Family-school relationship expectations

Expectativas construídas na relação família-escola

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the psychosocial processes in the accomplishment of the family-school integration pedagogical goal, aiming at identifying and analyzing the integrating expectations between professionals and family members of a school community. It is a qualitative research based on the methodology of ethnographic case studies, developed in a public school in Minas Gerais (Brazil), using the participant observation – recorded in field diary – and semi-structured interviews with 21 professionals and 16 relatives, as well as reported files. It was verified that the relatives show pedagogical expectations about support and attention provided by the school to the children, as well as with institutional relationship with families. Professionals, in turn, talk about the responsibility of families in the education of their children and their participation in school every day. The importance of the school as an environment of citizenship and participatory democracy is evidenced.

Keywords: Family-school relationship. Family. School. Education. Psychosocial processes.

RESUMO

Este artigo aborda os processos psicosociais que ocorrem na efetivação da meta pedagógica de integração família-escola, objetivando identificar e analisar as expectativas construídas na interação entre profissionais e familiares de uma comunidade escolar. Caracteriza-se como pesquisa qualitativa e tem como método o estudo de caso de cunho etnográfico que foi desenvolvido em uma escola pública mineira, utilizando-se a observação participante com registro em diário de campo, a entrevista semiestruturada (com 21 profissionais e 16 familiares) e a consulta a documentos. Constatou-se que os familiares apresentam expectativas referentes ao atendimento pedagógico prestado pela escola aos filhos e ao relacionamento da instituição com as famílias. Os profissionais, por sua vez, falam sobre a responsabilidade das famílias na educação dos filhos e da participação delas no cotidiano escolar. Evidencia-se a importância da aprovação da escola pelas famílias como exercício de cidadania e construção da democracia participativa.


RESUMEN

Este artículo aborda los procesos psicosociales que ocurren en la efectividad de la meta pedagógica de integración familia-escuela, con el objetivo de identificar y analizar las expectativas construidas en la interacción entre profesionales y familiares de una comunidad escolar. Se caracteriza como

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investigación cualitativa y tiene como método el estudio de carácter etnográfico que fue desarrollado en una escuela pública minera, utilizando la observación participante con registro en diario de campo, la entrevista semiestructurada (con 21 profesionales y 16 familiares) y la consulta a documentos. Se constató que los familiares presentan expectativas referentes al atendimiento pedagógico prestado por la escuela a los hijos y a la relación de la institución con las familias. Los profesionales, por su vez, hablan sobre la responsabilidad de las familias en la educación de los hijos y de la participación de ellas en el cotidiano escolar. Se evidencia la importancia de la apropiación de la escuela por las familias como ejercicio de ciudadanía y construcción de la democracia participativa.

Introduction

The social and political movements of the last decades have brought about deep changes in all sectors of human life, including family and school. As far as the family concept is concerned, there have been several changes, among which the feminist and LGBT struggles as well as the increasing participation of women in the labor market, which redefined gender roles and allowed different family arrangements; As also the legalization of the rights of children and adolescents, which has changed the relations among them. For public schools, the struggle of education workers for better wages, adequate working conditions and participation in the elaboration of educational policies, the struggle of parents, teachers and students for the democratization of access to education and for the successful schooling retention of the low-level classes, as well as the advances obtained through academic studies and popular governments have built the ideal of a democratic, autonomous, secular and quality-for-all school. Therefore, in a scenario of permanent historical contradictions and some recent setbacks, the aforementioned changes came to a reorganization of the roles of the family and the school.

The sphere of education today has a great challenge: the integration of these two bodies (school and family) so as to develop not only knowledge and technical skills, but also ethical values and active participation in society, consolidating access to citizenship rights. Thus, the school-family interaction should be approached in the perspective of providing daily life understanding, in which learning and training of the subjects are structured.

The public education system has created regulations to the school-family integration. However, these rules, legislated or not, have been proved insufficient to account for a dynamic reality, so we can say that there is a mismatch between these two instances, which translates into the conflict between the logic of the political-educational system (school objective and rational structure) and the logic of a system of social interactions (the dynamics of the process of cultural production).

