

De maestras a directoras: las vías de acceso a la dirección escolar

Of teachers to principals: access routes to school management

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La realidad socio histórica del sujeto supone una gran estructura de pensamiento; la construyen muchos colectivos sociales, culturales, de género y, por tanto, esta construcción implica muchas construcciones multidireccionales, temporales, contenidos ideológicos y valorales que suman el pensamiento de los diferentes actores sociales.

Hugo Zemelman

Resumen

Este artículo forma parte de una investigación con un diseño cualitativo y una perspectiva etnometodológica sobre las maestras egresadas de la generación 1984-1990 de la Escuela Normal No. 1 de Toluca, Estado de México, que han llegado a ocupar cargos de dirección escolar en el Nivel Medio Superior. Para ello se examinan las condiciones estructurales en las que se han desenvuelto, interpretándolas como la acumulación de capital cultural relacionado con su subjetividad y el consecuente empleo de estrategias específicas, métodos de realizaciones concretas que dan cuenta de una situación biográfica que comprende, interpreta y da significado a las normas, reglas y valores que regulan el espacio social y el campo educativo.

Palabras clave: capital cultural, dirección escolar, espacio social, métodos de realizaciones concretas.

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Abstract

This article is part of the development of research that is being conducted with a qualitative design and etnometodological perspective about the 1984-1990 graduates teachers generation Normal School in Toluca, State of Mexico, who have come to occupy school positions leadership in the Middle Superior Level. Specific methods embodiments realize a biographical situation of teachers; structural determinants in which they operate are interpreted in terms of the accumulation of cultural capital related to their accumulation of cultural capital, the expression of their subjectivity concretized in the use of specific strategies methods of achievement are discussed in the way that they understand, interpret, and represent the norms, rules and values that regulate social space, and education.

Keywords: cultural capital, school management, social space, methods of concrete achievements.

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Introduction

In order to get into the topic of this article it is first necessary to understand the structure of power relations in Mexican society. Roadways following teachers for positions of school leadership depend on structural conditions - power- relations that, if properly understood and interpreted, allows them to implement specific strategies. In this sense, Octavio Paz² points:

² El escritor mexicano Octavio Paz (1914- 1998), reconocido con el Premio Nobel de Literatura en 1990 y el Premio Cervantes en 1981, es considerado una de las figuras más sobresalientes de la literatura mundial contemporánea. En su obra se encuentran los títulos: *El laberinto de la soledad* (1950), *El ogro filantrópico* (1979), *Las peras del olmo* (1957), *Cuadrivudrio* (1965), *El castillo de la pureza* (1968), *Tiempo nublado* (1983), *Hombres en su siglo*, etcétera. Su poesía se ha reunido en: *La libertad bajo palabra* (1958), *Salamandra* (1962); su ensayo *El ogro filantrópico* (1979) fue reeditado por el Fondo de Cultura Económica en 2014.

The Mexican state remains patrimonialista ... the prime minister, Prince or the President consider the state as their personal assets. For this reason, the body of government officials and employees, ushers ministers and judges and senators goalkeepers, form a large political family linked by kinship, friendship, cronyism and other personal factors (*Vuelta*, 1978, p.19).

Peace gives a very clear explanation of how the political and working spaces in Mexican society are organized: from patrimonialistas relations. This may seem trivial, but it is important to understand how it is organized administratively and politically education, built from realities of a given society, where classes and interests, social groups and heads, ideas, stories and beliefs, are subject to power relations and mechanisms.

In social power structures, key positions: military, political, economic and religious, have traditionally been occupied by men in all cultures and civilizations. This social construction demonstrates a social division of labor, which in turn is reflected in management positions. This social division of labor is manifested in some cases as a culture that confined women to fill job positions of subordination, next to the domestic sphere nature, as has happened in the field of education, considered suitable for professional activity women.

Now, to illustrate how the limitations of social order-remember that if they are well understood and interpreted by teachers, allow them to consider making concrete achievements in his daily life-we take as a case study operate as I happened to a group of teachers normalistas State of Mexico, who have risen to management positions at the high school level.

Social structure and subjectivity.

This article aims to show that it is essential to recover the subject and its significances in the social construction of reality. It is always essential to locate this subjectivity within a given social order or, if desired, within certain social structures expressed in norms, values and beliefs understood and interpreted by the subjects. To research the cultural capital concept was used in order to apprehend such social structures while to account for subjectivity category resorted to methods of concrete achievements.

