an inductive strategy and working analysing cases. [...] I am not concerned about data verifiability. (R15)

On the other side of the boundary positioning, an academic places scientific approaches as the only ones that allow proper academic psychology research to be carried out.

In the middle of the 90s we started to develop, slowly but steadily, a different conception of psychology. This is the 'Academic Psychology', based on not only cognitive or behaviourist psychology even though they are significant in this conception. I mean that it is related to a proper way of creating knowledge, based on real scientific methods. (R3)

The methodological/epistemological dispute between scientific and humanistic approaches in the psycho-educational field can also be seen in the account of one academic who explains that she adopts strategies of both paradigms in her work.

My work is concerned with my dual interest in the individual and in the population. I also have a strong interest in the historical view [referring to how certain aspects of the social change over time]. A tendency to use psychology that is in part anthropological, ethnographic, but also with a look that can go to the culture, not only individual perspectives but also changes in the population and ways of generalising knowledge [...]. (R23)

In another part of the interview, she talks about the 'misreading' of her knowledge production by other academics who judge her methodological approach to be inconsistent. Talking about her assumed audience for the research outputs that she has produced with her colleagues, she comments:

It is a complicated issue. They have a low impact. I know this is an important issue and I did not find a way around it. Because our model is very complex, it is difficult to find the way of making the other people understand our proposal. I have received comments from peer-reviewers saying that the [methodological] model is not clear, or that there is an inconsistency in it [...]. (R23)

Although this academic is establishing weaker insulations between the two opposing methodological approaches, the response of the 'academic community' probably shows the presence of a principle organising the field where the two paradigmatic views of research are incommensurable and strongly classified.

In the previous section, it was shown that five methodological designs represent the most common research designs in the field. The designs named as 'relations between variables' and 'experimental or quasi-experimental designs' (representing together 28% of the projects) are examples of a methodological positioning within what is being referred to here as scientific research. The designs named as 'general qualitative approaches' (representing 43% of the analysed projects), in contrast, encompass the projects that position themselves within the so-called humanistic approach⁸⁰.

Although this confrontation between methods is likely to be found with different emphasis in most of the social sciences and humanities, data analysis has shown that here it is one of the strongest principles organising knowledge production in the present discussions in the psycho-educational field,

The other common research design encountered in the quantitative analysis was

between psychology and education in the country are 'works done by people from Educational Psychology, not by historians. There is a tension there regarding the proper use of historical methodology'. (R24)

^{&#}x27;documentary historical research'. In this case, the historical approach has its own and specific disputes with regards to methods, different to the hegemonic dispute between scientific and humanistic approaches. In an interview with an academic directing a historical project based on the historical pedagogic recontextualisation of psychological knowledge in university teaching, she commented that most of the –very few- publications that analyse the history of the relations

representing two competing ways of conceiving what is a valid knowledge claim. As presented in the introduction, this is a dispute which has characterised psychology since its foundation as a modern discipline, and which represents the two main different matrices organising psychological thinking (Kaulino, 2011).

7.3.2. Psychoanalysis and hegemony

In previous chapters I have shown that psychoanalysis has had a central role in the training and practice of psychologists across the country, especially in national universities, since the creation of the psychology degrees in the 1950s. When it comes to the production of knowledge related to education, although psychoanalysis is not a dominant approach⁸¹, most of the actors position themselves in relation to this approach. On the one side, in the cases of researchers who explicitly adopt a psychoanalytic framework, a stronger discursive identity is in most of the cases observed in the ways of producing knowledge, establishing strong boundaries with other approaches. On the other side, psychologists who adopt other theoretical frameworks (such as Vygotskian, Piagetian, Cognitive Psychology, social psychology) tend to express strong insulations with psychoanalytical productions and practices. However, a few accounts were also found where psychoanalytical approaches are put in dialogue with other approaches, establishing weaker boundaries between theories.

Researchers adopting psychoanalytical frameworks identify themselves primarily as psychoanalysts. For example, a position held by an academic was 'my primary interest is psychoanalysis and with this framework we approach problems of learning and schooling' (R3).

Another researcher who directed or participated in various psycho-educational

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⁸¹ For example, Baquero (2003) has found that with regards to psycho-educational publications in three Argentinian peer-reviewed journals, only 29% is based on a psychoanalytical framework. Additionally, this tendency was also seen in an initial overview of the research projects selected. Unfortunately, as explained in the methodology chapter, it was not possible to construct a quantitative distribution of the theoretical approaches from the information collected.

research projects explained:

I am a psychoanalyst. That means that my approach is psychoanalysis. I have always worked in relation to educational institutions and I have approached several problems there from a psychoanalytical point of view. I have worked with teachers in relation to teacher dissatisfaction, in relation to institutional problematics. During many years I have worked in relation to educational institutions, but at this moment I am approaching subjectivity problems looking at other organisations. (R16)

Within the psychoanalytical field, at least as it was developed in Argentina, a certain disdain for education and pedagogy is an aspect that has historically grounded the articulation between psychoanalysis and education in the field. The use of Freud's claim that 'to educate is an impossible act', is very common in psychoanalytical discussions in the faculty and underpins a tradition where education is not considered a valid object of analysis for most psychoanalysts. One researcher, now retired but renowned in the psycho-educational field for having brought together psychoanalysis and education, analyses this aspect and argues that changes in the reception of the psychoanalytical theory have allowed, in recent decades, a growth in the interest in the educational field.

Let's say that people who were more engaged with the psychoanalytic approach did not want to look at all at the educational problem. A totally understandable thing. But when this type of psychoanalysis with an interest in intervention in institutions is developed, several application options emerge, and there the possibility of looking at education. But it is a one-way orientation, in the sense that they want to interpret the educational thing from psychoanalysis, because psychoanalysis is concerned with other things: the construction of subjectivity and how the subject can position himself in relation to the construction of his subjectivity. Education is one of the things of our lives, only one of them, and it is an imposition. I think the work of Freud in relation to the 'The Uneasiness in Culture' is an interesting text to think the issue of education. (R11)

In contrast, some researchers who do not adopt psychoanalysis as a primary framework produce strong insulations with this approach in their accounts. For instance, a famous educational psychology academic stated:

This faculty was invaded by a Lacanian psychoanalytic perspective which I neither support nor practise. [...] I have followed for many years the Piagetian developments and then post-Piagetian approaches, and this has influenced the fact that I did not carry out clinical work. For many years I have not been related

to the clinical practice that most psychologists do or to the psychoanalytic perspective they use. (E7)

Another account from a researcher shows her understanding of two different layers in which a theoretical framework can operate in a field. In this account, she demarcates two different layers from which to analyse psychoanalytical knowledge: the understanding of the social, and the intervention in the social. While she acknowledges that psychoanalysis can contribute to the understanding of educational practices, she does not agree with the use of psychoanalysis in psycho-educational intervention. Again, in the act of making explicit her position, she talks about the space of the field with which she does identify.

I do not feel identified with people who use an individualistic approach to psychoanalysis to analyse problems that arise in educational settings. In my point of view educational psychologists have not to intervene in a psychoanalytic way. Psychoanalysis can be interesting in the conceptual comprehension of educational phenomena, but in schools psychologists should not intervene from a psychoanalytic point of view. (E5)

The relatively strong insulations that the use of psychoanalysis imposes in the field are seen in the following two accounts. The first account is extracted from a part of an interview in which the researcher was reflecting on the weak recognition of psycho-educational knowledge in the faculty. He explains how the strong insulation imposed by psychoanalysis implies that discussions among researchers and knowledge productions can be held only within the psychoanalytic field and that there is no possibility of establishing dialogues with other types of knowledge productions in the psycho-educational field.

Ignorance. The position of other academics [in the Psychology Department and with respect the psycho-educational field] is ignorance. On the one hand, there is a majority of psychoanalysts that only think about psychoanalysis and do not talk to others. They have tremendous and heated discussions, but always within the psychoanalytic theory, they do not know anything about what is being done in other areas. (R5)

The second account, which shows the dynamics of the field both in the professional practice in schools and in the training of psychologists at

universities, includes a reflection upon the strong specialisation of the psychoanalytical language which limits the possibility of understanding others not socialised in that field.

When I was working in a secondary school, I used to see educational psychologists working at the school, and all of them came with this individualistic perspective, using that Lacanian language and they were not able to communicate with other people at the school. I think it is in general missed that theoretical frameworks are developed to solve real concrete problems. The main problem of the training of psychologists in our faculty is not the fact that psychoanalysis is the dominant theory; the problem is that it is taught as a dogma. The intellectual level that this training has promoted is so poor that it generates totally unjustified extrapolations and applications. (R24)

An example of how the principles organising the field operate in the interactions between academics is presented by an interviewee talking about the teaching of a psycho-educational course at one of the faculties. She explained: 'The course is missing very important issues related to the subjective positioning of actors in schools. Last year in a meeting of the cathedra I proposed including discussions from psychoanalysis, and the rest rejected the idea'. (R8)

However, a case was also found where the researcher promotes the use of both Piagetian and Psychoanalytic approaches. In this case, there is weaker insulation between the two theoretical and methodological frameworks and the possibility of switching from one framework to the other in order to explain psycho-educational problems is emphasised.

From the point of view of psychology, we have always worked with two strong lines in psychology: psychoanalysis in its different versions and Piagetian theory for the intellectual processes. These two theoretical bodies are indispensable, and insufficient if alone, to comprehend the educational processes. Later, we continued advancing in our theoretical development and we included institutional psychology in its different versions, institutional analysis for example. (R4)

7.3.3. Teaching field as a taboo

In the introduction chapter I argued that in recent decades teaching has become an important object of study within educational psychology. For example, Berliner (1993) stated that, at least in the USA, since the 1960s educational psychology has developed a specialty area in research on teaching and that its creation is related to an observed increase in concern for solving the concrete problems of education and its practitioners.

In the psycho-educational field in Argentina, however, the study of teaching has become an inflection point, and acts as a demarcation line from where different actors take positions. Some aspects of teaching are regarded as a 'prohibited' area for the field. The following accounts illustrate how this discussion is present in the interviewees.

'Tenemos pruritos' [idiom meaning 'we are reluctant'] to research teaching issues and in giving teaching recommendations for teachers. This is something that cognitive psychologists like the ones in Chile or Spain often do without any problem. (R4)

Psychologists have a lot to say regarding the teaching-learning practice. However, this does not imply that psychologists should start giving pedagogical opinions about how to teach. (R8)

I do not agree with Coll [a Spanish educational psychology academic] because he intervenes in didactic interests and psychology has nothing to do with teaching. We adhere to Verniou so we can intervene in didactic issues only in an interdisciplinary way, always recognising the limitations of our field. We do not do didactics and we do not tell teachers how they should teach. (R5)

This does not mean that the teacher is not accepted as an object of study in psychology. In fact various psychological research projects about education are interested in teachers and teaching related issues. In the quantitative analysis it was shown that 11% of the projects prioritised the teachers as part of their object of study. For example, research on teachers' representations regarding health, research on teachers' conceptions about learning, and so on. Moreover, the group of studies focused on the educational practices at the psychology faculties have shown an interest in improving both teaching and learning practices. However, in some sense the study of teaching results in a controversial aspect for psychologists interested in educational issues. Different aspects of the field converge here and they are acknowledged by the researchers interviewed.

On the one hand, the hegemonic clinical role that psychologists in general have chosen for their practices is regarded as one contributing aspect. As mentioned in the introduction, the main role of educational psychologists working in educational settings has been clinical, based on the diagnosis of and intervention in individual problems of the child, and have often been associated with a lack of attention to the context of the school. In this view, there is a widespread -but sometimes not explicit- representation that educational psychologists have a lot to say about the emotional and cognitive development of the child when thinking about intervention in schools, but nothing to say about teaching.

On the other hand, another interpretation is related to the place gained by didactics as a discipline in the country, within the intellectual field of education. Although for most of the academics the characterisation of didactics as the discipline concentrated on teaching and of educational psychology as the one focused on learning would be questioned because of its simplicity, it has some kind of underlying influence in the configuration of the fields. While teaching stays on the side-lines of education, and research in didactics is more commonly found in faculties where an Education degree is offered, learning is accepted on the side-lines of psychology (and also, of course, it is present in the intellectual field of education).

A different interpretation, developed in an interview with one of the academics, is complementary to the other two already mentioned. In this third view, the lack of interest in teaching issues by people working in psychological studies of education can be explained because of the ways in which the reception of Piagetian and Psychoanalytic traditions has been developed in the history of the country. In one academic's view, in the 1980s the misreading of Piaget's theory as promoting a lack of interest in the role of the teacher was dominant in the country.

This interpretation of Piaget's work that promoted a kind of reluctance for the teachers' role deeply tinged the way of understanding education. This meant that someone with expertise in Piagetian theory was recognised as someone with an expertise 'in the opposite of teaching', that is, in the construction processes carried out by the child. In this view, Piagetians were almost the 'defence attorneys' of child development and child centred pedagogies. (R4)

At the same time, psychologists were trained in a context where psychoanalysis was the hegemonic approach and the already mentioned psychoanalytic notion that to educate is an impossible act was operating to delineate the points of the thinkable and the valid objects of study. Had the configuration of psychology in the country different, probably the objects of study comprising the field would have been different to those identified previously.

If we had had a behaviourist influence, the bias would have been different to what we have now. Here this psychogenetic interpretation and psychoanalysis position 'copó la parada' [idiom meaning that it became the solely interpretation available] of the interpretations to be made with regard teaching and learning. (R6)

The fact that teaching is an issue in the field and that it can be divisive is evident from the comments made by two of the pyschologists, who are interested in the study of teaching and who need to make a defence of the validity of this interest.

One of the academics stated:

I am every day moving nearer to the side of education rather than to psychology. I am concerned with and I am very interested in teaching issues and I do not care at all that my degree is in Psychology and that all my studies are related to psychology. What is the problem? I am interested in education and in teaching and being a psychologist should not be a problem. I am not only a psychologist, I am a father, I am fan of [an Argentinian football team], I am a teacher at university, and so on. I am a lot of things apart from my degree. (R15)

In a similar sense, another academic explained her interest in teaching, and at the same time made clear that this interest is different to the didactic approach:

There is something that I am starting to explore: I am starting to think and to develop theory in issues of teaching. But I am not thinking of teaching as the field of didactics does, I am using a more philosophical stance: teaching, transfer... But here in psychology teaching is something beyond the interest of educational psychology. In fact, last year I proposed [in an Educational Psychology cathedra] to introduce teaching issues [...] and I did not have too many answers and the ones I had were something like 'there are no bibliographies available on that topic'. My idea is thinking of teaching but not from a didactic approach, it is thinking about teaching from a different point of view. For example, I am interested in the position that the person who is teaching needs to take to promote authorisation to learn in the others. And this is related to teaching, but from a different point of view from the didactic one. I see this kind of discussion in

academics from the Sciences of Education field, but it is missing in Psychology. (R9)

The taboo of the teaching field shows a configuration of the psycho-educational arena influenced by several aspects: the particular ways in which the reception of certain psychological theories was developed in the country, specific emphasis on the configuration of the researcher role, and also the influence of other fields of knowledge (didactics in the intellectual field of education) imposing what is and what is not a valid object of study.