In the scientific sphere, researches in Social Psychology have approached the relations established by the subjects in their socio-historical context, in the perspective of the interaction of macro and micro analyses. In this same direction, this research studies the psychosocial processes in the daily implementation of the pedagogical goal of family-school integration, considering that both institutions interact for socializing children and adolescents. The psychosocial processes refer to the practices, representations, values, ideals, feelings, and conceptions conveyed by the educational subjects in the daily interactions, inserted in a specific cultural context.

Based on Guirado (2010), family is considered an institution that is built by the concrete action of its subjects. In it:

One’s background relations are updated, historically, by the uniqueness of themselves and by the change movement demanded inevitably, since updates are always made once been in other places and spheres. (p. 49)³

Thus, “family can be considered as a symbolic order reality that is delimited by history told to individuals, reaffirmed and re-signified by them in the different moments and places of their lives, considering the relation of the family to the

³ “a história de vínculos de alguém se reedita, historicamente, na singularidade de sua organização e numa variação ou movimento de mudança inevitavelmente exigido, uma vez que as reedições se fazem, sempre na medida em que se ocupam lugares em outras instituições” (Guirado, 2010, p. 49).
external world” (Sarti, 2004, p. 11). Thus, in face of cultural and social diverse references, the author emphasizes the importance of professionals in listening to families’ personal history as another point of view and not as the negation of the previous own thinking.

In this analysis of family-school interaction, we focus on social and ideological distance and proximity with respect to the educational projects conveyed by both, namely the representations and practices, continuities and discontinuities of ideals and crossing-values. Thus, it is necessary to follow the crossing-subjects interactions, their agreements and disagreements, their contradictions and expectations. In order to do so, the study of the school-family relationship presupposes that the interactions between professionals and family members are understood in their diversity character, since they vary according to “the sociocultural groups that attend school and the types of positioning teachers take in the running of their activities” (Cortesão & Stoer, 1997, p. 121).

For this reason, in order to understand how the pedagogical goal of family-school integration is effective in the school routine, the target of this study is to identify and analyze the expectations built in the interaction of education professionals and students’ families, in a school community in the state of Minas Gerais (Brazil).

Methodology

The epistemological basis offered by qualitative research makes it possible to understand the family-school relationship as a social everyday-reality construction to understand subjectivities in their sociocultural context and to analyze the interactive process meanings. Therefore, the case study (Becker, 1999) was chosen, which allows some understanding of the investigated phenomenon, in its modalities of social school-family interaction (microsocial dimension); as well as the relationship of the researched school community with the socio-historical and political context from which the goal of school-family integration emerges (macrosocial dimension).

In its “dense description of culture” (Geertz, 1989), the case study has an ethnographic dimension of the school community where the research took place, which made possible the emphasis on the daily aspects of the relationship. As an interactionist approach, ethnography makes it possible to listen to the historical, economic and political information of social events, in search of the social meaning and the correlations of the studied phenomenon.

Oliveira (2013) states that ethnography has been widely used in educational research. In the same sense, Gusmão (2003) argues that in schools, as socio-cultural spaces, there are discourses, identities, representations that are intertwined in the constitution of a particular reality so that we can understand them not only as spaces of socialization, but of sociabilities.

This research was carried out in a metropolitan region city of Belo Horizonte school, in the state of Minas Gerais. This school has an average profile characteristic of the reality of public education because it is located in the industrial suburbs and attends to low-level layers of the population. These basic characteristics do not fail to portray the reality of most of the medium and large cities of our country.
The field search was conducted over a period of eight months at an average of 20 hours per week and was under the ethical principles for researches involving human beings. Participant observation, diary field notes, semi-structured recorded interviews and record reviews were used as instruments.

The observations covered a number of activities such as attendance to family members by the different sectors of the school, classes of different disciplines, breaks and play times, teachers meetings, lectures promoted by the school to family and students, parties at weekends, election of principals, meetings of Class Boards (professionals, students and their relatives) and of the School Boards (representatives and parents).