The object of analysis was a group of basic education teachers who came to school management charges at the high school level and pointing a space of social construction, a

biographical situation. The teachers are graduates of the 1984-1990 generation of the Normal School No. 1 in Toluca, Bachelor of Primary Education (LEP). It said normal is one of the four normal that are located in the city of Toluca; a mixed standard where a degree in elementary education during the morning in the school system are taught at the time (1984). In this generation 80 trainees graduated degree in primary education, of whom 50 were women and 30 men, however, after 25 years of their graduation only 4 women have come to occupy leadership positions in the high school level. This leads us to investigate the connections between the cultural capital held by the teachers and the methods they employed concrete achievements to achieve that accomplishment in the social space where located.

A peculiarity of this generation is that it was one of only two generations that within six years graduated with a bachelor's degree in elementary education (LEP), product of agreement March 22, 1984, which states that education normally you get academic degree³, situation that was already contemplating since 1978 with the founding of the National Pedagogic University (UPN). Recall that (Arnaut, 1998, p. 156) "with this agreement, strengthening the functions of teaching, research and cultural diffusion in regular schools as institutions sought higher education." Subsequent to this generation of teachers generations obtained a bachelor's degree in 7 years.

Teachers considered for this study were women ages ranging between 40 and 45 years, born between 1960 and 1970 graduates in bachelor's and master, married, with two children on average, with 25 years of service in the teaching, you graduates a normal school with normal school education and non-university, and came to occupy managerial positions before turning 40.

School Education institutions are characterized by the high rate of teachers who work in them; however, statistics show that the number of directors males is much higher compared to women. This situation has been addressed from different theoretical perspectives.

³ Este acuerdo es firmado por el presidente de la República, Lic. Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, que en su artículo 1º afirma que la educación normal en su nivel inicial, en cualquiera de sus tipos y especialidades tendrá el nivel educativo de licenciatura, considerando que el mejoramiento en la preparación de los futuros docentes y la elevación de la educación normal a nivel profesional constituyó siempre un anhelo del magisterio nacional, tal como se expresó en diversos congresos de educación normal y en reuniones de consulta desde 1944. Las egresadas de esta generación al momento de su egreso eran pasantes de la licenciatura en educación primaria.

In the educational system of the State Mexico, in the school year 2012-2013,⁴ statistics are indicators of public control in the state education subsystem, a total of teachers from 35,400 men and 68,352 women, totaling 103,752 teachers, which can interpret that 65% of teachers working at all levels of education, from preschool to graduate are women.

With respect to public federalized education subsystem, indicators of enrollment of teachers by gender was similar: 16 723 teachers are men and 29,157 teachers are women, totaling 45,880 teachers. As in the state subsystem, 65% of the teaching staff is composed of teachers. This trend, present in both public subsystems that make up the field of education in the State of Mexico, is more noticeable in basic education, where greater presence of women teachers is also observed.

The given statistics reflect what was said about the number of men and women who work in the educational field, repeating pattern in the number of directors that exist in the general baccalaureate. Of the 400 high schools in the State of Mexico, only 100 have female directors. Other school management positions are occupied men.

Undoubtedly, the feminization of teaching refers unequal distribution of opportunities between men and women for leadership positions, which speaks of how it is structured social space of education, which follows specific rules for access to positions and certain beliefs and ideas about the role of women in education. This in turn reveals to begin the educational space is an area of struggle in access to management positions, implying a social construction as representing a specific activity of subjects. At the same time, shows the existence of a structure, a specific social order in which they have operated the teachers graduates of the 1984-1990 generation degree in primary education, Normal School No. 1 in Toluca, to reach be directors.

Studies on school leadership

In Mexico there are many public institutions that have made gender studies: the National Pedagogic University (UPN); the Gender Studies Program at the Autonomous University of the State of Mexico (UAEM); University Gender Studies Programme (PUEG); the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), and so on. The objectives of these institutions

⁴ Portal del gobierno del Estado de México, estadísticas por género [www. Edo.mex.gob.mx/](http://www.Edo.mex.gob.mx/)consultada el 13 de octubre 2012.

have been consolidating gender studies from a multidisciplinary perspective and also promote cooperative relationships with other agencies and institutions to draw guidelines in the design of public policies and programs.