As can be deduced from the data presented in the different sections until now, the other face of the coin of the taboo of teaching is the widespread validation of learning as a central object of psycho-educational knowledge. The quantitative analysis of frequencies carried out in section 7.2 showed that the actor prioritised in research was the student rather than the teacher, and that many of the topics most commonly found in the research projects could to be grouped under the general concept of learning. Moreover, a number of the quotations that will be presented in section B.5 show that, in some cases, when academics are talking about the psycho-educational field, they implicitly tend to think of 'learning' and the 'student', rather than of 'teaching'.

7.3.4. Discussion

This section has illustrated three aspects where researchers establish strong insulations in the act of positioning their own knowledge production. It was argued that these insulations provide an account of the local configuration of the psycho-educational field in Argentina. With respect to 'the war of the methods' a strong dispute between humanistic and scientific approaches was described and put in relation to the quantitative distribution of research designs presented in section B.2.4. As previously noted, while in other countries such as Chile a 'scientific' definition of research is the one most commonly found, in the analysed case 'humanistic' approaches have a higher presence compared to the 'scientific' ones. With regards to the theoretical approaches, the

omnipresence of psychoanalysis in the faculties analysed seems to create a central 'breaking point' in the psycho-educational field. Although —as was argued previously- psychoanalysis is not the most widespread theoretical option in the psycho-educational field, it operates as a theory towards which everybody seems to need to make clear their position. Finally, with respect to the 'teaching field as a taboo', it was argued that while in the Argentinian context 'teaching' tends to be constructed as a somewhat 'forbidden' object within the psychoeducational field, in other contexts such as the USA (Berliner, 1993) and Spain (Coll, 1988a) teaching has been constructed as a valid object of study in educational psychology.

Understanding that insulations acts as the 'silence which carries the message of power' (Bernstein, 2000, p. 6), in the next section the insulations described here will be the starting point in developing a description, following Bernstein's development on knowledge structures, of some of the principles structuring knowledge in the Argentinian psycho-educational field. In doing so, I will move the analysis to the parts of the interviews in which academics explain how they conceive the psycho-educational field within psychology faculties.

7.4. The psycho-educational field: dialoguing with structures and grammars

The varied and competing topics, methodologies, theoretical approaches and ways of conceiving education described in the analysis of the research projects (7.2), as well as the diverse insulations that researchers established in their interviews when talking about their own and others' knowledge production (presented in the previous section, 7.3), would result –following Bernstein's proposal- in a characterisation of the analysed field as a horizontal knowledge structure with a weak grammar. As presented in chapter 4, Bernstein (1999) distinguished between two different types of vertical discourses characterising intellectual fields: hierarchical knowledge structures and horizontal knowledge structures, the latter being conceived as a series of specialised languages with a relatively low level of comparative power and dialogue between them. The concept of grammaticality, in contrast, is concerned with the relations that each

perspective establishes with the empirical. The strength of the grammar describes the mode in which some knowledge structures generate 'relatively unambiguous empirical referents' (Maton, 2011, p. 76).

However, sticking only to the notion of 'horizontal knowledge structures with weak grammars' would broaden the scope to such a general level that it would encounter the problem of emptying the description of the field under study of any substantive analysis of the ways in which knowledge is structured, produces and is produced in the particular case analysed here. In order to make the concept work, it is necessary to engage with the empirical, producing a description of what the concept 'looks like' in this case. This engagement will enable us to assess the potential, but also the limits, of the concepts in providing answers to the questions orientating this research. In doing so, I will focus in this section on the accounts from the interviews where academics talked about the psycho-educational field.

When talking about the psycho-educational field, various researchers concurred in two general propositions: that the psycho-educational field in the country is heterogeneous, and that the psycho-educational field in the analysed psychology faculties is a minor (but increasing) field with weak capacity of influence in the configuration of psychology in general. With regards to the heterogeneity of the field, the following three accounts show a similar configuration in the construction of the description of the field. These participants acknowledge the presence of other people producing in the field, and they make clear that they do not know too much about the others.

I think the psycho-educational field is very heterogeneous. You need to be careful in the fieldwork because in every faculty you are going to find very different groups of people researching on education. Here [in this faculty] it is quite strange that both [other researcher] and us have adopted a scope different to the traditional psycho-educational problems... (R4)

I honestly do not know what it is being done in other groups. Of course we have exchanges with some groups but I think the field is much broader than what I know. (R4)

Interviewer: - You are saying that you feel lonely in the faculty [when talking about knowledge production]. Do you have knowledge exchanges with people from other faculties in the country?

Interviewee: - [...] I have a lot of discussions with people from the [Psychology Faculty], because they are doing in-depth work with regards to learning, and literacy and reading. But I think that there are no other groups, maybe we can consider [a research group in other faculty] but they are more interested in neuro-psychological problems and with a style of production 'let's publish as much as we can', that I do not like at all. (R2)

With regards to the place that psycho-educational knowledge has in the psychology faculties, unsurprisingly most of the accounts agree in a description of a marginal place. The following response of one of the academics (presented in part in the previous section) shows the recognition of a clear strong insulation that operates in the field of psychology, between the clinical-psychoanalytic approaches (the dominant approach in the psychology faculties) and other approaches, where he places psycho-educational knowledge.

Ignorance. The position of other academics [in the Psychology Department and with respect the psycho-educational field] is ignorance. On the one hand, there is a majority of psychoanalysts that only think about psychoanalysis and do not talk to others. They have tremendous and heated discussions, but always within the psychoanalytic theory, they do not know anything about what is being done in other areas. On the other hand, there is a group of academics that are outside psychoanalysis and have a more respectful position to what is done in educational psychology, but very poor exchanges anyway. Nobody thinks education is a priority area. In the head of psychologists there is an interest in 'health' issues, not in 'educational' ones. (R5)

Not knowing about what the other is doing, as well as recognising the low level of exchanges between actors, illustrates strong classifications operating in the field of psychology in general and in the psycho-educational field. This type of strong insulation characterising horizontal structure – the perspectives do not really relate to each other even though they address similar objects and occupy related disciplinary spaces - implies the lack of principles of recognition of the other.

Other accounts illustrate the weak power of influence that psycho-educational knowledge seems to have in the faculties analysed.

Educational studies are a discredited field within the psychological disciplines. It does not have a legitimate place. However, we must recognise that in the last 4 years there has been a growth in the interest in the area and in related research. But I think this growth is not genuine, it is not a theoretical option [sic] but a

concrete election because there is more access to jobs and funding. The curricula in the university continue being mostly clinical. (R6)

Similar apperceptions can be found in the account of one interviewee with regards to the creation of a psycho-educational postgraduate degree in one of the universities. Although this degree was the first postgraduate degree offered by the faculty in the late 1990s, this did not mean, in the interviewee's opinion, some type of recognition for the field.

It was very difficult to open that postgraduate degree. It took me three years of 'sensibilisation' of different agents. I think that we were finally able to open it because it wasn't a clinical postgraduate course, and nobody cared about it, nobody was interested in it. If it were a clinical course, it would have been impossible. (R7)

The following account by a researcher illustrates a tendency to a 'weak grammar' in the field, as a difficulty to provide clear accounts of the empirical. This weak grammar, in his opinion, poses the question of whether some kinds of production of knowledge can be strictly considered as research.

When I came back [to Argentina] I found that the discussions where about the 'subject that is subjected and that it is un-subjected, and that it is necessary to subject the subjectivity of the subject subjected' [sic]. And it does not mean that I am against the subjectivity, but when you think about the discourse of the scientific investigation you need to give account of an empirical world in order to show that you are doing science. If not, let's go and do philosophy or literature. I do not mean that one thing is better than the other, and maybe the most boring thing of the three is doing science, but they are different things. (R20)

The next quotation illustrates how a weak grammar in the psycho-educational field is associated with the reduction of knowledge relations to the power relations between groups (Moore, 2006). Talking about the knowledge produced by his team, a researcher recognises that there are other groups producing knowledge in the field, and his description seems to be a clear empirical description of the organisation of a horizontal knowledge structure with weak grammar: as a collection of perspectives organised in a serial mode.

I do not mean that there are not other lines producing [psycho-educational] knowledge. For example the line of neuroscience is producing some things

related to learning according to the cortex of I do not know what... Things that I ignore. I call them 'the dendrits' to bother them a little [...] I can accept that [in the field] there are different ideas. In fact, I hold this position: lines, ideas, theories, techniques [emphasising the plural of the words]. But if the others come for hegemony, if they want control, if they want to decide what it is valid, there we have a problem. (R10)

Furthermore, this account shows that - although the different productions of knowledge seem to be incommensurable - a struggle between them for the control of the knowledge fields is clearly taking place. Adopting Moore and Maton's proposal (2001), this struggle can be understood as a struggle for the control of the epistemic device. Actors' claims regarding the validity of their positions and about the legitimate and illegitimate ways of conceiving the field, are - for these authors - an effect of the battle for the dominance of the epistemic device in a field characterised as having a relatively horizontal structure and a weak grammar. They state that weak grammars imply a difficulty of dialogue and integration between perspectives, and the lack of development of languages of mediation between approaches. These languages of mediation can be understood, following Moore and Maton (2001), as 'a particular kind of grammar (more or less explicit or systematic) that enables them as a community to retain a sense of inclusiveness that transcends their specialist intellectual differences' (p. 163). The lack of a language of mediation between different perspectives and approaches would explain – at the layer of knowledge practices - the scarce dialogue between approaches and research projects found in the field. The accounts presented such as 'they talk only to them' and 'they are not interested in what happens outside' were found referring not only to psychoanalysis but also to other approaches. I am not implying that the production of a language of mediation between approaches would be desirable in the field analysed here. What I am doing is providing an account of how knowledge is structured in particular social practices and how this impacts (or relates) to specific aspects that characterise the research practices in the field. One of the concerns that drives this research, as was shown in the methodology chapter, was the observation of the lack of interaction between actors and productions of knowledge within psycho-educational research. As was discussed in the previous chapter, this is related to particular ways in which

the researcher role is organised in the institutions analysed. However, the analysis undertaken of the structuring of knowledge in the field also provides clues for the understanding of the difficulty or lack of interaction among approaches and researchers. The way in which knowledge tends to be organised in the field contributes to the construction of a field with poor exchanges between academics.

One important issue to include in this discussion is the precision and usefulness of the characterisation of the field as a horizontal knowledge structure. Describing the analysed field as an array of (sometimes incommensurable) perspectives that coexists with relatively poor dialogue between them seems useful in providing a general or broad characterisation of the field. This is a language of description that 'worked' in this section organising the accounts of the interviews in which academics talked about the psycho-educational field as a whole. However, when focusing on the level of each specific knowledge claim made by academics, it is possible to find that, while they establish strong insulation with some perspectives, categories or actors, they can – at the same time - establish dialogues and weaker insulations with some of the other perspectives, categories or actors. Moreover, as was shown in section B.3, academics can argue simultaneously about strong and weak classifications when talking about a theoretical or methodological approach, depending on the aspect or *layer* of the problem they are addressing. In other words, while in a general picture or from 'a more distant viewpoint' the field looks like a horizontal knowledge structure with weak grammar (and this is, as shown previously, how researchers have described the psycho-educational field as a whole), when focusing the analysis on the level of each knowledge claim, the dynamics of the field become more varied and a superposition of different dimensions or layers with their own dynamics is observed.

In the following two sections I move forward the analysis in order to enrich the description of the organising principles operating in the field, shedding light on what I consider two other central layers of analysis of the structuring of knowledge in the psycho-educational field. First, I argue that in the case analysed here it is necessary to look at the ways in which psychology and

education are placed in relation to each other in the knowledge production practices. Second, I expand the analysis of the principles of legitimation operating in the field moving from *knowledge* modes to *knower* modes.

7.5. Relations between psychology and education

The analysis of the research projects and their outputs presented in section 7.2.6 has shown different 'levels of engagement' of the psychological research in question with respect to education. That initial analysis only aimed to classify all the selected projects on a grade scale on which extremes were represented just as high and low orientation to educational problems. In this section I want to move this analysis further, constructing an organisational language to analyse the theoretical implications of the different ways of conceiving the relationships between psychology and education. In doing so, I draw on previous work that has been interested in the relationships between psychology and education, such as the work of Coll (2002); Francis (1994); Lunt (1997); Baquero and Terigi (1996), Baquero, Cimolai and Lucas (2009); and Berliner (1993). I have considered these works as points of departure from where we can construct a new language of analysis of the varying ways of conceiving the role of education in psycho-educational research. The proposal provides characterisation of alternative ways in which psychological research engages with education as an empirical setting. In order to construct and illustrate the categories, I establish a dialogue between what was found in the analysis of documents related to each research project (presented in section 7.2) and the accounts provided by academics in the interviews.

It is being argued here that the ways of conceiving the role of education in psycho-educational research would have influence on the construction of specific disciplinary or field identities with regards to psycho-educational research. For example, those who recognised that the subject/object of analysis in educational settings is different from the subject/object of analysis in other settings would provide stronger dialogues with knowledge production within the intellectual field of education, and stronger insulations with the psychological

production in other fields of practice. In these cases, it is likely to find accounts in the interviews of stronger identification of the researcher with the psychoeducational field as a specific field of knowledge within psychology. On the other hand, those who do not recognise the specificity of psycho-educational knowledge would have less (or zero) dialogue with the intellectual field of education and would establish weaker boundaries with specific approaches or knowledge productions developed in other psychological fields. In this case, it is likely that their disciplinary or knowledge identities are more related to the psychological fields to which they are establishing weak boundaries.

Three types of relations between psychology and education were identified in the knowledge produced: relevance, application, and inherence, and they are presented in turn below.

7.5.1. Relations of relevance

Those who establish relations of relevance between psychology and education are, in general, concerned with wider psychological problems and consider that education is a relevant part of their research problem, but not the only one. These approaches tend to consider education as an institution, among many others, that is relevant in the analysis of subjectivity or cognitive aspects. The following quotation selected from an interview illustrates the way in which this type of positioning is enacted by one research team. Moving from *education* to *institutions* has been central for them in delineating their unit of analysis.

Interviewee: - Well then, during a lot of time we had the discussion [in the research team] regarding 'psychology in education', because this is the way we understand it, we do not talk about 'educational psychology' because we do not want to subsume one field into the other. We discussed if 'psychology in education' was a specificity or a specialty.

Interviewer: - To what conclusion did you arrive?