The interviews were carried out with several people from the community. The participants were chosen based on “intentional qualitative sample” (Selltiz, 1983) aiming at the understanding of the “group symbolic frontiers”. In this way, 21 professionals were interviewed, a sample of the morning and afternoon shifts (evening was excluded because it was considered a specific reality that would require another study) and the different sectors of the school (administrative, pedagogical coordination, teaching, library and school services), which is justified by the fact that professionals in each sector establish a particular relationship with the family according to their tasks.

As for the relatives, 16 interviews were carried out, which include a sample of each of those: a) who attend; b) who do not attend school; c) whose children have problems at school; and d) whose children do not have problems. These differentiated social strata mean relatives occupy different social positions and deal with school in different ways. Thus, the choice of the interviewees took into account the existence of four categories: a) family members attending school with their children who do not present problems at school, b) family members attending school and their children do not present problems, c) family members who do not attend school and their children present problems and d) family that does not attend school and their children don’t present problems.

The speeches are named by the acronym PS (Professional Subject), numbered from 1 to 21, and FS (Family Subject), numbered from 1 to 16, considering relative anyone who has a family tie with the student (father, mother, brother, sister, grandfather, grandmother, uncle and aunt). This regards to different family configurations and the fact that the accompanying role of the school life of children and teenagers is done in each family by a particular person or by several people.

The report reviews completed the research. Materials produced in relation to the family-school relationship of both, the municipal administration (documents dealing with the family-school guideline integration) and the surveyed school (minutes of the political-pedagogical project were selected at the school and in the Municipal Education Bureau).

The analysis of the results was based on Discourse Analysis (DA); according to Orlandi (2007), DA focuses on the description and understanding of the speech. Therefore, it is not a matter of seeking what the text says, as something already known, but how it constructs meanings, that is, the DA “produces knowledge from the text itself, because it is seen as having its own symbolic materiality and meaning, as having a semantic thickness which is conceived as discursivity” (p. 18).6

6 “produz um conhecimento a partir do próprio texto, porque o vê como tendo uma materialidade simbólica própria e significativa, como tendo uma espessura semântica: ela o concebe como uma discursividade” (Orlandi, 2017, p. 18).
Results and discussion

The expectations of families in relation to school

The family-school expectations must be understood from the assumption that there is no cultural homogeneity among families and, therefore, there are no homogeneous expectations. According to Rocha (1996, p. 191), there is “a plurality of families that point to a set of family projects and strategies [...] as well as social benefits, to achieve through schooling, [those] are very unequal”. In the researched school, families show a set of expectations that refer, mainly, to two aspects: the pedagogical attendance provided by the school to their children and the relationship of the school with the families themselves.

Pedagogical school assistance to children

In this regard, family members expect that teaching will help the child to “have a better future, to be someone in life” (Paro, 2000, p. 55). Illiterate or with little schooling, most parents expect “school to teach children to read, write, and calculate so they can get a good job and get along in life” (FS19). Although family members say that children's contents are essentially reading, writing and mathematical operations, they expect a great income from these skills in the labor market, even if these same skills are subjected to the high unemployment rate.

The great dimension of this expectation seems to be explained by the fact that, in the lower strata of society the “appropriation of knowledge depends heavily on what is learned in school” (Zago 1997, p. 48); intending to reverse a probable life fate, parents look to their children and point to the reproduction of the poverty situation lived by the family. FS exemplifies this by stating: “I really want schooling to open up other paths for my son. Because I fought, but life is very hard for those who do not have knowledge. So, if he does not study, he will end up like me”.

Although the values of socialization and citizenship were also mentioned by family members, they were less frequent, as Paro (2000, p. 57) has highlighted in his research: “school as an institution to prepare for citizenship very rarely appears in the interviewees speeches”. This expectation is said by the interviewees through statements such as the following: “there, children learn to live” (FS15); “They learn to be polite with parents, siblings, teachers, colleagues” (FS12); “They learn how to be good people and to improve things, because there are many dishonest people in this world” (FS8).