In these institutions they have developed theories that try to explain the status of women, highlighting certain social representations that, willy-nilly, have become part of everyday life in education, to the extent that develop a conception of the feminine attributes every woman an "instinct" a "sensitivity" mother, requiring children during their passage through basic education or that way of conceiving the teaching profession is also envisaged to school as a substitute extension the family. There are also studies indicating that women choose jobs they consider closest to the idea we have of what is feminine in search of an identity, but it only comes to explaining why women join the work. Fundamentally, the following trends are apparent in the study of women's work:

Frederick Engels said about the division of labor between the sexes in primitive societies that: "Women constitute a major force within the clans (gens), the same as everywhere". On the other hand, "civilized lady, surrounded by apparent tributes, outside any effective work, has a much lower than that of women of barbarism social position" (Engels, 1998, p. 29). The social status of women depends more on economic conditions, gradually bringing it to emancipate itself from polygamy and to establish the monogamous union. However, from this it is recognized that the place assigned to women stood in the process of social reproduction of labor: "There is a sexual work organization that assigns different functions and remuneration to men and women. The massive incorporation of the female population in the labor market puts the women in a consumption structure and distribution, which operates through a generic division of capital where men control major corporations and the accumulation of wealth is linked to the social gender relations, which allow unequal accumulation for women" (Connell, 2003, p. 30).

The management of schools is a quiet and traditionally bounded for and by men, although the teaching is carried out by women in a higher percentage area. Some studies describe various aspects of the complex organizational dynamics of the school from the world of educational research. So evidenced by the recent publication by Teresa Carmona Padilla (2009) works: "Barriers to access to school management"; Rebazas Teresa Romero (2009):

"Career of the directors in the Spanish education system 1970- 2006", F. J. Murillo, R. Barrio, and M. J. Pérez-Albo (1999): "The school management. Analysis and research "; Lorenzo M. (2000): "The research on school management and leadership"; Yuren Teresa Camarena (2010): "The leadership of women in the educational field, a complex problem "; C. Gomez and E. Married (2003): "Women in positions of educational system, educational organization and management"; M. Santos Guerra (2000): "The pedagogical harem. Gender perspectives in school organization "; María José Carrasco (2004): "Women in the direction of Andalusian schools"; Teresa Carmona (2008): "Participation and power of women in educational organizations. Views and experiences in performing school address women directors in Andalusia ". All these works address issues related to women in management positions.

Here is a theoretical need warns: to understand and interpret the ways in which teachers of basic education reach positions of school leadership in the field of education, requires understanding that field as a social space governed, understood and interpreted by teachers to deploy access certain strategies which lead them to occupy those positions. To do this we incorporate the categories of social space: institutionalized, incorporated and objectified by Pierre Bourdieu, and methods of particular embodiments of Harold Garfinkel.

In order to account for the integration of these categories, we follow a theoretical approach epistemological and methodological approach, based on phenomenological assumptions imply that subjects on a daily basis are limited and construct their reality. Accordingly, methodologically it is closer to their activities and how mean, only in this way can document what they do and say subjects, as well as how access to the understanding of its reality and circumscribe it. We start, theoretically, the concept of cultural capital as we believe that will help us understand the ways in which the subjects are appropriated or inherit certain material, symbolic and social resources, from which comprise and organize a set of daily activities that lead towards achieving their goals. For this concept particular embodiments methods used. In both categories, cultural capital and methods of concrete achievements, seeks to account for the relationship between social structure and subjectivity that understands and interprets this structure, constituting a specific social space.

The use of the methodological perspective of ethnomethodology, by category of methods of concrete achievements allowed us to get closer, as the same Garfinkel says, to see how the concrete, everyday and ordinary activities performed by members consist of methods to make analyzable the actions, practices, common sense and ordinary circumstances, from "within" the particular scenario, as continuous achievements of those same scenarios (Garfinkel, 2006, p. 1). This perspective only allow us to systematize the way of our research subjects develop a set of activities within specific contexts, expressed in concrete relations as well as unwritten rules to become directors within the field of education. But that only leaves us at the level of how individuals adapt to certain contexts, using the relationships established and unwritten rules, just what we are trying to investigate. This particular embodiments methods, and the type of rules (formal and informal) that come into play are documented, which are understood, interpreted and used by teachers who have reached school management charges.