Interviewee: - To a different conclusion, that in fact, it is about institutions. Education is an institution, as many other institutions involved in the process of subjectivity formation. So, if there is a specificity, this specificity is related to the institutional analysis, but this is not only with regards to the educational institution but also to any institution. (R16)

Another account, provided by a researcher of a different faculty, shows the same way of conceiving the place of education in his research. This academic who has carried out various research projects with titles including words such as 'family and school', 'students' and 'secondary education' explains that his focus of interest is not only the position that the adolescent develops in the educational setting, rather he is interested in a wide range of problems regarding adolescents, where education is only one of the dimensions taken into account. Moving from *students* to *adolescents* is, in this case, a way of recognising the importance of the educational field but at the same time of acknowledging that the focus on the 'student' is not enough for the type of knowledge he wants to construct.

Interviewee: - The research projects where I have been co-director or director are of the cathedra where I teach [...] Anyway these research projects are related to my role in the cathedra [...] Well, the topics of the [research] projects are family and school, school and work in rural population and in disadvantaged groups... They are carried out in secondary school institutions, I work with students that are ... In fact, I work with adolescents, rather than with students.

Interviewer: - And why do you research school settings?

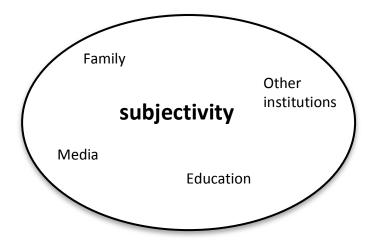
Interviewee: - Well, because an important part of the research work, but also the teaching work in the cathedra [...] looks at adolescents under 'election situation', being in the last year of the secondary school. They find themselves in the situation of taking decisions about their lives, which can be whether to study or not. This is the way I position myself in Vocational Guidance, studying can be an option, but it is not the only one involved. (R25)

Another interviewee, talking about her more recent research project, explains that her central focus (and disciplinary or professional identity) is related to the clinical approach with children. There, education is a relevant aspect in the construction of the problem, but it is not enough to approach the problem.

In these projects we included education as a problem, because when we take violence as a research problem, we considered violence from educational institutions, in its different levels. It is quite a new research project, but what we are finding is that people experience a lot of violence in educational institutions [...] What happens is that in clinical work with children you look all the time to education [...] it is a very important setting in children's lives. (R16)

This way of conceiving the place of education in the psycho-educational research can be represented as follows (see figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1: Relations of relevance between psychology and education



The oval represents the central object of study, which in many of the cases would probably be subjectivity. This object is analysed within different institutional contexts considered of relevance for the study of the subjectivity process or subjectivity formation. Here, education is part of the problem, but it is not the core of the problem.

Going back to the classification constructed in section 7.2.6 between high, medium and low orientation to educational problems, the projects that establish a relation of relevance were grouped in the medium level, because even though the educational field is not the only or central object of analysis, it is considered a relevant setting and problem from where to study their selected objects of enquiry.

7.5.2. Relations of application

When the relations between psychology and education are conceived as relations of application, there is a one-way traffic (Francis, 1994) between general or basic psychological knowledge and the field where it is applied. This

means that there is not a clear recognition of the specificity of the educational field when producing knowledge. Knowledge produced in psychology can be applied, with little mediation, in different settings. This implies a conception of subject or individual as someone that has an essence that he/she carries with himself/herself from one practice or setting to the other.

Talking about a recent project where education is put in relation to certain cognitive strategies, a researcher explained:

During the last few years we applied a series of scales to a large number of secondary students, in different research projects we are carrying out. With our team we saw that we have asked all the adolescents about their education and their parents' education. So, we thought that we could cross the data to show the relations between some cognitive strategies and the level and kind of education that they and their families received. (R26)

Another academic who included terms such as `university' and 'students' in the title of his projects, explains that the educational context is not taken into account as having an impact in the construction of their research problems.

Interviewer: In the research projects carried out by you in secondary schools, I would like to ask you how do you understand the educational dimension in the formulation of your research.

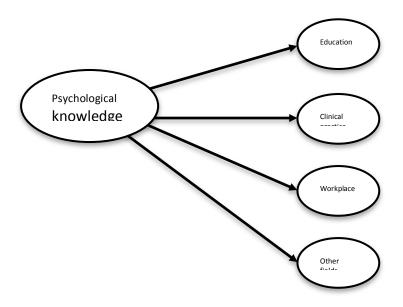
Interviewee: - But we are not of the educational area.

Interviewer: - Yes, I understand, but I would like to know how do you approach students in your research...

Interviewee: - We, in a general sense of all the things we do, not only this project but also all the research projects, we analyse the cognitive processes of young people. We are trying here to help explain these processes in university students. (R17)

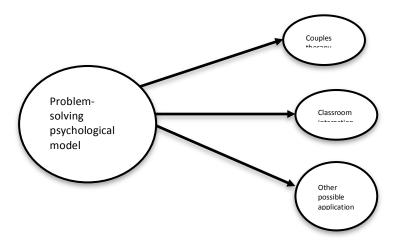
Here researchers apply a method or theory originally developed in other fields of psychology to produce knowledge about individuals positioned in educational situations. However, it is conceived that this method or theory can equally be applied to other settings, with minor adaptations. This could be represented as the graphic shown in figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2: Relations of application between psychology and education



With respect to the previous classification of low, high and medium orientation to educational problems presented in section 7.2.6, the projects holding a relation of application can be found in the low, medium and high group. The difference between them is a difference of grade, or as Coll (1988a, 2002) has said, of the level of adaptation and translation of the psychological knowledge to enable its use to study the psycho-educational problem. One example is a research project carried out within the systemic psychology approach which aims to study the application and evaluation of a problem-solving model of intervention in the resolution of conflicts in school-classrooms. This model, developed in the USA in the context of clinical psychology, was previously applied to the study of couples therapy by the same researcher. Figure 7.3 illustrates the relations of application that this project implies.

Figure 7.3: Relations of application



7.5.3. Relations of inherence

When the relation between psychology and education is conceived as a relation of inherence, it is acknowledged that there is a specificity in the object of study within psycho-educational approaches that claims for the development of specific conceptual tools and ways of constructing research problems. In other words, it is acknowledged that the psychological study of educational settings demands the construction of a specific field within psychology, with its own objects of study and ways of constructing research problems. It is expected that in research projects and researchers holding this view, clearer identities as psycho-educational researchers will be found.

We see this position in the following account from one of the interviews. Talking about his first job, after finishing his degree, in an educational government agency, the academic explains how he understood the specificity of the psychoeducational problem there.

There I began to understand, for me it was crucial because I realized that, even though my training was in clinical psycho-pedagogy, that there was a field of problems where the dispute was if your 'object' was a patient or a student. There I realised that there was a different problem that was the construction of the psychology of the student. (R4)

He understood that this shift in the way of conceiving the relations of psychology and education would imply a movement from his clinical training to construct a different and specific unit of analysis, different to the one provided by the clinical scope.

In another interview, discussing – in this case - what he was calling educational psychology, an academic with a specialisation in sociocultural approaches reflects on the identity of the psycho-educational field, recognising the necessity of developing it as a 'specific field of problems'. In the account there are two different levels of analysis: the position of oneself within the psycho-educational field and the struggle for the legitimate way of defining the field. On the one hand, he positions himself within this field and analyses his relation with other psycho-educational approaches. On the other hand, he is claiming a legitimated way of conceiving the field, where relations between psychology and education are understood as relations of inherence.

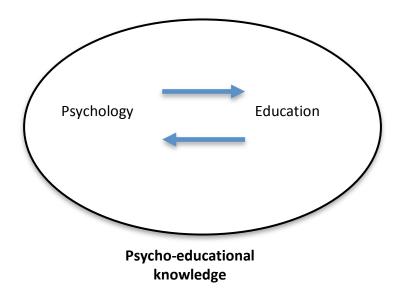
Honestly, I do not have a clear idea of the identity of educational psychology, if it is an independent discipline or not. I think about it more as a psychology studying subjectivity problems in educational processes or activities. It is probable that everybody in the field is doing this, what changes is how each of us understands subjectivity and which idea of education each have. I was thinking that what Daniels does using Bernstein to complement Vygotsky is similar to our effort of using Foucault, how to approach education and how to understand psychology used in education, trying to make a more dynamic analysis, away from the logic of application and thinking about the constitution of a specific field of problems. But we and a few more in the country are the exception; I think the majority of the [psycho-educational] field is oriented towards traditional empirical problems, cognition, experimental, they do not think at all as a specific field of problems. (R4)

In other words, he is not only making a claim for the specificity of the psycho-educational knowledge within psychology, he is also 'splitting waters' within the psycho-educational field. On the one side, there is the 'traditional set of problems' such as cognition, which are, in his view, examples of relations of application between psychology and education. On the other side, there is him, and a few others in the discipline. With the establishment of this insulation within the field, he is also attempting to position educational psychology as a

specific field of problems within psychology, with its own and differentiated identity.

Research projects that position the relationship between psychology and education as a relation of inherence are all placed in the high orientation to educational problems.

Figure 7.4: Relations of inherence between psychology and education



In figure 7.4 the oval represents the space of psycho-educational knowledge, where the dialogue, in a two-way traffic between psychological knowledge and the field of education produces a distinct or specific construction of psychological knowledge.

7.5.4. Discussion

The analysis of the ways of conceiving the relations between psychology and education shed light over other aspects that have an influence in the analysis of the psycho-educational field in the faculties studied. This aspect implies a discussion regarding the unit of analysis for psycho-educational research and is related to what has been described as a general tendency of the psychological field in the country: the focus on the clinical practice in the training of psychologists and in their professional practice once they obtain the degree.

This dominance in the training of psychologists has contributed to the configuration of a central dispute in the psycho-educational field: whether psycho-educational knowledge is embedded within the health scope or if it has an own identity beyond the clinical approach.

Remember the account presented earlier in this section: 'Nobody thinks education is a priority area. In the head of psychologists there is an interest in "health" issues, not in "educational" ones.' (R5). In this reflection, the interviewer is creating a boundary between what he considers health and educational scopes, and also a hierarchy between the two. This results in another structuring principle organising the disputes within the field.

The following section turns to other layers of analysis of the organising principles operating into the field, presenting languages of legitimation based on knowledge and knower codes.

7.6. Legitimising valid knowledge in the field: knowledge and knower codes

In understanding the ways in which knowledge is legitimised by the different researchers, Karl Maton's Legitimation Code Theory provides useful insights into the ways in which these principles of legitimation are organised. His proposal includes a conceptualization of knowledge legitimation that takes into account both the social relations to knowledge and the epistemic relations structuring knowledge. As presented in chapter 4, Maton distinguishes between an *epistemic relation* (ER) of knowledge to an object of study and a *social relation* (SR) of knowledge to the knower. While the epistemic relation is about what can be claimed as knowledge and how, the social relation is about who can claim knowledge (Maton, 2004). In Maton's proposal, the relation between the strength or weakness of the classification and the framing of these relations together form a code (Maton, 2010b). For example, whenever the epistemic relation is strong and the social relation is weak, the possession of specialised knowledge, skills or procedures is emphasized as the source of valid knowledge (knowledge code (ER+, SR-)). By contrast, where the dispositions of the

subject as a knower are emphasized as the measure of achievement there is a knower code (ER-, SR+)⁸².

As presented in chapter 4, codes are enacted in social practices through different languages of legitimation. Languages of legitimation are researchers' claims about knowledge, status and resources that allow us to interpret the underlying generative principles operating in the field. In Maton's view, the epistemic device is the means to set the structure and grammar of knowledge fields and is the mechanism that provides access to the regulation and distribution of legitimate claims to new knowledge, legitimate membership of the field (professional identity), and legitimate practices.

In the following description, different languages of legitimation found in the academics' accounts are presented and analysed, and the simultaneous presence of knowledge and knower codes operating in the epistemic device is illustrated. Maton's conceptualization allows the inclusion not only aspects of related to the knowledge produced but also of aspects related to the knower in the analysis of the ways in which knowledge comes to be view as legitimated in every intellectual field. I present below legitimation claims based on knowledge codes (7.6.1) and on knower codes (7.6.2).

7.6.1. Knowledge codes

Many accounts of the academics interviewed tend to legitimise knowledge produced by defining what they consider as the proper use of certain theories, methods or techniques. The insulations presented in section 7.3 regarding methodological stances and the use of theories illustrate these types of knowledge claims (see examples of these accounts in the aforementioned section). There, researchers enact languages of legitimation turning to theoretical or methodological disputes as a way of legitimating the knowledge produced. For example, the debate presented between two methodological stances to producing knowledge in the field can be first re-described as two

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⁸² As presented in chapter 4, the two other codes developed by Maton are: elite code (ER+, SR+), and relativistic code (ER-, SR-).

competing principles of legitimation operating in the field, and then again redescribed in a more abstract level as a layer where the struggle for the control of the epistemic device takes place. In the same sense, the discussions presented regarding the validity or not of using psychoanalytical approaches to study psycho-educational problems are also examples of languages of legitimation based on knowledge discussions.

Following Maton's proposal, this kind of language of legitimation can be conceptualised as a 'knowledge code' where the disputes are realized through the establishment of what kinds of specialised knowledge, skills or procedures are the legitimate ways of producing knowledge claims in the field. But the fight between different knowledge perspectives and technical procedures for the control of the device is not the only mode of legitimation that operates in the field. Here, turning to Maton's 'knower codes' can shed light on other modes of legitimation operating in the field.

7.6.2. Knower codes

Other languages of legitimation, by contrast, do not privilege the discussion regarding valid theories, methods and procedures but rather focus on certain modes of being and acting and certain embodied dispositions of the researchers. Two groups of languages of legitimation were found in the empirical data with this respect: a) valid knowledge as that produced by people engaged with intervention; and b) valid knowledge as the result of a personal journey of thinking. As both types of languages imply a weak epistemic relation and give a stronger role to the social relation to knowledge, they are examples of what Maton conceptualizes as knower codes.

a. Valid knowledge and professional practice in the educational field

As shown in the analysis of the configuration of the role of researcher (in chapter 6) and in the quantitative analysis of the research projects (section 7.2 in this chapter), research activities have tight links to other academic practices at the faculties and other professional roles outside university. The analysis has

demonstrated that other professional practices have an influence in the ways in which knowledge is produced.

Therefore, it is expected that the link to professional practice acts also as a significant way of legitimising valid knowledge in the field. The value given to the professional in the process of knowledge production was also found in some of the interviews as a language of legitimation. Some researchers argued that what gives research its authority is the knowledge of the educational field, in the sense of having a long experience as a professional in the field. Not having professional experience in the field is seen as a real problem in the research activities and might cast doubt on the validity of knowledge produced.