Finally, family members also expect schools to provide a respectful and safe environment for their children. This presupposes that schools must establish limits, preserve authority and good behavior, but also “respect children as human beings” (FS1). It is also necessary to ensure physical and moral safety to students in order to protect them from the internal and external aggressors as well as from drugs. FS5 addresses the question as follows: “The teachers must be in the playground taking care of students, not allowing them to quarrel/fight and also to prevent outsiders from jumping the walls to beat or bring drugs to them”.

The prevalence of cognitive aspects on the values of social interaction

7 “uma pluralidade de famílias que nos remete para um conjunto de projetos e estratégias familiares [...] bem como os benefícios sociais que se pretendem alcançar com a escolaridade [...] são muito desiguais” (Rocha, 1996, p. 191).
8 “ter um futuro melhor, ser alguém na vida” (Paro, 2000, p. 55).
9 “apropriação do saber depende fortemente do que é transmitido na escola” (Zago, 1997, p. 48)
10 “apropriação do saber depende fortemente do que é transmitido na escola” (Paro, 2000, p. 57).
and citizenship – verified in the expectations of the family – reveals a conception of education that is still quite widespread, privileging the academic aspects to the detriment of human and citizen development.

The expectations of family members regarding the pedagogical care of the children reveal that they attach considerable importance to school education, but, in the same sense expressed by Paro (2000, p. 51) ¹¹ “what we understand in the interviews points to hypotheses that seem deeply undermined by the belief in a univocal appreciation of formal education by the low-income population”. If in the first instance, relatives, in general, say they believe schooling has a determining role for the future of their children, afterward they subject it stating that a dignified adult life depends on luck and a set of state political actions, not just school:

Although the first manifestations of the deponents stick to the buzzwords about the importance of schooling to ‘being someone in life’ and for the children to achieve what parents, due to lack of school, failed. Further discussion will reveal that, along with the desire for social ascension, via school, there is a certain awareness of the limits that the condition of ‘poverty’ imposes and that schooling itself cannot overcome. In this respect, getting a good job is no longer attributed solely to schooling, but to luck, or to government unemployment reducing policies. (Paro, 2000, p. 51) ¹²

School's relationship with families

The expectations of family members regarding their relationship with the school demonstrate that they wish to be treated well by professionals, which means that school representatives should have time, patience, empathy, interest and willingness to solve the problems they face about the development of their children. FS15 exemplifies this view by saying that: “One cannot offer good attendance if he/she is busy, he/she must pay attention, be calm, try to understand the problem fathers/mothers are reporting. We expect people from school to show interest and willingness to help with the children’s problems.

The interviews show there is an understanding environment in the surveyed school, since even in situations where the family members interviewed talk about differences with professionals, they feel well attended by the school, because they see “the school [representatives] effort to help in what is possible” (FS9).

With regard to school management, family expectations are rarely expressed, revealing that much more needs to be done to build a collective management project. The reasons concerning expectations are insignificant and seem to be related to:

- the good physical/working conditions of the school, which provide no grounds for claiming substantial improvements;

- the process, which was subjected to participative management principles in the school during the period of the research, is still very focused on representative democracy (principal election, School Board meetings). These

¹¹ “o que se conseguiu captar nas entrevistas aponta para hipóteses que parecem abalar profundamente a crença em uma valorização unívoca da educação formal pela população de baixa renda” (Paro, 2000, p. 51).

¹² “Embora as primeiras manifestações dos deponentes se pautem nos chavões a respeito da importância da escolarização para ‘ser alguém na vida’ e para que os filhos alcancem aquilo que os pais, por falta de escola, não conseguiram, o aprofundamento da discussão vai revelar que, ao lado do desejo de ascensão social, via escola, existe certa consciência dos limites que sua condição de ‘pobreza’ impõe e que a formação escolar, por si, não pode vencer. A esse respeito, a obtenção de um bom emprego já não é mais atribuída apenas à escolarização, mas à sorte, ou a políticas governamentais que diminuam o desemprego” (Paro, 2000, p. 51).
participative management principles have also stimulated the daily participation of families in interaction regulations;
- the culture of non-participatory family in school, as a result of the centralizing and authoritarian policies of Brazilian Governmental Spheres, which hinder and, in some cases, even prevent people from participating in the public issues, as a way of keeping education under the control of political and economic elites.