Precisely these situations are what lead to consider as a research strategy to the survey, which together with its instrument, the interview allows us to reconstruct the stories of the life stories of teachers. This is to explain the interpersonal social relationships established in the family, during the studies and work, which can become a resource since they allow to have some kind of influence. This is a cultural capital incorporated, which can be understood as a social construction and not as a natural fact, a social construct permeated by power relations, always bounded in specific times and places that lead to leadership positions.

The social space of the teachers

The social space is part of the theoretical proposal sociologist P. Bourdieu. This social space is what allows teachers who have come to occupy management positions belonging to a particular social structure called field (educational field), where there are a number of rules and principles are internalized in the social space to which they belong through interaction of subjects.

The social space is a category that describes how in the space where different social groups live together and develop and where differences in cultural capital they have accumulated are established; the social space is one where subjects develop and acquire a position to

take a place in society. Bourdieu argues that families invest in school education, transmission time, in aid of all kinds and sometimes money, depending on how large and relatively profitable the weight of their cultural capital in relation to their economic capital (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 109).

In practice, this social space is organized as a structure of social positions that expresses power relations, positions which subjects struggle from the forms of cultural capital to accumulate and which access by 'understanding of the rules governing the social space. In this sense, it is a social order that is appropriate, understood and interpreted by the subjects, by which they can achieve certain specific embodiments; ie some methods of concrete achievements to meet your goals and interests.

In our case study we consider as social space field of education with its different positions, educational levels they access the teachers. One of those positions are the positions of school administration, either in the central administration, in school or on school supervisions direction, hierarchically organized with specific areas of competence. This results in a set of "social distinctions" that emphasize the top positions (authority / bosses) and lower (subordinates / employees), which can be apprehended by school rules and ladder systems. In conjunction with this formal organization of the social space of education, also govern other unwritten, unspoken rules, you realize how the social space becomes a space power, which leads subjects to learn and use those unspoken rules that generally are expressed as a set of social relationships, personal and family that are acquired throughout life and that we, in this article, we captured in the stories of life stories covering academic life, personal and professional subjects.

To characterize as a social space field, it is necessary to recognize the objective positions occupied by the actors and institutions; in this case, teachers who aspire to occupy a leadership position shared interests in the field and in their profession, establish relationships, engage in objective relations with other groups that appear as responsible for the governmental function and perform various social practices that result from the inculcation of principles and schemes shown as "mandatory" for influence in and out of this space.

Education where teachers graduates 1984-1990 generation are located, is composed responsible for its activity to their students exercise, parents and education authorities; It is also integrated by a common body of knowledge and guidance around a type of practice; finally, it is composed of a series of visions, concepts and practices that have internalized to stay as a group, which gives them a certain social recognition.

The accumulation of cultural capital within a social space is expressed in behavior, practices and actions of the teachers. This is related to the meaning given to their activities in the field of education, know how to communicate that sense or display it as a consistent behavior, transmitted between components of the educational community, helping them maintain their own convictions, converging their own personal purposes. The establishment of these informal and formal rules, calling them somehow, interaction with others, has a very particular way to build the social reality, allowing the practice of so-called social relations of power.

These power relations are subject to rules. In this regard, one of the constituent theorems of sociology states that our actions are governed by rules and regulations, there is a relationship between social norms, our behavior and building the social order, which achieves its stability and cohesion because of inherent in these properties. Durkheim mentions that classical sociological concept defines social facts as a means of acting and thinking, ie as observable. "Social norms are external to us, not create them but we use them" (Coulon, 1995, p. 186). The rules are mandatory, imposed on all and do not depend on individuals; actors internalize these norms and values, constituting cultural categories used as instructions to follow to fulfill their acts of everyday life. There is also another conception of the rule of phenomenological-ethnomethodological inspiration, which has been developed by Garfinkel, Zimmerman, Wilson. For these authors, both the rule and its instructions can not be internalized as they have not used before in a particular way; "Hence the impossibility of predicting behavior solely from the existence of a rule" (Coulon, 1995, p. 188). The rules can be seen as a logical manifestation of accounting for the orderly nature of the activities of daily life.