Research is one of the things that is more interesting and valuable for me. Not research closed in an office, but research in the service of practice, research in the service of intervention. (R14)

Here [at the Faculty] there are a lot of people working in the area of education who have never, never, gone to a school, who do not know the educational field. Never. And they write papers, they have research projects, they 'copy' nice sentences, but they have never never gone to the field. And 'to go to the field' is not to go to a school to give a talk, it is more than that, you must be engaged with the field (R12)

b. Valid knowledge and the 'personal journey' of the researcher

Another way of legitimising knowledge, from a knower code, can be found in a group of accounts that focused on the very internal journey of knowledge production. There, research is seen as a personal act of thinking and some kind of disdain for a conception of research as a rigorous set of steps and strategies is observed, as well as for the technical knowledge related to research methodology. Knowledge production is seen as a personal endeavour and as the result of the development of personal qualities such as courage, the search for emancipation, and the good use of good listening skills rather than the expertise in methodological artefacts. The following quotations from the interviews illustrate this aspect.

I know that in research I play by ear, but it does not worry me. From my point of view, the production of knowledge is closer to thinking rather than to being a 'methodologist', being a 'researcher'. An excellent methodological training is

never going to be as powerful as having developed a good listening skill and the ability of looking ('mirada') when you visit an institution, when you do an interview, when you formulate a problem for discussion. (R18)

I think that in the process of knowledge production there comes a time when you emancipate, when you get free from writing what other people have said, the voices of others. There comes a time when you stop saying what other people thought, and you start writing your own thoughts, your own position, you own way... (R8)

First, I do not know if I am a knowledge producer. I do not know very well what that implies. Of course I like the idea. I think that there is something that I am reaching now and it is courage. I think that in order to produce knowledge one has to have courage. Apart from having studied, of knowing [...]. (R8)

7.6.3. Discussion

Considering the social relation knower-knowledge has provided to be a fruitful way of recovering certain languages of legitimation which were found in the interviews and which were not considered when looking only at 'knowledge codes'. In the presentation of 'valid knowledge as that produced by people engaged with intervention' and 'valid knowledge as a result of a personal journey of thinking' the dispositions of the subject as a knower are emphasized while at the same time the possession of specialist knowledge or skills is downplayed. The engagement of the language of description proposed by Maton with the empirical has proved to be useful in recovering a wider range of ways of legitimating knowledge production. The identification of knower codes has allowed the inclusion of strategies where possessing what are considered as the legitimate dispositions, aptitudes and attitudes that a researcher should develop in order to produce knowledge are also forms of identity construction as researchers. Knower codes illustrate what is considered the privileged 'qaze'83 which a researcher should develop and which has effects on a field's capacity to embrace new knowers and build cumulative knowledge. Taking into account the four kinds of gaze identified by Maton (2010b) (born, social, cultivated and trained)⁸⁴, the analysed cases shows that the privileged gaze, in the cases of

⁸³ Bernstein has defined gaze as 'a particular mode of recognizing and realizing what counts as an authentic... reality' (Bernstein, 1999, p. 165).

⁸⁴ While a born gaze is related to the accounts of natural talent, genius, or genetic inheritance, a social gaze emphasizes the belonging of the knower to determined social categories such as social class race gender and sexuality when they are constructed as social categories. By

knower codes, can be classified as forms of a 'cultivated gaze'. Moreover, the empirical has provided insights about specific ways in which the cultivated gaze proposed by Maton can be enacted: the possession of long professional experience in the field, and the development of subjective positions with respect to knowledge production such as courage and getting freed of boundaries.

This organisational language has enriched the explanation of the form taken by intellectual fields regulating how knowledge comes to be viewed as legitimate by altering relations between the arbitrary and non-arbitrary in knowledge, that is, the legitimation of knowledge claims on the basis of external relations of power or by principles intrinsic to knowledge itself. However, differently to Maton's proposal that —as argued in chapter 4- tends to totalize fields of knowledge identifying a central code as characterising the whole field, the empirical analysed in these cases has shown that knowledge and knower codes coexists in the field, and even more, in every researcher. Each researcher deploys a variety of legitimation languages according to their position within the field and to the aspect under discussion.

contrast, a cultivated gaze refers to socialised dispositions of the knower inculcated through education in a prolonged immersion in a way of being and seeing, and a trained gaze refers to the participation in specific and explicit training in specialised methods and procedures.

Chapter 8

Discussion and conclusions

8.1. Introduction

This research has been motivated by a concern to analyse the psychological knowledge production about education in Argentina, with a particular interest in the people producing this knowledge. The research questions that have guided this endeavour were:

- How is the knowledge organisation of the psycho-educational field being shaped through the research being carried out in psychology faculties of public higher education institutions in Argentina?
- How is the role of researcher constructed by academics producing psycho-educational knowledge in psychology faculties of public higher education institutions in Argentina?

This chapter addresses these questions in relation to the findings of this study and relates both of them to the existing discussions within the fields of educational psychology and the sociological study of knowledge production. The findings are examined in dialogue with the results of existing studies and I look at the implications of the analysis for current theory in social studies of academic knowledge production and the role of researcher. Additionally, this chapter aims to present the limitations of this research, its implications for professional practice and also recommendations for further research.

In the following section (8.2), I go deeper in the analysis of the role of researcher in the faculties studied, linking the Bernsteinian characterisation of the role as an 'integrated code' (Bernstein, 1977) to the new model of the public university that has underpinned the structural changes in Argentina in the last two decades. Then, in section 8.3 I summarise the main findings in relation to the knowledge produced in the psycho-educational field.

In section 8.4, I aim to link the analysis presented in chapter 6 with that presented in chapter 7, proposing a model for relating the ways of experiencing the research role to the legitimation strategies with respect to the knowledge produced. This will help me to identify different modes of identity operating for researchers working in the intersections of psychology and education in the faculties analysed. Finally, in section 8.5, I reflect on the limitations of the present study and the possible further research that this study has opened up, as well as its implications for the psycho-educational field.

8.2. The psycho-educational researcher

The analysis of the interviews undertaken with academics has shown that the research role is a relatively new requirement in academic institutions and that it is experienced as one role among many others to be carried out in their professional practice. Their general professional identity is configured as a multi-tasking profession, where different roles are expected to be carried out simultaneously. This aspect can be considered as a globalised tendency in the new contexts for the production of knowledge within universities, as developed in chapter 2. However, the analysis of the production of knowledge between psychology and education in Argentina has provided additional elements for the comprehension of how this multi-tasking aspect of their profession is experienced in this particular context. The researchers interviewed not only participate in the multiple activities comprising their academic role, but also have at the same time various professional occupations in other institutions, such as NGOs, government offices and educational institutions of different levels. Additionally, a relatively high number of the interviewees also undertake psychological clinical work in health organisations and/or as a private practice, and this situation is linked to the dominant influence that the clinical and the health scope has in the training of psychologists in the country. The multitasking configuration is deeply embodied in their professional dispositions, and it is simultaneously experienced by them as a distressing and as an enjoyable aspect of their professions. In this context, they have developed specific strategies to deal with their multiple roles, such as the strategy of 'shrinking

distances' between the different activities and 'establishing hierarchies' between them, organising their work in some of the activities as a way of enriching others. These aspects have enabled me to characterise the rules organising the professional practice of the interviewees as an 'integrated code', where there are weak insulations between the different professional activities and weak framing of the expected ways of being and acting with regards to the researcher role.

The current arrangement of their professional practices as an integrated code, and the rise of knowledge production as a privileging meaning is related to structural changes that have influenced professional trajectories during the last two decades. Changes in higher education policies in the 1990s and 2000s such as the 1995 Higher Education Law based on the global tendency of academic audit cultures, as well as the Incentive Programme to Teacher-Researchers of National Universities and the growth in the funding for research activities and research development during the 2000s have modified the parameters of what should be privileged in the academic profession. Knowledge production became a privileging aspect in a context of professionals socialised in an academic and professional culture where the professional experience was the main source of status for identity formation. Academics socialised in this previous model found themselves in a new context where some of the recognition and realization rules that they have embodied on their professional trajectories were no longer useful. These structural changes were unforeseen and experienced as abrupt by academics. Ferrante (2010) provides a common phrase that is often mentioned by academics in Argentina, which accounts for the sudden changes with the instantiation of the Incentive Programme to Teacher-Researchers: 'I went to bed as a professor and I got up as a researcher' (p. 2). Moreover, as was shown in the analysis, the new rules for recognition and realization within the professional category of 'researcher' are poorly delineated and require constant negotiation. As a result, academics deployed different strategies to adjust their professional practices and identities to this new context.

For Ferrante (2010), underpinning these individual professional cross-roads

there is a structural change in the model of the modern Argentinian university which has not been explicitly announced. National universities in Argentina developed their work during the twentieth century under a model of a training of quality of professionals who were highly oriented towards satisfying the different needs of society. The changes in the 1990s and 2000s oriented the university to a model where knowledge production became the 'privileging aspect' which, in Bernstein's terms, confers differential discursive power and status upon actors. In this way, the research activities were transformed into the principal source of status. However, Ferrante (2010) highlights that although the privileging aspects changed, actors did not have the resources and the required capitals to adjust their practices to this new model. In the context of such changes, it is understandable that academics have shown resistances (through the strategies discussed in chapter 6) to the imposition of these new privileging aspects. Actors had to fight between the dispositions that were constructed on their professional trajectories (focused on the value given to professional experience in the fields of practice) and these new tendencies, and tried to develop different strategies to survive in this new context. Within these strategies, insulations between professional and academic roles were weakened and the realization and recognition rules from one context were borrowed and used in other contexts. The case of research projects that are considered by some researchers as being in fact written accounts of intervention projects is an example of the weak insulations between categories and weak framing constraining the research practice. This lack of differentiation between intervention projects and research projects also poses the problem of distinguishing if these projects generate 'new knowledge' or if they are merely an application of accepted ideas and principles to particular cases. The presence of these types of debates highlights that crucial point that the legitimated ways of producing knowledge are not yet explicitly framed.

The analysis has also shown that the academics' struggle to construct their research identity, which implies an enculturation of the complex and sometimes contradictory 'rules of the game'. These rules are influenced not only by the researchers' 'disciplinary orientation' and the theoretical and methodological orientation chosen by them, but also by the institutional cultures, national

policies and institutional regulations, working conditions, and past professional trajectories. With respect to the discussion presented in chapter 3 regarding the role of disciplinarity in the definition of the distinctive qualities of the role of researcher, the case analysed here has illustrated that knowledge issues (such as discussions regarding theories and methodologies) have an impact on the way in which research practice is organised. For example, the analysis has developed an interpretation of the lack of interaction between actors as the result not only of the particular ways in which the researcher role is organised but also of the structuring of knowledge in the field as a horizontal knowledge structure. The presence of multiple and sometimes incommensurable theoretical and methodological paradigms within the field, as well as different ways of delineating the relations between psychology and education, also contributes to the construction of a field with poor exchanges between academics. However, the general configuration of the researcher role as one role poorly insulated from other professional roles seems to be more influenced by the constraints imposed by the national policies and institutional cultures and regulations within psychology faculties, rather than by the theoretical and methodological orientation of the researchers. Academics producing psychological research on education from very different theoretical and methodological frameworks share a similar framing in the configuration of their roles as researchers.

In this context of poorly insulated professional roles, the long debated issue of the relations between teaching and research in higher education institutions deserves a more careful analysis in this thesis because of the central place that this discussion has had within higher education studies.

Teaching-Researching in tandem

In chapter 3, I discussed how the link between research and teaching in higher education institutions has been a core problem in the studies of the academic profession. Existing research on these aspects (e.g. Griffiths, 2004) has argued that the discussion about the nexus between research and teaching in higher education has so far tended to take place at a generic level, and little attention

has been paid to the variations between contexts and fields of enquiry. In this sense, as a way of contributing to the further development of these discussions, it is worth recapping the ways in which the teaching-researching nexus is experienced in the practices studied in this thesis, and thinking about how this relates to existing research in this area. Taking into account the classifications of the teaching and research relations in the studies undertaken by Robertson and Bond (2001), Griffiths (2004), and Boyer (1994), I summarise below three ways in which these relations were found in this research.

- Research is included as content to be taught, in the form of material to be transmitted in courses. Here, research is treated only as content and the focus is on the research outcomes rather than the research process. This is what Griffiths (2004) has called the 'research-led' model and it is also related to the academics' accounts identified by Robertson and Bond (2001) where teaching is seen as a means of transmitting new research knowledge.
- Research is seen as a way of enriching teachers' knowledge. In this view, taking part in research activities implies a deeper immersion by the teacher in the discussions within a field of knowledge and a close engagement with the empirical. In these cases participating in research is a way of strengthening their authority as teachers and implies that knowledge possession is the most valued aspect in the teaching role.
- The research problem originates in problems observed by academics in the teaching and learning activities within their cathedras. Further, the outcomes of research projects are mainly used as tools to improve the teaching and learning process and the users of this research are mainly people teaching in the subject. This is what Griffiths (2004) has called 'research-informed' relations to teaching, in the sense that teaching draws on systematic enquiry into the teaching and learning process itself. Boyer (1994) has categorised this as 'scholarship of teaching', which is the critical enquiry into how student learning can be enriched and how the teaching role and the curriculum of the subject can be improved.

These three forms of conceiving the teaching-research nexus found in the present study imply a conception of research that is subsumed to the teaching role, in the sense that research is configured as a tool for enriching the teaching role. Other conceptualizations constructed by previous studies on the topic were not found, such as those where research becomes a structural element in the learning process for students, modelling and encouraging a research/critical enquiry approach to learning. In these cases, a two-way relationship between teaching and research is implied, in the sense that the curriculum is largely designed around enquiry-based activities, rather than on the acquisition of subject content (Griffiths, 2004). The absence of this type of relation in the cases analysed shows that even though research is considered at present as a privileging meaning in the academic profession, some academics have managed to subsume the research activities to the improvement of the teaching ones.

8.3. The psycho-educational field in psychology faculties

Even though, as was argued, the clinical orientation and the 'health' scope is recognised as dominant in the training of psychologists in the studied faculties, the analysis of the research projects accredited within these faculties in the period 2000-2010 has shown that education is a field of study with a very important presence in the research being carried out at these faculties. The significant place that problems of education have had since the early consolidation of psychology as a discipline at the beginning of the 20th century, both in Argentina but also at an international level, is therefore still present in the psychological field, with more than 35% of the projects undertaken at the psychology faculties producing psycho-educational knowledge in the analysed period.

The analysis has also provided evidence that formal education settings are privileged objects of study in psychological projects that are interested in educational aspects. The educational or pedagogical processes involved in other settings such as the workplace, the home and other informal contexts are

hardly studied in the psychology faculties, with the exception of the few projects that aim to analyse the role of psychologists working in educational institutions. Workplace learning in other professions and trades is scarcely considered.