Silva (1999) states that families have been increasingly called upon to participate in school management “as a way of exercising the right to citizenship” (p. 62), targeting the civil society growing need to control the state actions. However, this participation is under, according to Paro (1996), “socio-economic constraints – the living conditions of the population, such as time, material conditions and personal disposition to participate” (p. 237), “cultural constraints – or people's views on the viability and the possibility of participation – driven by a world view and school education that favor or not the willingness to participate” (p. 273), And “institutional constraints – or collective mechanisms, formalized or not – in their closest social environment from which the population can direct its participative action (p. 273).

School expectations from families

The school expectations about families must also be understood from the assumption that there is no cultural homogeneity among professionals and, therefore, there are no unanimous representations about what they expect from relatives. In general, the interviewees approach a set of expectations that refer, especially, to two aspects: the responsibility of the families in the education of their children and their participation in the daily life of school.

Responsibility of families in the education of their children

The expectations related to this aspect are built on two fundamental elements: the student's pedagogical performance and the family's response to the investment made by the schools on their child's educational process. Thus, professionals have expectations that reflect three categories: pessimistic, idealistic and cooperative views.

The pessimistic view refers to the discourse that nothing can be expected of the family. Although this is a preponderant view in the surveyed school, its existence reflects the conception that families are “unable for the task of educating their own children” (Cunha, 1996, p. 340). This concept comes from the fact that the school professionals make countless contacts with the family, intending that the relatives can reverse the difficulties presented by the students, but the learning results and especially the behavior (of the students) are not improved in a meaningful manner or in accordance with the requirements of the school.

In these cases, the expectations of the student and his/her family are considerably reduced, with the feeling that the family has delegated responsibility for
the education of the children to the school (Paro, 1996). The school gives up encouraging family because it sees families more as a barrier than an aid: “they end up hampering more than helping, so it's better not to call them” (PS3).

The idealistic view is exactly opposite to the pessimist; after all, everything is expected from the family because it can do everything. This view is justified by the belief that family is able to fulfill its functions of providing protection and affection, economic subsistence and pedagogical assistance to children in conjunction with the school. If it is not possible to question the aspects of protection, affection and subsistence, the same is not true for the pedagogical complementation. In this aspect, the socioeconomic and cultural reality of families is often denied because it assumes that they meet all the conditions that enable the fulfillment of the task, namely: material conditions, time and knowledge of the contents. It is hoped, even, the hiring of teachers of school reinforcement, if the family cannot provide the aid directly.

If the family fulfills the affective and economic functions, the same is not true about the pedagogical function, whose teaching of content is the specificity of the school. Finally, the idealistic view conceives “the idea that a school of precarious conditions can promote the participation of low-schooled parents and improve school performance” (Carvalho, 1997, p. 17),18 thus achieving success in teaching those students who even the school has not been able to teach.

The cooperative vision, in turn, refers to the idea that it is possible for family and professionals to work together on the schooling of children, establishing limits (not divisions) between functions.

From a cooperative relationship, the school is recognized as the privileged space of scientific knowledge and the family as a privileged space for the moral development of children. Cooperation must take place in the search for overcoming the dichotomy between knowledge as a task of the school and politeness as the task of the family, which means the articulation between the two instances, in which, on the one hand, the school must account for the human learning in the teaching of content and, on the other hand, the family must account for the child’s everyday life habits and values, the “desire for knowledge” (Paro, 2000, p. 27).

In this way, difficulties faced by children and adolescents will also be taken into account in the relationship between the two institutions, giving space for sharing solutions, based on a relationship of solidarity, as SP2 says: “It is not a matter of finding guilty and solving problems alone, because both school and family need each other's help”.

**Participation of families in the daily life of school**

In this respect, professionals report participation that presupposes the fulfillment by the family of some tasks complementary to professional work. This conception of participation does not guarantee to the families the whole educational process view, because it is a conception of utilitarian participation in which each one participates to obtain a product, as exemplified by PS15: “parents need to help more in the break time to improve the mess it is”.