The formal rules located within the social space to access management positions in the State of Mexico, are mentioned only in the regulations on labor matters for the general

public servants of the executive branch of the State of Mexico. In these provisions is integrated the "Regulation of general working conditions of public servants," which in Article 11 states: "Public servants have the right to ascend since by hierarchical scale opinion when meeting the basic requirements to obtain the highest hierarchical scale score in a given contest. " Here we see how the only formal path to ascend since it is the realization of a contest, this contest is covered by the regulations echelon of the general public servants of the executive branch of the State of Mexico.⁵ We see then that there is a specific regulation to regulate promotions or promotions:

Article 6: ladder means organized to carry out promotions and advancement system.

Article 11: public servants have the right to put up for hierarchical scale of opinion when meeting the basic requirements, obtain the highest hierarchical scale score in any given contest.

Article 20: for control and monitoring of job-level processes of civil servants operation will be a collegial body constituted pursuant to which he called ladder joint committee, which will oversee the implementation of this regulation.

Article 59: hierarchical scale competition is called the procedure by which the committee convenes, values and decides based on job-level factors, the allocation of places to public servants who auditioned for the position.

Merit hierarchical scale factors to be taken into account for the hierarchical scale score are: Preparation 45, effective 35, age 20, which is ruled by the following articles:

Article 100: the preparation comprises the knowledge that the public servant has according to their highest level of studies, crediting according to the provisions of existing laws and the activities of an academic nature you have made.

Article 1001 is meant by effectiveness to the degree of effectiveness in achieving the desired results in office, employment skills, personal and application of proven effort to the public servant in the discharge of the responsibility of the position to which is assigned.

Article 102: means old at the time of service provided at the offices of the executive branch.

⁵Publicado el 3 de noviembre de 1998.

Merit hierarchical scale factors are taken as parameters for participation in job-level competitions; They understood as the formal recognition of the accumulation of cultural capital in their states: built, objectified and institutionalized as a gateway for school leadership positions. This allows us to understand why for subjects who access the various existing social positions in the educational social space has become necessary to meet those requirements, but actually refer to specific ways to differentiate social positions on the basis of academic merit, seniority, experience and effectiveness in performance.

The cultural capital

The category of cultural capital is imposed primarily as a hypothesis to account for differences in school results presented by children from different social classes with regard to school success. "This starting point means a break with the inherent assumptions of the common vision that considers school failure as a result of natural abilities, as with the theory of human capital" (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 5). Now, for the specific case we address the cultural capital becomes an element that legitimizes the different social positions within the educational social space and therefore contributes to provide justifications for subjects mean in certain ways their access to the different positions in the educational field.

The accumulation of this cultural capital can exist in three forms: "the cultural capital in incorporated state as durable dispositions of mind are acquired unconsciously, and involve a process of inculcation and assimilation; the cultural capital objectified state, ie, in the form of cultural goods and objects such as books, computers, art and, finally, the cultural capital in institutionalized state, which is a form of objectification through titles and certifications school "(McLaren, 1984, p. 3).

The cultural capital has the peculiarity of being a capital that can accumulate over time, it is an instrument of power, at the individual level, in the form of a set of intellectual skills, produced by the family environment and the system school; incorporated in your state is something not material, it can not be transmitted instantaneously and is linked to the mind; being a principal, also it represents an investment of time by the person who acquires and is linked to it; in its objectified state, it is more related to the culture and economy in this state is a transferable equity; in its material state is a source of economic capital and its value depends on the benefits they offer; This capital enables cardholders compared with others,

while capital institutionalized allowed to accumulate qualifications (credentials, titles) legitimizing a supposed knowledge related almost always a product of an institutionalized process schooled process.

The concept of capital in Bourdieu's sociology is presented as "all kinds of resources that power; ie the possibility of being accepted and legitimized in the field is the efficient factor thereof, given as a weapon and as a bet; allows the holder to exercise power, influence and therefore exist in a given field "(Bourdieu and Wacquant L., 1995, p. 65).

With the notion of cultural capital is then possible understanding of the structure, order and functioning of the social world; when Bourdieu uses the term capital never refers to the level of economic theory, market relations; On the contrary, it refers to a general economics of practices, which despite being objective and have an economic nature, are considered as such in everyday life, given that such social practices produce capitalizable value, not only in terms of symbolic capital goods but also in different species (cultural capital, economic capital and social capital), which also have a market in which they can exchange, which is the market of symbolic goods.