Moreover, within formal education contexts, the student is the most objectified actor in psychological research on education and this aspect is related to the construction of 'learning' as the central theoretical concept of the field. As noted in chapter 7, the forces constraining the field positions learning as a privileged object over teaching⁸⁵, and important disputes are established when academics try to transform teaching into their object of study. The same chapter also revealed how these disputes are related to the influence that didactics has in the intellectual field of education in the country, the ways in which Piagetian approaches were received in the country, and the influence of the clinical psychoanalytic approach in the configuration of the professional practice of psychologists in schools. This analysis has shown a distinctive identity of the Argentinian psycho-educational field compared to other international tendencies. Although the study of teaching within educational psychology has undergone important developments in other countries since the 1960s (Berliner, 1993; Coll, 2002; Hargreaves, 1986), in the Argentinian context the study of teaching is mainly being developed in the cases of researchers who are seeking to improve their teaching practices in the context of their own cathedras. In many of the cases, the motives that drive these projects are based on problems found in the teaching and learning of particular subjects in the faculties. This aspect was related to the weak insulations among professional roles and to the former privileging character that teaching used to have in the institutions analysed. In this sense, a strategy found in the field that enables academics to deal with the new demands related to knowledge production has been to articulate knowledge production practices to the former dominant academic activities.

The study of the methodologies organising the research endeavours has shown the presence of two quite different ways of conceiving knowledge production, where the two main matrices that have characterised psychological thinking

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⁸⁵ The exception to this are the research projects defined in the context of each cathedra that aims at improving the teaching practices of the same researchers.

since the foundations of psychology as a modern discipline (Kaulino, 2011) are enacted. These two matrices were identified as humanistic and scientific research respectively, and they are objects of heated disputes in the field with respect to the generation of knowledge. The quantitative analysis of research projects has shown a higher presence of qualitative methodologies based in humanistic approaches, although the 'experimental and quasi-experimental' and the 'relations between variables' research designs based on the so-called scientific matrix also have an important presence in the field.

Finally, the analysis has also illustrated that in the generation of psychoeducational knowledge, three distinctive ways of conceiving the relations between psychology and education can be found. In the relations characterised as of relevance (the educational field is considered as a relevant part of participants' psychological knowledge production, but not the only one) and as of application (there is a one-way application of psychological concepts to the study of the educational field), educational problems are not understood as distinctive objects within the field of psychology. In contrast, in the relations of inherence (psycho-educational knowledge is considered as a distinctive form of knowledge within the field of psychology) the need to construct specific objects of study and theoretical development is recognised as crucial.

The array of topics, methodologies and theoretical disputes found in the present research illustrates a field where the existing knowledge base and its future development is unsettled, and is comprised of competing or conflicting frameworks for the understanding of psycho-educational problems. In this sense, the research carried out suggests that the advance of knowledge in the field is not progressing towards integration into the different knowledge productions; rather, its progression is based on the development of simultaneous and often incompatible approaches.

8.4. Legitimation strategies, degrees of specialisation and the researcher identity

Throughout the analysis chapters I have stated that the separation between the

analysis of the research role and the knowledge produced through it was an artificial divide which was used only for the purpose of organising the analysis. I have illustrated in various sections of the analysis how these two dimensions are merged and deeply linked in the empirical context. In this section, I propose an organisational language that enables us to discuss the relation between these two areas of 'research role' and 'knowledge' as discussed in chapters 6 and 7 respectively. In doing so, I identify different modes of professional identities in relation to the role of researcher which are found in the empirical data. In doing so, I analyse the relations between the strength of specialisation in the role of researcher (*specialisation of research*) and the strategies of legitimation of the knowledge produced (*legitimation codes*). The relation between the strength of the insulations between professional categories and the legitimation codes together form 4 modes of professional identities as researchers.

The *specialisation of research* refers to the strength of the insulations between professional categories. When the specialisation is strong, there are more clear identities as researchers and more explicit rules framing what counts as legitimate knowledge in the field analysed here. Although chapter 6 has shown that in the present study, as a general tendency, the researcher role is conceived as a weakly specialised role, Bernstein has signalled the importance of recognizing the relative character of these terms in order to avoid transforming the categories 'strong' and 'weak' into binaries. In this sense, in a general context of weakly specialised research, it is possible to find in the researchers' accounts relatively stronger and weaker classifications among professional categories.

With respect to the *legitimation codes*, chapter 7 has shown languages of legitimation based on a knowledge code (ER+, SR-) and on a knower code (ER-, SR+), which accounts for different forms of legitimating knowledge produced in the psycho-educational field. The analysis has provided evidence about how knowledge and knower codes represent different 'settings' of the epistemic device and different modes of struggling for the maintenance, reproduction and transformation of the knowledge field. The analysis has also shown that the

struggle for the control of the epistemic device is a struggle where academics seek to establish what characterises their own practices as the basis of status and achievement in the field. Table 8.1 summarise the four modes of identity found in the empirical data.

Table 8.1: Modes of professional identities as researchers

		Legitimation codes	
		Knowledge code	Knower code
		Epistemic relation: C+F+	Epistemic relation: C- F-
		Social relation: C- F-	Social relation: C+F+
Specialisation	Strong		
of research		(1) Specialist researcher	(3) Artisan researcher
(Strength of			
insulations between professional categories)	Weak	(2) Theory-affiliated academic	(4) Generalist professional

The type 'specialist researcher' is composed of a relatively stronger insulation among professional categories and the predominance of legitimating strategies based on a knowledge code. Identity as researcher is stronger in this type since research is framed as a distinctive activity with its specific realization and recognition rules. The legitimation strategies are predominantly based on discussions about knowledge, theories, and specialised procedures. By contrast, in the case of the type 'artisan researcher' - which also implies a relatively stronger specialisation of the research role - the legitimation strategies emphasised are not based on knowledge and methodologies but rather on certain characteristics of the knower. Different personal dispositions and ways of being need to be acquired in order to become a researcher, and they are qualities that are formed through long subjective processes which cannot be prearranged. These processes include, for example, the development of courage to go beyond what has already been said and the emancipation of predefined ways of seeing and listening. In this case, the development of a subjective positioning as knowledge producer is more related to the development of what can be identified as an artistic profession rather than as a technical profession. Central qualities related to the position of an artist such as

the development of sensitive ways of seeing and listening to the world, the courage to liberate oneself from common constraints, and the capacity to go beyond the usual modes of acting in any given context, and to develop a unique path for one's professional development are privileged in this mode over the training in specialised methodologies.

When the strength of insulations between professional categories are relatively weaker and the legitimation strategies are predominantly based on a knowledge code, the research identity is likely to be constructed as a 'theory-affiliated academic or professional'. This type implies identities where research is in general not valued as a specialised activity, and the main source of identity is rather based on academics' belonging and continuous specialisation with respect to a specific theoretical-methodological school or paradigm. In this type would be included those interviewees who defined themselves 'psychoanalysts' and those who mentioned the 'cognitive psychology' approach as the one organising their different professional roles. Academics directing research projects who were defined by others as 'erudite people' rather than researchers would also be included in this group. Their specialisation resides in the comprehensive knowledge of certain theories rather than in their training in methodological and technical aspects related to the research practice. By contrast, when research is weakly insulated from other professional roles and the legitimation strategies predominantly used are based on knower codes, as is the case in the 'generalist professional' mode, the source of identity is mainly based on the professional practice of professionals and the legitimation strategies are based on the possession of extended professional experience in the field analysed. The production and validation of knowledge appears to operate according to somewhat different principles, with a weaker attachment to academic 'discipline' identities, and greater emphasis on embedding knowledge in the context of problem solving, policy and professional practice.

In the present investigation, these four modes of research identity were found in the interviews with academics, and in some cases the same academic has accounted for two of the modes in different parts of the interview. The ideal types presented should be understood as strategies coexisting within the field in question rather than attempts to classify each researcher in only one of the ideal types.

These modes of identity are grounded in specific traditions and structural aspects that have conditioned research practices in the analysed contexts in recent years. The modes 'specialist researcher' (1) and 'generalist professional' (4) are the ones directly related to the two models of university presented in section 8.2. On the one hand, mode 4 represents the model that has traditionally characterised public universities in the country, with a strong focus on the development of highly trained professionals to work in relation to the different needs of society. In this mode, the researcher role is one that is weakly insulated from the other professional roles and its realization rules are more related to the improvement of professional practice rather than the research activity itself. On the other hand, mode 1 represents the recent changes stated by Ferrante (2010) in the model of the university, where knowledge production is transformed into one of the central privileging meanings and a central source of status. Here, the researcher role is relatively more specialised with respect to the other professional roles, and the rules of socialisation into the role are beginning to be more clearly organised. The other two modes, that is 'the artisan researcher' (mode 2) and the 'theory-affiliated professional' (mode 3), represent variations of the ways of conceiving the role of researcher in the context presented of changes in the model of the university and in the place given to knowledge production practices. Although mode 1 and 3 share the tendency to conceive the researcher role as a specialised activity, the socialisation mechanisms privileged are different. As I noted before, while in mode 1 the socialisation into being a researcher is slowly being oriented to be formally pre-arranged, in mode 3 the socialisation process is conceived as a long and personal journey with unique paths and relatively unpredictable steps to be accomplished. Finally, while modes 2 and 4 have in common a weakly specialised conception of research, in mode 2 professional identities tend to be constructed based on the possession of specific knowledge and the socialisation process is more related to the continuous specialisation into the theory, and in mode 4 professional identities are more closely related to the possession of extended experience in professional practices.

8.5. Further research recommendations and implications of the study for the psycho-educational field

In this section I first present some possible lines of study for further analysis of the problems in the Argentinian context that guided this research. Following this, I present the implications and contributions of the present research to the psycho-educational field.

8.5.1. Further research recommendations

This research has focused on one setting where psychological knowledge regarding education is being produced in the country: faculties of psychology of national universities. The decision to focus in this way was taken in relation to the finding that national universities are regarded as the most influential settings where knowledge is produced in the field. As explained in the methodology chapter, this decision has also enabled me to include knowledge production practices from different regions of the country. However, this study has not considered other settings, contexts and regions where knowledge is being produced, such as research being produced in the context of psychology degrees in national universities that do not have a psychology department, of private universities, of non-government organisations, of institutions devoted to teacher training, and in the context of education degrees in both national and private universities. Moreover, the psycho-pedagogy degree in the country is starting to consolidate its own knowledge production and the future study of the similarities and differences between the knowledge produced in the context of psychology and psycho-pedagogy degrees would enrich the analysis of the psycho-educational field in the Argentinian context.

Another aspect from which to reflect on further research recommendations is related to the structural changes experienced in the research practices in the last decade.

This research has taken into account professionals with a long career, because in their roles of directors of research projects they are the ones who have at present the more important influence on the configuration of the psychoeducational field. However, the changing context of the decade that I have analysed suggests that younger professionals being socialised at present into the academic profession would probably have different positions and dispositions to the ones shown here with respect to the researcher role and the ways of conceiving the psycho-educational field. The aspects that might be changing are the ways in which the research role is being framed, the meanings given to research practices, and the ways of legitimating knowledge produced in the field. This situation justifies the relevance of analysing these new groups of professionals in order to better understand the future direction that the field and the configuration of the role of researcher would have.

Finally, the present research has collected a considerable amount of information regarding the knowledge produced in each research project. This information was mainly used to identify the main tendencies in knowledge production in the field in terms of the privileged objects of study, methodologies and ways of relating psychology and education. Further analysis focused on a detailed study of the texts resulting from each research project, such as the ones carried out from the sociolinguistics of Halliday, for example, would enrich the study of the organisational principles of the psycho-educational field of knowledge production in the context analysed here.

8.5.2. Implications for the psycho-educational field

In this final section, I present the implications and contributions of the present research with respect to the psycho-educational field of knowledge production, the teaching of psycho-educational subjects, and the strengthening of the research role.

With respect to the psycho-educational field of knowledge production, as was stated in the Introduction chapter, it has never before been an object of systematic enquiry in the Argentinian context. The outcomes of this research

are twofold: firstly, an analysis of the knowledge produced regarding education in public psychology faculties and secondly, an examination of the forces and strategies operating in the psycho-educational field in this context. These aspects are considered core elements for the generation of a collective analysis of the field and to contribute to the strengthening of future knowledge production. For example, new challenges in a context of global changes for education, such as the new demands with respect to the inclusion of ICT are slowly being included as specific objects of enquiry in the field. However, the diversification of the educational settings and the student population are still objects scarcely considered within the psycho-educational studies in the analysed cases.

Moreover, these outcomes are important for the international discussions within educational psychology as a discipline with respect to its present situation and future development, as it provides an analytical characterisation of the paths taken by the psycho-educational knowledge in a specific local context. For example, with respect to the publications introduced in the first chapter that aims to analyse the future of the discipline, this research has outlined that the progression of knowledge in the intersections of psychology and education is not directed towards an integration of objects, methods and theories but rather towards the development of simultaneous and often incompatible approaches. Additionally, this research has also shown how the influence of dominant paradigms within psychology in each context and the kind of local links established to professional practices delineates part of the psycho-educational production, and how there are different ways of conceiving the relations between psychology and education structuring knowledge production practices.

Knowledge resulted from this research endeavour can also have an impact on the teaching of psycho-educational subjects in the country. Given that the bibliography in general used in teaching is based on the analysis of the psychoeducational field in other national contexts (such as the USA, France, and Spain), the pedagogic recontextualisation of knowledge developed in this research could contribute to and enrich the local comprehension of the psychoeducational field in the teaching and learning of related subjects. Its contribution

will be to provide a characterisation and analysis of the distinctive aspects of the field in this national context with respect to objects of study, theories, and methods being prioritised, vacancy areas of knowledge production, local relations to the Argentinian psychological field, and other fields such as vocational guidance and didactics, and relations to professional psychology. Another challenge for the teaching of the discipline that this research has opened up is the inclusion of research in the curriculum not only as a content but also as the promotion of a research/critical enquiry approach to learning. This challenge would attend to the deficit found in the training of psychologists with respect to the professional practice as knowledge producers, promoting learning activities directed towards modelling activities of knowledge production in the field.

This research is not only concerned with the field of knowledge. It also unpacks the way in which research practices and the role of the researcher are produced and structured in the psycho-educational field. The analytical descriptions provided of the ways in which the researcher role tends to be constructed and the structural limitations to alternative configurations of the role are important for decision making in the governance of research practices and the development of research capacity building at higher education institutions in the country. In this sense, this research has demonstrated that the possible debates to be collectively held are in relation to the strengthening of the framing of the research role, and the ways in which the further specialisation of this role should be constructed.

Annexes

Annex I: Participation in interview. Informed consent

Doctoral Thesis: Knowledge, field and researchers. The production of academic knowledge in the intersections of psychology and education in Argentina (2000-2010)

Silvina Cimolai. Institute of Education. University of London

This research aims to analyse knowledge production from psychology about educational issues in Argentina, taking into account both the knowledge being produced as well as the ways in which academics conceive the role of researcher in the intersections of psychology and education.

The study focuses on the faculties of psychology of Argentinian public universities. It is collecting information on research projects conducted in the past 10 years and publications and reports associated with these projects. Additionally, interviews with academics involved in the production of knowledge in the field are being undertaken, as well as interviews with members of the research offices of the faculty.