Just as family members expect good care from the school members and they say they receive it, professionals expect good treatment and appreciation of their work by families and also affirm that this happens, as PS1 says: “here the teacher is still respected by the community,

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18 “a idéia de que uma escola precária pode promover a participação de pais de baixa escolaridade e melhorar o desempenho escolar” (Carvalho, 1997, p. 17).
unlike many places”; Or as PS10 states that he feels “very respected by parents and students”. Unlikely to what happens in the searched school, Paro (1996, p. 239) addresses the feeling of “professional encouragement”, which is very present among a large number of teachers in Brazilian public schools, in this way:

The decrease in the teacher's income in the last decades also corresponded to a fall in the social levels of prestige in relation to the position teachers enjoyed when the public school attended to a minority of low-level or middle-class population – to which they also belonged. Today, teachers feel the lack of prestige and some feel even ashamed when they have to mention their jobs and are forced to justify their situation so as not to feel socially inferior to the interlocutor. What is sadder is that teachers have felt uncomfortable in front of their students in the classroom, which further aggravates the discouragement they feel in their work. (Paro, 1996, p. 240)

**Final considerations**

In this search, we intended to understand the goal of family-school integration as part of the discourse of a political-ideological group, composed of contents and strategies and that are addressed to a group of interlocutors, teachers and family members at a historical moment. Thus, the need for this integration is part of an updated schooling discourse, which claims to be one of the fundamental strategies for guaranteeing a formative process of children and adolescents capable of facing contemporary social challenges.

Thus, the quality of good social relations established between professionals and family members has been considered as important as the aspects such as structure, salary and vocational training. However, it is considered that such relations should be understood in their diversity character, since, in the case of the reality researched and based on the reflections of Cortesão and Stoer (1997) and Moreira and Candau (2007), they vary according to the socio-cultural groups that attend school and the types of positioning that professionals choose in their work practices.

With regard to the common experience of educating children and students, experienced by family and professionals, it is indispensable that there must be a sense of collectivity, which is only possible in a relationship whose ethics is reciprocity, which grants solidarity to both institutions. It is the duty of the State, Family and Society to ensure the right to schooling for children and adolescents. The fulfillment of this duty requires the establishment of family and school actions based on mutual understanding, availability for understanding and commitment to collective work. These functions cannot be defined aprioristically, but only by joining family members and professionals. From this, it follows that each school context must search for solutions that embrace the peculiarities of the community.

In this process, it is necessary that families realize the importance of schooling as a civic duty and struggle for the construction of participatory democracy, within the scope of the
Republican State. As it has been evidenced, the prevalence of cognitive aspects about the values of social interaction and citizenship in the interviewees' expectations reveals a still widespread conception of schooling that privileges the academic aspects in detriment to the development of the human being and the citizen and, consequently, corroborates for a bureaucratic and depoliticized school-family relationship.

For Social Psychology, the congruence and inconsistencies between the expectations of professionals and the families – as fundamental schooling subjects in society nowadays, between schools and families, as important institutions for the construction of subjectivity in the present times – are issues to be further surveyed. Therefore, this research intends to be a contribution to the understanding of this phenomenon, aiming at improving the communication between professionals and families and, also, improving the development of children and adolescents.

Social Psychology, articulated with the field of Education, contributes, as Alves and Silva (2006) propose to “the understanding of the objective and subjective reality of the school community, identifying the contradictions of the concrete and symbolic structure of conflicts” (p. 189) and empowers the “development of critical, ethical, innovative and transformative actions geared to the Brazilian reality” (p. 189).

Finally, the interface of these fields of knowledge is “a possible articulation to establishing critical psychosocial strategies in the school community, which takes into account the socio-historical aspects that are part of the human beings and contribute to the constitution of a more conscious, critical, ethical, sensitive and autonomous human being” (p. 189).

References


22 “uma articulação possível de estabelecer estratégias psicossociais críticas na comunidade escolar, que atente aos aspectos sócio-históricos que fazem parte do universo humano e contribuem para a constituição de um sujeito mais consciente, crítico, ético, sensível e autônomo” (Alves & Silva, 2006, p. 189).


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