The cultural capital they have accumulated teachers for leadership positions has allowed them to be placed in a market from their knowledge, know-how based on the rules of the structures of the social world in which they organize their practices as a series of behaviors, behaviors, attitudes, interests, relationships repeat reflecting the existence of a social reality, built in everyday life; and which in turn is reflected in their lifestyles, practices, actions, preferences, et cetera. All this only makes sense in relation to the formal rules established by the ladder that regulates the promotion and advancement of teachers, because although these accept the support received by a family member or acquaintance to access the office, have sought to meet the requirements of the ladder using the methods of concrete achievements.

We call methods specific to the set of specific activities that are used to achieve certain purposes embodiments as is to obtain a management position. Harold Garfinkel poses with his proposal ethnomethodological studies that these studies "analyze everyday activities as members methods used to make the activities are rationally-visible-and reportable for all practical purposes, ie'explicables'" (Garfinkel , 2006, p. 2).

With these methods specific embodiments, the teachers graduates express an understanding and interpretation of the rules and regulations governing the social space in which they work daily. According to these references, in the next section of this article he described the way in which teachers express that understanding.

From teachers to principals, access strategies

To analyze how a group of four teachers have reached the position of school management at the level of upper secondary education, and here is what they reported for their actions. What they have done what we understand from the category of methods specific embodiments, which are limited to a social space and the accumulation of cultural capital. In these life stories they express their understanding and interpretation of their daily lives.

Thus, when one of the interviewed teachers will be asked about school management positions, he said hesitantly:

The positions of managers and movements ... handlings person yes, note that the constant, even when it was not my case, constant in the allocation policy places is through the mechanisms of interpersonal relationship established with any official, with any union or political figure, definitely. Although it was not my case, yes I can see and I can refer to the documents I belong manage and review, which corresponds me daily, definitely the allocation of places is mostly, I would say 60% or more perhaps, and allocation of seats directives due to social relations, recommendations, is more requests for political figures especially (Ágata).

This shows that the possession of a state incorporated cultural capital consists of social relations, which allow placed in a market. This is expressed by another master when he talks about how he managed to get to have a leadership position.

He had to fight hard to achieve the goals that have, to which we aspire ... I think those elements yes, definitely marked perhaps my performance, and perhaps mark, and perhaps see expressed in some way and from of these references [that] instilled in me that if I wanted to achieve something professionally, it had to make many efforts, had to establish relationships effectively with people who both knew one his

work, that was very important to seek promotions and better pay and a better status, then I say yes; from that point itself has marked much my performance ... my father at the time, at that time did become a union figure in his years of teaching performance, especially the most significant, especially at the level of the ladder served ... he was in the national ranks. (Norma).

Both teachers concerns an acquisition of cultural capital in state incorporated as a way of building relationships, capital accumulation throughout life. The second teacher mentions his family, particularly his father, as a union leader, although access to directorship'm rationalizing conceive as a result of the personal struggle and recognition of the work itself. However, both teachers left see that the acquisition of cultural capital is valuable in the social space of education, it allows up a teaching position social group against another charge involving school management.

But the valuation of the subject by acquiring cultural capital through the academic route also takes place when one interviewee relates his academic career in the following terms:

In that sense, well, saying that the goals that one arises from the beginning are crucial to access management positions, and well, I started desempeñándome at the level of primary education, I was initially working in the municipality of Naucalpan, where I lasted 5 years in afternoon shift. Well, after I joined the Institute [it refers to the Higher Institute of Educational Sciences of the State of Mexico] and made two specializations: specialization in educational research and specialization in educational computing and then the master of science education superior as an intern. From this tour it is like I can request an address (Patricia).

In this case it shows that the teacher tries to cater more to the understanding of the rules governing the magisterial ladder in terms of academic qualifications and seniority; the meaning refers has to do with the academic effort made to achieve promotion.

Another teacher adds that the social relations established and institutionalized cultural capital accumulation, along with their experience, have allowed the position of leadership.

I think what helped me get to the managerial position was having played in the central administration, so I had all the support of the director to have power of incorporating into a managerial position ... then I think the prerequisite was only that: the experience I gave the coordination of projects at the state level, then I was allowed to apply for managerial position and then I was assigned. The post of director I can attribute, well, in my case, my last performance as I had the relationship ... I did have my direct and immediate authorities within the meaning anchored in the work, activities and, well, the roles and responsibilities of work I've played (Susana).