The interview with the academic is estimated to be one hour and a half long, but can be reduced or extended according to the preference of the interviewee. It explores the following areas:

- Professional trajectory: e.g. past professional experiences in relation to becoming a researcher in the psycho-educational field, different professional activities carried out along the years, and knowledge interests.
- Research projects in which the interviewee has participated: e.g. origins of the project, personal motivations, expected impact of the project, organisation of work within the research team.
- Research on psycho-educational topics in the faculty: e.g. present trends in the field, place of psycho-educational knowledge in the faculties, aspects that facilitate and/or hamper research practices in the faculty.

To facilitate the interview, academics are asked, if possible, to provide access to a copy of their cv prior to the meeting. This helps the researcher to avoid spending interview time on factual questions about their training and professional experience and make the interview more dynamic, enabling a more reflexive dialogue about academics' views and their professional experiences.

The information collected in the interviews, as well as the cv, are treated confidentially and anonymously. Only the researcher and her supervisors will have access to the documents. In the writing of the research report, special care will be taken to avoid the interviewee being identified.

This research does not aim to evaluate the research projects being carried out. It rather seeks to provide a description of the knowledge being produced and the conditions and traditions in which the research practice is undertaken.

The research project is part of my doctoral studies at the Institute of Education, University of London. It is being undertaken under the supervision of Professors William Gibson and Andrew Brown and the first part of the study was conducted with the support of an Alban scholarship from the European Union.

If you would like to participate in the interview, please send me your consent by e-mail together with your cv. If you have decided to participate in the interview but later decide that you do not feel comfortable with your participation in the process, you will be able to inform the researcher of your decision and the transcripts from the interview, as well all the other documents shared with the researcher, will be discarded and not used in this thesis.

Annex II: Interview guide to academics

Professional trajectories

Prior to the interview I will analyse the information provided in their cvs with respect to their present and past professional experiences. I will prepare specific questions for each case. In the cases where they did not provide the cv, I will ask here about academic degree, most important professional experiences, and research in which they have participated.

- 1. How did you end up working producing knowledge related to psychology and education? What events of your past experience do you identify as the ones that oriented you to work in knowledge producing practices in the psychoeducational field?
- 2. What are your present professional activities? Which ones do you enjoy most and why?
- 3. What place does the research activity have within all the activities you do? How much time do you spend in knowledge producing activities in comparison to the other professional activities?
- 4. How would you define yourself as a professional? (e.g. psychologist, researcher, professor)
- 5. What would you like to do in the future? (With respect to their profession in general and with respect to the problems they would like to analyse)

Knowledge produced

- 6. What issues or problems are you currently investigating? Why? Why do you think they are interesting / important?
- 7. Which kind of theoretical frameworks (or authors) are useful to you? Why?
- 8. What methods of enquiry are you using? Why?
- 9. In what field or subject area would you define your knowledge production work?
- 10. How and where you usually disseminate the research findings?
- 11. Who do you consider is your audience? Who reads your publications? Would you like to have another type of audience? Which one?

About the current research project:

- 12. What is the background of the research project? How did the project begin and what were the reasons for it?
- 13. Do you receive any funding to carry out the research project? In what kind of activities do you use the funding?
- 14. Who are the people who are working on the project and how was the team created? How do you work in the team? How does the team organise the division of labour?

- 15. What are, in your opinion, the main contributions of the project to the psychoeducational field of knowledge and to the improvement of professional practices?
- 16. Do you have discussions or working links with other professionals producing knowledge in the country or abroad? With whom?

The psycho-educational field in the faculties

- 17. What is the place that the psycho-educational knowledge has, in your opinion, in the psychology faculty? Has it varied across the years?
- 18. In your opinion, which are the present fashions or trends of the psychoeducational field? Have they varied recently? What are the reasons for the present trends?
- 19. What are, in your opinion, the neglected areas (in terms of scopes, topics, and theoretical and methodological approaches) of the psycho-educational field in the faculties? Why do you think these issues are important?

Research and being a researcher at the faculty

- 20. What is the place that research activities have in the faculty at present?
- 21. Do you think that the role of the researcher has changed in the last years in the faculty? How?
- 22. How would you evaluate the research practices being carried out in your faculty? What are the positive and negative aspects of these practices?
- 23. How do you think your institution contributes to and /or hampers the practices of knowledge production? Which is the role you consider the institution should have?
- 24. What can be done, in your opinion, to improve research practices in your faculty?
- 25. What is being a researcher for you?
- 26. How would you define a good research project?

Annex III: Research projects

Title, institution and reference number of the research projects selected. Total: 246

Research project title (Spanish)	Research project title (English)	Institution	Reference
Trayectorias Educativas y Laborales en Jóvenes	Work and educational trajectories of young people	UBA	1
La Construcción del Conocimiento Social: Problemas Teóricos a partir de Indagaciones Psicogenéticas	The construction of social knowledge: Theoretical problems from a psychogenetic approach	UBA	2
Escuela, Salud y Prácticas Cotidianas	School, health and everyday practices	UBA	3
Escenarios y actuaciones: La Enseñanza de la Psicología en la UBA desde la Noche de los Bastones Largos hasta la Creación de la Facultad (1966/1985)	Scenarios and performances: the teaching of psychology at the UBA from the "night of the long sticks" to the creation of the faculty (1966/1985)	UBA	4
Evaluación Escolar de Aprendizajes Cotidianos. Esquemas Interpretativos de los Docentes	School assessment of everyday learning. Teachers' interpretive schemes	UBA	5
El Rol del Psicólogo en la Institución Educativa. Herramientas y Modalidades de Intervención. Su Vinculación con el Aprendizaje del Alumno	The role of psychologists in educational institutions. Tools and methods of intervention. Its links to students' learning	UBA	6
El Resumen. Fundamentación y Diseño de Situaciones Didácticas: Iniciación Temprana del Proceso Constructivo.	The summary of academic texts. Rationale and design of didactic situations: Early initiation of the construction process	UBA	7
Génesis de la Noción de Gobierno en Niños y Adolescentes y Cambio Conceptual	Genesis of the notion of government in children and adolescents and conceptual change	UBA	8
El Uso de Analogías en la Enseñanza de las Ciencia: Propuesta y Puesta a Prueba de un Modelo Semántico Pragmático	The use of analogies in science teaching: Proposal and testing of a semantic pragmatic model	UBA	9
Evaluación y Modelo Psicométricos en los Procesos de Adquisición de Aptitudes Intelectuales y en las Prácticas Educacionales	Psychometrics models and evaluation in the process of acquisition of intellectual skills and in educational practices	UBA	10
Psicología en Argentina: Indicios, Antecedentes y Modalidades de Formación Sistemática. Presencia en la Profesionalización Universitaria	Psychology in Argentina: evidence, antecedents and modalities for the systematic training. Presence in the university professionalization	UBA	11
Riesgos en la Infancia: Factores Psíquicos que Restringen los Procesos de Simbolización	Childhood risk factors: Psychic factors that constrains the symbolization processes	UBA	12
Cambio Psíquico: Caracterización Psicopatológica, Proceso Psicoterapéutico y Contexto Psicoeducativo. Un Estudio de Escolares de Hogares Pobres	Psychic change: psychopathological characterization, psychotherapy and psycho-educational context. A study of students from poor households	UBA	13
Estudio de las Actitudes Prosociales en Niños de Edad Escolar	Study of prosocial attitudes in school-age children	UBA	14
La Construcción de Objetos Psicológicos en el desarrollo Académico de la Psicología en Argentina	The construction of psychological objects in the academic development of psychology in Argentina	UBA	15

La Constitución del Campo de la Psicología en la Argentina en el Siglo 20. Disciplina Académica, Comunidad Profesional e Implantación Cultural	The constitution of the field of psychology in Argentina in the 20th century. Academic discipline, professional community and cultural development	UBA	16
La Práctica de Estudiantes de Psicología en Contextos Situacionales Problematizados. Su Incidencia en la Expansión de Conocimientos y Motivaciones y en la Diversidad y Heterogeneidad de Miradas. Tensiones que Atraviesan Prácticas del Psicólogo en Educación	Practices of psychology students in context. Its impact on the expansion of knowledge and the motivations. Heterogeneity of positions. Tensions in the educational psychologist practice	UBA	17
Trayectorias Inserción en Contextos Significativos y Construcción Identitaria de los Jóvenes	Youth trajectories of insertion in significant contexts and identity construction	UBA	18
Aplicaciones de la Teoría de Respuesta al Ítem a la Modelización de Constructos de Habilidades de Razonamiento y de Actitudes.	Applications of the Item Response Theory to the modeling of the Reasoning Skills and Attitudes constructs	UBA	19
Problemas teóricos en investigaciones sobre conocimiento social en los niños	Theoretical issues in research on social cognition in children	UBA	20
Evaluación del Riesgo Depresivo y Suicida en Niños y Adolescentes Escolarizados de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires	Assessment of depression and suicide risk in schooled children and adolescents in the City of Buenos Aires	UBA	21
Representaciones de Cuidado y Salud en Docentes y Padres de Nivel Inicial	Representations of care and health in teachers and parents of initial education	UBA	22
Habilidades Metacognitivas y Sistemas de Actividad	Metacognitive skills and activity systems	UBA	23
Debates y Experiencias en la Conformación del Campo Profesional de la Psicología en la UBA. Comienzo y Expansión	Debates and experiences in the conformation of the professional field of psychology at the UBA. Beginnings and expansion	UBA	24
Relaciones Familia - Escuela en Aprendizajes Cotidianos	School and family relationships in everyday learning	UBA	25
Construcción de Modelos Mentales para Problemas de Intervención Profesional en Estudiantes de Psicología y Musicoterapia. Participación en Comunidades de Practica y Aprendizaje Situado	Construction of mental models of professional practices in psychology and music-therapy students. Participation in communities of practice and situated learning	UBA	26
Intervenciones Docentes e Interacciones entre Pares en una Secuencia de Enseñanza de Construcción de Resúmenes de Textos Expositivos Complejos	Teachers' interventions and peer interactions in a teaching sequence for the construction of academic summaries of complex texts	UBA	27
El Comportamiento de Acercamiento en la Interacción Social de Niños Maltratados de Edad Pre-Escolar, en Ámbito Extrafamiliar	Social interaction approach of abused children in initial education	UBA	28
El proceso inferencial clínico. Psicólogos y médicos en formación en el área de Salud Mental	The clinical inferential process. Psychologists and doctors in the training in the mental health area	UBA	29
Comprensión del gobierno nacional en adolescentes y jóvenes adultos. Consecuencia	Understanding of the concept of national government in adolescents and young adults	UBA	30
Bases Neurobiológicas del Aprendizaje: Predicción, Expectativa y Frustración	Neurobiological basis of learning: prediction, expectation and frustration	UBA	31
Evaluación de los Aprendizajes, Razonamientos y Producciones Escritas de Estudiantes Universitarios	Assessment of learning, reasoning and written productions university students	UBA	32

Problemas de Aprendizaje: Compromiso Psíquico e Intervenciones Clínicas Especificas	Learning disabilities: psychic issues and specific clinical interventions	UBA	33
La Construcción de Objetos de Conocimiento en el Desarrollo de la Psicología en Argentina	The construction of knowledge objects in the development of psychology in Argentina	UBA	34
La Mediación Pedagógica y el Autoaprendizaje en Lengua Extranjera	Pedagogical mediations and self-learning of foreing languages	UBA	35
La Psicología y el Psicoanálisis en la Argentina: Disciplina, Tramas Intelectuales, Representaciones Sociales y Prácticas	Psychology and psychoanalysis in Argentina: discipline, intellectual frames, social representations and practices	UBA	36
Evaluación de la Aplicación de Modelos de Resolución de Problemas sobre la Funcionalidad de Clases Escolares	Assessment of problem solving models on the functionality of school classes	UBA	37
Juridicidad y Socialización en el Contexto Escolar y Familiar: Análisis de Experiencias Formadoras de Normas como Precursoras del Desarrollo Cognitivo, en Niños/as de 3 a 6 Años	Legality and socialisation in the school and the family context: Analysis of experiences promoting the development of norms as precursors of cognitive development in children of 3-6 years old	UBA	38
Nuevas Tecnologías: Compromiso Psíquico y Producción Simbólica.	New Information and Communication Technologies: Psychic engagement and symbolic production	UBA	39
Perfiles Aptitudinales, Estilos de Pensamiento y Rendimiento Académico: Una Perspectiva para el Estudio de Modelos de Organización Cognitiva.	Attitudinal profiles, thinking styles and academic performance: a perspective for the study of cognitive models	UBA	40
La Estructura Académica del Sistema Educativo como Canalizadora de la Distribución de Saberes: Un Análisis Histórico desde la Perspectiva de la Política Educacional. Período Fundacional del Sistema Educativo Nacional hasta la Sanción de la Ley Federal	The academic structure of the education system as a channel for the distribution of knowledge: a historical analysis from the perspective of educational policy. From the foundational period of the national education system to the sanction of the Federal Education act	UBA	41
Imagen Corporal y Trastornos Alimentarios en Estudiantes de Ballet	Body image and eating disorders in ballet students	UBA	42
Maltrato entre Iguales como Expresión de la Violencia Interpersonal. Construcción de un Instrumento para Evaluar su Incidencia en Contextos Escolares.	Peer abuse as an expression of interpersonal. Construction of an instrument to assess its impact on school contexts	UBA	43
El Trabajo en los Jóvenes Escolarizados: Significado del Trabajo, Actitudes ante el Trabajo y Experiencia Laboral	Work and schooled youth: Meanings and attitudes towards work	UBA	44
Procesos cognitivos en la comprensión de textos: Procedimientos de revisión de textos expositivos y su interacción con el conocimiento previo específico y la capacidad de la memoria de trabajo	Cognitive processes in reading comprehension: Review procedures of expository texts and their interaction with specific prior knowledge and the working memory capacity	UBA	45
Educación para la Orientación y Construcción de Proyectos e Identidad Personal de los Jóvenes	'Education for guidance' and youth's construction of life projects and individual identity	UBA	46
Representaciones Sociales del Trabajo y del Estudio en Jóvenes de Distintos Niveles de Escolaridad de la Escuela Media	Social representations of work and study in young people in secondary schools	UBA	47

El Perfil Psicológico de la Población y el Comportamiento Cívico-Político y Económico en los Estudiantes Universitarios Metropolitanos	Psychological profile and civil-political and economic behavior of metropolitan university students	UBA	48
Procesos Psicoeducativos y Participación. Vida Cotidiana en Educación Escolar y No- Escolar	Psycho-educational processes and participation. Everyday educational practices in school and out-of-school settings	UBA	49
Desarrollo del Pensamiento Crítico en Alumnos Ingresantes a la UBA. Estudio de la Trayectoria Educativa: Promoción y Desgranamiento	Development of critical thinking in new students at the University of Buenos Aires. Study of the educational trajectory: promotion and drop-out	UBA	50
La Traza Didáctica. Recuperación de Huellas de Maestros en la Formación de los Primeros Psicólogos en la UBA (1957-1966).	The 'didactical trace'. Recovery of the 'footprints' of leading professors in the training of the first psychologists in the UBA (1957-1966)	UBA	51
Aprendizaje Situado. Interactividad y Sistemas de Apoyo del Aprendizaje Escolar en la Escuela y en la Familia	Situated learning. Interactivity and support systems for school learning in the school and in the family	UBA	52
Los Psicólogos y la Fragmentación de la Experiencia Educativa: Modelos Mentales y Sistemas de Actividad para el Análisis y la Intervención en Problemas Situados en Contextos.	Psychologists and the fragmentation of the educational experience: mental models and activity systems for the analysis and intervention in context	UBA	53
Factores Salugénicos, Ajuste Psicológico y Rendimiento Académico en Estudiantes de Nivel Medio y Universitario	Salugenic factors, psychological adjustment and academic achievement in secondary school and university students	UBA	54
Evaluación de Conductas y Cogniciones Relacionadas con los Trastornos de la Conducta Alimentaria en Estudiantes Universitarios.	Assessing behaviors and cognition eating disorders in university students	UBA	55
Factores Cognitivos y Actitudinales Implicados en Sistemas de Personalización y de Tutoría Virtual en Programas de E-Learning Aplicados a la Enseñanza de la Psicología	Cognitive and attitudinal factors involved in customization of learning systems and virtual tutoring in E-learning programmes applied to the teaching of psychology	UBA	56
Autoridad, Ley Simbólica y Subjetivación en las Instituciones Educativas de Nivel Medio. Paradojas de una Relación Subjetivante	Authority, symbolic law and subjectivity in secondary schools. Paradoxes of relations that conforms subjectivity	UBA	57
Un Estudio sobre Perfeccionismo en Estudiantes Universitarios Argentinos y su Relación con Malestar Psicológico, Percepción de Calidad de Vida y Rendimiento Académico	A study on perfectionism in Argentinian university students and its relation to psychological malaise. Perceived quality of life and academic achievement	UBA	58
De la Lectocomprensión de Textos Académicos en Lengua Extranjera a la Lectura en Lengua Materna: Un Diálogo (In)Audible entre las Lenguas en un Espacio Fractal	From the reading comprehension of academic texts in a foreign language to the reading in a mother tongue language: an (in)audible dialogue between languages on a fractal space	UBA	59
El Uso de la Voz en la Enseñanza de la Musicoterapia	The use of the voice in the teaching of music-therapy	UBA	60
Observatorio de los Usos de las Tics en Jóvenes Ingresantes a la Universidad de Buenos Aires y su Relación con la Construcción de Estrategias Didácticas.	Observatory of ICT uses in youth initiating their studies at the University of Buenos Aires and its relation to the construction of teaching strategies	UBA	61

Desarrolio de la Sensibilidad Moral en devolación de los Aprendizajes de Estudiantes Construcción de Modelos Innovadores de Evaluación de los Aprendizajes de Estudiantes Construcción de los Aprendizajes de Estudiantes Construcción de Textos de Estudia en Intervención de Intervención de Textos de Intervención de Intervención de Construcción de Textos de Intervención de Intervención de Construcción de Intervención de Construcción de Construcción de Construcción de Intervención de Construcción de Construcción de Intervención de Construcción de Intervención de Construcción de Intervención d				
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Inspicancias del sistema opiáceo en la mondulación de aprendizajes mediados por el elanol. Vertientes de la Psicología Académica y Praxiológica en Córdoba. Desarrollo y consolidación de la Psicología Básica, Corientación Vocacional y Clínica en la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba Los procesos de institucionalización de la psicología del a Universidad Nacional de Córdoba Los procesos de institucionalización de la psicología de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba Los procesos de institucionalización de la psicología como disciplina independiente: un estudio del archivo de la Facultad de Psicología de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba The construction of prosocial behavior in children and adolescents in the city of Córdoba (Phase II) El proceso de construcción de la identidad profesional en prácticas pre-profesionales. Valor biográfico de una experiencia de aprendizaje El rol de la escuela en la formación de jóvenes resilientes: evaluación de un programa de intervención de habilidades sociales. Sentidos sobre el trabajo y la educación en poblaciones problemáticas contribución de las aptitudes, autoeficacia, intereses y rasgos	Aprendizaje durante la temprana ontogenia: implicancias del sistema opiáceo en la modulación de aprendizajes mediados por el etanol.	of the opioid system in the modulation of	UNC	1
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psychology as an independent discipline: a study of the archive of the Faculty of Psychology at the National University of Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes in the city of Córdoba The construction prosocial behavior in children and adolescents in the city of Córdoba (Phase II) The construction process of professional identity in pre -professional training. Biographical value of a learning experience The role of the school in the education of resilient youth: evaluation of a program for the development of social skills Sentidos sobre el trabajo y la educación en disadvantaged populations UNC 8 Sentidos sobre el trabajo y la educación de la sadvantaged populations An explanatory model of academic achievement in mathematics: skills, selfactive y intereste and personality traits efficav, intereste and personality traits	Vertientes de la Psicología Académica y Praxiológica en Córdoba. Desarrollo y consolidación de la Psicología Básica, Orientación Vocacional y Clínica en la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba	psychology in Córdoba. Development and consolidation of basic psychology, vocational guidance and clinical orientation	UNC	3
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children and adolescents in the city of Córdoba. Fase II El proceso de construcción de la identidad profesional en prácticas pre-profesionales. Valor biográfico de una experiencia de aprendizaje El rol de la escuela en la formación de jóvenes resilientes: evaluación de un programa de intervención de habilidades sociales. Sentidos sobre el trabajo y la educación en poblaciones problemáticas UNC The construction process of professional training. Biographical value of a learning experience The role of the school in the education of resilient youth: evaluation of a program for the development of social skills Meanings on work and education in disadvantaged populations UNC 9 An explanatory model of academic achievement in mathematics: skills, self-efficacy, interests and personality traits	La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba	children and adolescents in the city of	UNC	5
profesional en prácticas pre-profesionales. Valor biográfico de una experiencia de aprendizaje El rol de la escuela en la formación de jóvenes resilientes: evaluación de un programa de intervención de habilidades sociales. Sentidos sobre el trabajo y la educación en poblaciones problemáticas UNC The role of the school in the education of resilient youth: evaluation of a program for the development of social skills Meanings on work and education in disadvantaged populations UNC 9 An explanatory model of academic achievement in mathematics: skills, self-efficacy, interests and personality traits	La construcción de conductas prosociales en niños y adolescentes de la Ciudad de Córdoba. Fase II	children and adolescents in the city of	UNC	6
resilientes: evaluación de un programa de intervención de habilidades sociales. Sentidos sobre el trabajo y la educación en poblaciones problemáticas UNC 9 Meanings on work and education in disadvantaged populations UNC 9 UNC 10 An explanatory model of academic achievement in mathematics: skills, selfereficacy, interests and personality traits	El proceso de construcción de la identidad profesional en prácticas pre-profesionales. Valor biográfico de una experiencia de aprendizaje	identity in pre -professional training.	UNC	7
Un modelo explicativo del rendimiento académico en matemáticas: contribución de las aptitudes, autoeficacia, intereses y rasgos disadvantaged populations An explanatory model of academic achievement in mathematics: skills, self-efficacy, interests and personality traits	El rol de la escuela en la formación de jóvenes resilientes: evaluación de un programa de intervención de habilidades sociales.	resilient youth: evaluation of a program for	UNC	8
académico en matemáticas: contribución de las aptitudes, autoeficacia, intereses y rasgos efficacy, interests and personality traits	Sentidos sobre el trabajo y la educación en poblaciones problemáticas		UNC	9
	Un modelo explicativo del rendimiento académico en matemáticas: contribución de las aptitudes, autoeficacia, intereses y rasgos de personalidad	achievement in mathematics: skills, self-	UNC	10

Intervenciones en Psicología Social- Comunitaria: Sentidos y resultados de las prácticas pre-profesionales que realizan estudiantes de la Facultad de Psicología de la UNC	Interventions in social-community psychology: Meanings and results of preprofessional practices of students in the Faculty of Psychology at UNC	UNC	11
Evaluación de un modelo explicativo del rendimiento académico en matemática	Evaluation of an explanatory model of academic achievement in mathematics	UNC	12
Normas sociales y actitudes como predictores del uso de condón en el sexo vaginal en estudiantes universitarios femeninos ¿Varía su peso en función del individualismocolectivismo?	Social norms and attitudes as predictors of condom use during vaginal sex in female university students. Variations depending on the individualism – collectivism	UNC	13
Procesos socioculturales y educación en equidad de género	Sociocultural processes and education in gender equity	UNC	14
Normas sociales y actitudes como predictores del uso de condón en el sexo vaginal en estudiantes universitarios masculinos: ¿Varía su peso en función del individualismocolectivismo?	Social norms and attitudes as predictors of condom use during vaginal sex in male university students. Variations depending on the individualism – collectivism	UNC	15
Estrategias de aprendizaje y afrontamiento en estudiantes universitarios con elevada ansiedad ante los exámenes	Learning strategies and coping in university students with high test anxiety	UNC	16
Estudio de las habilidades clínicas para la entrevista psicológica en el ámbito de instituciones sanitarias públicas en el marco del programa de prácticas pre-profesionales de la Facultad de Psicología de UNC	Study of clinical psychological interview skills in the field of public health institutions in the context of pre-professional practices in the Faculty of Psychology of UNC	UNC	17
Ansiedad frente a los exámenes en estudiantes universitarios. Tratamiento y correlatos	Anxiety in exams in university students. Treatment and correlates	UNC	18
Diseño de un instrumento para evaluar competencias de investigación	Design of an instrument for assessing research skills	UNC	19
Estudio comparativo de las estrategias de enseñanza en el aprendizaje de contenidos de la asignatura biología evolutiva humana en alumnos de la Facultad de Psicología de la UNC Años 2008 y 2009	Comparative study of teaching strategies for learning contents in the evolutionary biology course in students of the Faculty of Psychology at UNC. 2008 and 2009	UNC	20
El aprendizaje y sus dificultades a nivel superior. Fase 2	Learning and its difficulties in higher education. Phase 2	UNC	21
Estudio comparativo de las estrategias de enseñanza integradas lógico-verbales y visuo-espaciales en el aprendizaje en alumnos universitarios	Comparative study of teaching strategies integrating logical- verbal and visuo -spatial in learning of university students	UNC	22
Construcción de una escala de autoeficacia para la comprensión lectora	Construction of a self-efficacy scale for reading comprehension	UNC	23
El aprendizaje y sus dificultades a nivel superior. Indagación acerca de causas que determinan dificultades para aprender y/o avanzar en la UNC. Fase 3	Learning and its difficulties in higher education. Inquiry about the causes that determine learning difficulties and / or advance at the UNC. Phase 3	UNC	24
Efectos de la inducción de estados emocionales positivos y negativos sobre las creencias de autoeficacia académica de estudiantes universitarios	Effects of the induction of positive and negative emotional states on academic self-efficacy beliefs of university students	UNC	25
La producción textual infantil en contexto informático	Childrens' text production in computers	UNC	26

Escuela media, sujetos y conflictos. De sentidos, rutinas y proyectos	Secondary school, subjects and conflicts. Meanings, routines and projects	UNC	27
Los niños escriben textos informativos- científicos en la computadora	Children write informative and scientific texts on computer	UNC	28
Escuela media, sujetos y conflictos. Relaciones y experiencias juveniles	Secondary school, subjects and conflicts. Relationships and youth experiences	UNC	29
Un modelo social cognitivo del rendimiento académico en lengua. La contribución adicional de la estructura percibida de las metas de la enseñanza.	A social cognitive model of academic achievement in Language. The additional contribution of the perceived structure of the goals of education	UNC	30
Conocimientos, usos y actitudes sobre las TICS de los alumnos de institutos superiores no universitarios para docencia del nivel medio para la aplicación de TICS en futuras estrategias pedagógicas	Knowledge, practices and attitudes about ICT in tertiary education students for the implementation of ICT in future pedagogical strategies	UNC	31
Construcción y adaptación de escalas para identificación de niños talentosos	Construction and adaptation of scales to identify gifted children	UNC	32
Adaptación de la escala de ansiedad de LIEBOWITZ a estudiantes universitarios (UNC)	Adapatation of Liebowitz anxiety scale to university students at UNC	UNC	33
Educación superior y salud. Las adicciones en estudiantes universitarios	Higher education and health. Addictions in university students	UNC	34
Análisis de propiedades psicométricas del instrumento para evaluar competencias en investigación. Elaboración de materiales definitivos de la prueba.	Analysis of psychometric properties of an instrument for assessing competences in research	UNC	35
Aproximaciones a las estrategias que utilizan los docentes de primaria de la Ciudad de Córdoba en relación a las expresiones de las nuevas subjetividades que tienen lugar en la escuela	Strategies deployed by primary teachers of the City of Córdoba in relation to the new subjectivities that take place in school	UNC	36
Los problemas de lectura y escritura de textos expositivos científicos	Reading and writing difficulties of scientific expository texts	UNC	37
Las prácticas de lectura y escritura en situaciones de estudio en el segundo ciclo de escolaridad primaria	Reading and writing practices in academic situations in the second cycle of primary schooling	UNC	38
La enseñanza y el aprendizaje de la Psicología: estudio de la práctica docente en profesores y principiantes	The teaching and learning of psychology: study of teaching practice in professors and new teachers	UNLP	1
Investigación evaluativa sobre estrategias de orientación vocacional-ocupacional integral para revertir la inequidad psicosocial	Evaluative research of strategies for vocational-occupational guidance to tackle psycho-social inequality	UNLP	2
Perspectivas docentes sobre la inclusión de niños con discapacidades en la escolaridad primaria básica	Teachers' perspectives on the educational inclusion of children with disabilities in basic primary school	UNLP	3
El desarrollo del conocimiento profesional del psicólogo: estudio de graduados de la U.N.L.P.; su inserción en el campo educativo	The development of the professional knowledge of psychologists: A study of graduates of the UNLP, their insertion in the educational field	UNLP	4
De la alfabetización emergente a la alfabetización académica: su evaluación y promoción	From emergent literacy to academic literacy: assessment and promotion	UNLP	5