Although the teacher highlights the experience only way to leave it is a personal relationship implicit since remarks that was at the request of the director general with whom he had worked. This indicates that the accumulation of cultural capital favors the performance of positions in the administration, but it means recognition of their performance in the central administration.

Thus, social representations of the teachers emerge as professionals who are held personally holding leadership positions. This is denoted something more charges are conceived as spaces of social distinction, which implicitly assumes a higher social position, which in turn implies a vision of power that occurs in the interaction and shared with others for achieve one's goals.

In this sense, it notes how the teachers who have held leadership positions have established social relations conceived as interdependent, but that in the case of teachers under his leadership requires knowledge of them to exercise the authority relationship and treat them as subordinates. Moreover, it could be noted that the appreciation of cultural capital objectified state comes from the same family relationships that are forged in the educational social space. One of the teachers states:

In the school space are few areas of social life. In my case, I can say that the spaces of social participation are nil; I have 10 years of not participating in social living spaces, which become to circumscribe living spaces with other teachers who are at the family level. Well, my husband, my husband's family and my in-laws are teachers: teachers are all! My in-laws were trained in teaching, working in the

teaching, teaching ... his 5 brothers are masters of it. My only brother is a teacher too and my sister so is and therefore ... the topics of conversation always refer to the spaces of schools, the activities of managers, the commitments they made, all this that it is inherent in the teaching, the educational issues and political (Norma).

Although the teacher understands the areas of social coexistence in their daily lives as confined to the relationship with other teachers who also are familiar, evidence thus the way a background of shared social representations created from family relationships in largely it expresses a sense of the teaching profession as a profession, a profession that is inherited.

conclusions

The teachers who have come to occupy managerial positions describe how have assumed, understood and interpreted the formal rules (the requirements of the ladder) and informal rules governing the social space of education, to accumulate and use the cultural capital inherited or acquired. This strategies, methods of particular embodiments employing teachers to organize their daily activities according to the relationship with his father, or by building up personal relationships, or shown by meeting the requirements of the rules apply to apply for promotion to the square of school management. how are you master the ways described appropriating, understand and interpret the rules governing their social space. Although they come from different social positions, when they reach the proposed directorship began by ordering their daily activities to achieve; also they generated specific practices and inserted into the existing social order.

The different positions that teachers have occupied in social space, did pay attention to the acquisition and use of certain types of cultural capital (methods of concrete achievements) that used to access the post of school management. This was possible from their family status, which allowed them to have some kind of social and personal relationships in their daily lives, or through the accumulation of diplomas thus complying with the formal requirements to be assigned to the position, changing your living space daily, conforming to the social structures of power. These teachers denote an understanding and specific interpretation of the formal and informal rules governing the social space of education, enabling them to stake the accumulation of cultural capital and turn it into methods of

concrete achievements which gave them access to positions school management. They consider his achievements as a personal struggle, recognition of academic merit or the responsibility assumed to hold positions in the central administration, and do not forget that personal relationships are fundamental. At the same time, they express the directorship involves access a position of authority in which subordinates old comrades as it comes.

In this sense, the position of school leaders is considered a position that gives social prestige; the same magisterial ladder regarded as the result of a career that began as a teacher in front of the group. This means that more than an academic career is a bureaucratic career, because they are managerial positions that give power.

The graduates 84-90 teachers generation's degree in elementary education possess and use the cultural capital, as well as their knowledge of the rules of the game existing in their field of work. This can be described how the accumulation of cultural capital affects obtaining management positions, accumulation that defines the way they interpret and use these rules of the game to reach management positions, both formally established and informal. So you can see concrete achievements methods used to obtain achievements and benefits.

Finally, again we quote Octavio Paz in his essay *The Philanthropic Ogre* (1979), to understand the social space of education: "the body of technocrats and administrators, professional bureaucracy, share the privileges of public administration with friends, family favorites and current president, and with friends, with family and favorite of his ministers, friends, relatives and favorite bound by ties of personal nature ". This is clearly described by teachers who have come to occupy management positions when they mention that all family members are teachers, or when they refer their family relationships or accession to boss had when they worked in the central administration, and so on.

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