Concepciones de docentes de Nivel Inicial sobre su rol de mediador social en la inclusión de niños con capacidades educativas derivadas de las discapacidades	Conceptions of teachers in initial education on their role as mediators in the social inclusion of children with disabilities	UNLP	6
Abandono universitario - Estrategias de Inclusión	University drop-out. Inclusion Strategies	UNLP	7
El psicólogo en el contexto escolar: relaciones entre formación y práctica profesional	The psychologist in the school context: relationships between training and practice	UNLP	8
La lectura y la escritura académicas en los primeros años de la carrera de Psicología de la UNLP. Su impacto en el aprendizaje de los estudiantes	Academic reading and writing in the first years in the Psychology degree at the UNLP. Its impact on student learning	UNLP	9
Comprensión lectora y producción escrita. Desempeño y autopercepción de los alumnos universitarios de psicología	Reading comprehension and written production. Performance and self-perception of university students in psychology	UNLP	10
Autoestima, estrés escolar y ritmo circadiano de cortisol en niños con desórdenes genéticos	Self-esteem, school stress and circadian rhythm of cortisol in children with genetic disorders	UNMP	1
El desarrollo moral infantil en la educación inicial y en el primer ciclo de la EGB	Children's moral development in early childhood education and the first cycle of EGB	UNMP	2
Factores psicológicos en la constitución de la moralidad. Instituciones y posiciones subjetivas	Psychological factors in the constitution of morality. Institutions and subject positions. I	UNMP	3
Factores psicológicos en la constitución de la moralidad. Instituciones y posiciones subjetivas (II)	Psychological factors in the constitution of morality. Institutions and subject positions. II.	UNMP	4
Factores psicológicos en la constitución de la moralidad. Instituciones y posiciones subjetivas. III	Psychological factors in the constitution of morality. Institutions and subject positions.	UNMP	5
Identificación de modalidades de bullying y sus efectos en la subjetividad del niño y del adolescente agredido	Identifying patterns of bullying and its effects on the subjectivity of the child and adolescent assaulted	UNMP	6
Posición subjetiva en relación con la ley de los actores intervinientes en las modalidades de bullying	Subjective positioning in relation to the symbolic law in actors involved in bullying situations'	UNMP	7
Socialización y autoconcepto: Evaluación de los efectos de la socialización parental en la formación del autoconcepto en adolescentes argentinos	Socialisation and self-concept: Assessment of the effects of parental socialisation in the formation of the self-concept in Argentinian adolescents	UNMP	8
Antecedentes de los estudios psicológicos en Mar del Plata y prospectiva en el marco de la Psicología como profesión regulada.	History of psychological studies in Mar del Plata in the context of psychology as a regulated profession	UNMP	9
Metaevaluación en procesos de acreditación y/o certificación en Psicología	Meta-evaluation of processes of accreditation and/or certification in psychology	UNMP	10
Formación en Psicología: competencias investigativas en el grado académico	Training in psychology: investigative skills in the undergraduate level	UNMP	11
El desarrollo de un diseño pedagógico desde un enfoque socioconstructivista, para situaciones de enseñanza aprendizaje mediadas por computadora	The development of a pedagogical design from a socio-constructivist approach to teaching and learning situations mediated by computers	UNMP	12
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Los componentes del diseño pedagógico socioconstructivista: interacción y tutorías. Impacto sobre el logro académico en proceso de enseñanza a distancia.	The components of the socio-constructivist instructional design: interaction and tutoeing. Impact on academic achievement in distance learning process	UNMP	13
Diseño curricular por competencias y criterios de evaluación para la formación de tutores e- learning	Competency curriculum and evaluation criteria for the training of e- learning tutors	UNMP	14
Estilos de aprendizaje del nativo digital. Aportes para el perfil del nuevo estudiante universitario	Learning styles of the digital native. Contributions to the construction of the profile of the new university student	UNMP	15
El impacto de la evaluación en la motivación de los estudiantes en la educación a distancia	The impact of the assessment on students' motivation in distance education	UNMP	16
El papel de la motivación en el continuo presencial-distancia. Nuevos escenarios y actores en la construcción de identidades educativas	The role of motivation in the face-to-face and virtual continuum. New scenarios and actors in the construction of educational identities. I	UNMP	17
Análisis e indagación de la vinculación entre los componentes teórico-empíricos de la educación a distancia y la motivación de los estudiantes de cursos y carreras de la modalidad	Analysis and investigation of the link between the theoretical and empirical components of distance education and the motivation of the students of diatance education courses and degrees	UNMP	18
Perspectivas y confluencias en el análisis de las motivaciones de los estudiantes en la educación a distancia.	Perspectives and confluences in the analysis of the motivations of students in distance education	UNMP	19
El papel de la motivación en el continuo presencial-distancia. Nuevos escenarios y actores en la construcción de identidades	The role of motivation in the face to face - distance continuum. New scenarios and actors in the construction of identities. II	UNMP	20
Determinantes en la elección de la carrera en alumnos nativos y migrantes de la Facultad de Psicología	Determinants in the career choice in native and migrant students of the Faculty of Psychology	UNMP	21
Diseño e implementación de dispositivos de intervención para la optimización de los procesos de comprensión lectora y producción textual en la Educación Superior	Design and implementation of devices for improving reading comprehension and text production in Higher Education	UNMP	22
Alfabetización Académica: Diseño e implementación de dispositivos de intervención para la optimización de los procesos de comprensión lectora y producción textual en la Educación Superior.	Academic Literacy: Design and implementation of devices for the improvement of reading comprehension and text production processes in higher education	UNMP	23
Ingreso, permanencia y desempeño académico de ingresantes a la facultad de psicología de la Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata. Estudios comparativo de las cohortes 2007-2008-2009 según modalidades de ingreso	Entry, stay and academic performance of new entrants to the psychology department of the National University of Mar del Plata. Comparative studies of cohorts in 2007-2008-2009 according to the admission modalities	UNMP	24
Ingreso, permanencia y desempeño académico de ingresantes al colegio nacional Dr. Arturo U. Illia. Estudio comparativo según modalidades de ingreso	Admission, retention and academic performance of new students at the National College Dr. Arthur U. Illia. Comparative study of admission modalities	UNMP	25
Valores, Ética y Práctica científica. La percepción social de la dimensión ética de las prácticas científicas, en los alumnos de la Facultad de Psicología de la Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata	Values, ethics and scientific practice. The social perception of the ethical dimension of scientific practices in the students of the School of Psychology at the National University of Mar del Plata. I	UNMP	26

Valores, Ética y Práctica científica II. La percepción social de la dimensión ética de las prácticas científicas en los alumnos avanzados de la Lic. en Psicología de la UNMdP.	Values, ethics and scientific practice. The social perception of the ethical dimension of scientific practices in the students of the School of Psychology at the National University of Mar del Plata. II	UNMP	27
Estudio evolutivo de la fluidez verbal en niños normales en edad escolar (6 a 12 años de edad, 1º a 6º año de EGB), pertenecientes a dos niveles socioeconómicos diferentes	Evolutionary study of verbal fluency in normal school-age children (6-12 years old, 1st to 6th year of EGB), from two different socioeconomic levels	UNMP	28
Universidad y mercado de trabajo: análisis de trayectorias laborales	University and the labour market: analysis of labour trajectories	UNMP	29
Condiciones de trabajo y construcción de la identidad profesional en trabajadores en salud mental y educación media del sector público en el Partido de General Pueyrredón	Working conditions and construction of professional identity in mental health and secondary education workers in General Pueyrredón	UNMP	30
Trayectorias Formativas y Prácticas Laborales de los Estudios Avanzados de la UNMdP	Educational trajectories and labour practices of students of the National University of Mar del Plata (UNMP)	UNMP	31
Jóvenes, estudio y trabajo. Sobre trayectorias, cursos de vida y construcción de identidades en contextos de inestabilidad	Young people, study and work. On trajectories, life paths, and construction of identities in contexts of instability	UNMP	32
Formas solidarias de organización productiva. Transmisión generacional y perspectivas de género en la producción de subjetividad	Solidary forms of productive organisation. Cross-generational transmission and gender perspectives in the production of subjectivity	UNMP	33
Formas solidarias de Organización Productiva. Transmisión Generacional y de creencias colectivas en torno al trabajo en emprendimientos familiares en la ciudad de Mar del Plata.	Productive organisation and forms of solidarity. Generational transmission of collective beliefs about work in family enterprises in the city of Mar del Plata transmission	UNMP	34
La representación social de la carrera de Psicología, en el ingresante y su percepción del rol profesional	The social representation of the psychology degree in the new entrants to the degree and their perception of the professional role	UNMP	35
EVEA (Entornos Virtuales de Enseñanza y Aprendizaje) Diseño y evaluación de los aspectos tecnológicos (plataformas) y pedagógicos, asociados a Modelos Educativos socioculturales	VTLE (Virtual Environments for Teaching and Learning). Design and evaluation of the technological (platforms) and teaching aspects associated with sociocultural educational models	UNMP	36
Factores Psicológicos e Institucionales relacionados con el desempeño académico en la adolescencia	Psychological and institutional factors related to academic performance in adolescents	UNMP	37
Alfabetización y Psicología Cognitiva. Evaluación y programas de intervención para la optimización de los procesos de enseñanza aprendizaje de la lectoescritura en primer ciclo de EGB	Literacy and cognitive psychology. Evaluation and intervention programmes to optimize processes of learning of literacy in the first cicle of General Basic Education (EGB)	UNMP	38
El desarrollo de las funciones ejecutivas y el proceso de adquisición de la lectura	The development of executive functions and the process of reading acquisition	UNMP	39
Perfiles psicológicos y académicos de estudiantes universitarios. Aprendizaje, personalidad, cognición, salud mental y bienestar psicológico	Psychological and academic profiles of university students. Learning, personality, cognition, mental health and psychological well-being	UNMP	40
El desarrollo de las funciones ejecutivas, la atención y el aprendizaje de la lectura	The development of executive functions, attention and learning of reading	UNMP	41

Identificación y caracterización de la investigación psicológica empírica en Argentina a partir de la creación del Grado Académico	Identification and characterisation of empirical psychological research in Argentina from the creation of the academic degree in psychology	UNMP	42
Comunicación presencial y mediada por computadora. Procesos sociocognitivos comparados en entornos académicos	Face to face and computer-mediated communication. Comparative sociocognitive processes in academic settings	UNMP	43
Centralidad en redes sociocognitivas e influencia social. Incidencia de la naturaleza de la tarea y del canal utilizado	Centrality in sociocognitive networks and social influence. Effect of the type of tasks and the channel used	UNMP	44
Análisis de redes semánticas aplicadas a contenidos académicos. Métodos e instrumentos	Analysis of semantic networks applied to academic content. Methods and tools	UNMP	45
Mapeo de redes semánticas aplicado a Educación y Neuropsicología. Evaluación de la calidad de la respuestas	Mapping semantic networks applied to education and neuropsychology. Assessing the quality of responses	UNMP	46
Estabilidad de la memoria semántica de conceptos académicos	Semantic memory stability of academic concepts	UNMP	47
Intervención docente en la detección y derivación genética de niños que presentan características conductuales del síndrome X frágil en el nivel inicial de educación	Teachers' intervention in genetic screening and referral of children with behavioral characteristics of fragile X syndrome in the initial level education	UNMP	48
Análisis del impacto social, psicológico y educativo de la integración escolar de niños con Síndrome de Down.	Analysis of social, psychological and educational impact of school integration of children with Down syndrome	UNMP	49
Arqueología de las sanciones disciplinarias en la escuela	Archaeology of the disciplinary sanctions in schools	UNR	1
Cambios en la educación. Tecnología de control en espacios educativos	Changes in education. Control technology in educational spaces	UNR	2
El hecho estético como productor de subjetividad en los escenarios educativos	The aesthetic fact as producer of subjectivity in educational settings	UNR	3
Aportes teóricos e innovaciones didácticas para la enseñanza de la biología en la carrera de psicología de la UNR	Theoretical contributions and educational innovations for the teaching of biology in the psychology degree at the UNR	UNR	4
Los saberes institucionalizados: representaciones de los docentes acerca del lenguaje escrito. La enseñanza de la ortografía como dispositivo de control	Institutionalized knowledge: representations of teachers on the written language. The teaching of spelling as a control device	UNR	5
La incidencia de la tarea del adulto-docente en la producción de bullying, violencia entre pares, en el medio escolar	The incidence of the adult-teacher in the production of bullying, peer violence, in schools	UNR	6
Representaciones sociales sobre el aprendizaje grupal en alumnos universitarios	Social representations of group learning in university students	UNR	7
Las modalidades de relaciones interpersonales en la vida cotidiana de jóvenes universitarios de la ciudad de Rosario	The modalities of interpersonal relationships in everyday life of young university students in the city of Rosario	UNR	8
Prevención y atención de problemáticas educativas	Prevention and intervention over educational problems	UNR	9
Enseñar y aprender en entornos virtuales en la universidad	Teaching and learning in virtual environments at university	UNR	10
Estrategias de intervención didácticas e investigativas tendientes a la construcción del campo educativo como experiencia cultural	Teaching and research strategies aimed at building the educational field as a cultural experience	UNR	11

La problemática del ingresante a la carrera de Psicología de la UNR 12 Posibilidades preventivas de la utilización de problemó proposition de la terretario infenti como recurso simbólico e inaginario en niños y niñas en situacion de violente diferente infenti como recurso simbólico e inaginario en niños y niñas en situacion de violente diferente infenti como recurso simbólico e inaginario en niños y niñas en situacion de violente diferente in situations of social vulnerabilidad social Imaginarios Sociales, representaciones sociales y poder en las organizaciones defuerativas sociales y poder en las organizaciones defuerativas proposer in educational organisations and power in educational de la University of Social mana di anorexia of the student populario and the Pontificial University of Social Marcial (Argentina) Salumanca (España) y Nacional de Rosanio (Argentina) Atribución causal y autoeficacia en alumnos universitatrios UNR 15 Habíbilos de estudio, rendimiento académico y carcoterísticas de personalidad en alumnos universitatrios UNR 17 UNR 18 Unre 18 Unre 19 Unrensiones de la problemática sexualidad en observación, interrupción, discontinuidad en los estudios en la carrera de Psicología de la UNR Deserción, interrupción, discontinuidad en los estudios en la carrera de Psicología de la UNR Deserción de infancias Unre 20 Unre 20 Unre 21 Unre 21 Unre 22 Unre 22 Unre 23 Unre 24 Unre 25 Unre 26 Unre 26 Unre 27 Unre 27 Unre 27 Unre 28 Unre 28 Unre 29 Unre 29 Unre 20 Unre 20				
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Trabajo en red para la prevención de embarazos tempranos y enfermedades de transmisión sexual en las instituciones de la comunidad del Barrio Alvear	Networking for the prevention of early pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases in the institutions of the community of Barrio Alvear	UNR	32
Prevención de embarazos tempranos: una posible solución	Prevention of early pregnancy: a possible solution	UNR	33
La creación de contenidos educativos digitales en escuelas santafesinas. Resignificando el rol docente en la sociedad del conocimiento	The creation of digital educational content in schools of the province of Santa Fé. Resignifying the role of teachers in the knowledge society	UNR	34
El Juego de los niños y los adolescentes y su valor preventivo abordado desde la Psicología Educacional	The play of children and adolescents and its preventive value from the perspective of Educational Psychology	UNR	35
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