

**The London School of Economics and Political
Science**

*'Secondary schools as social capital builders:
Opportunity structures and response strategies in four
cases in Spain'*

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Declaration

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Abstract

In 2006 Spain undertook a programme of building social capital as a means of bolstering social cohesion, trust, democratic values and mutual tolerance in the country.

The thesis analyses the attempt by the Spanish government, starting in 2006, to build social capital and the role assigned to Spanish secondary schools. The thesis looks at the formulation of the policy and its subsequent transposing into regional legislation and implementation at the grassroots level.

The empirical analysis assesses the policy's implementation in four secondary schools in two regions-- Aragon and Castile Leon --immediately after the relevant legislation was put into place. Focus of the investigation is on the role that the regions and schools have played in the operationalisation of the national strategy.

The thesis hypothesises that in the Spanish case: *if the government can provide a well formulated and structured social capital building strategy, then secondary schools will be in a position to operate as effective social capital builders.* The “dependent” variable in the thesis is defined as the secondary schools’ *capacity* to implement the national strategy that is based on six policy pillars. Thus, the basic unit of analysis in the thesis is the individual school and its capacity to carry out the functions stipulated in the national and regional legislation. The “independent” variables represent the components of the institutional and operational context.

The study has found differences in the approach adopted by the two regions in the transfer of the national policy to the regional level indicating that it takes time for lower level institutions to fully put into place national policies. Accordingly, changes need to be made in the operationalisation of the six policy pillars as well as in encouraging the schools to become more pro-active in their implementation.

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On the 11<sup>th</sup> of March 2004 between 7:37 and 7:39 ten bombs exploded on four commuter trains in Madrid. The explosions killed 191 and wounded 1,800 people, and represented the worst terrorist attack in the history of Spain and Europe.<sup>1</sup> Taking place three days before the national parliamentary elections, the terrorist attack was initially blamed by the Aznar government on ETA, the Basque separatist group. Instead, by the end of the day it became evident that the attack was carried out by Al Qaeda sympathisers living in Madrid's Muslim community. The shock of the attack and the attempt to attribute it to ETA doomed the Popular Party to defeat and brought to power the Socialist Party of Luis Zapatero which had been trailing in the polls prior to the attack. Once in power the Socialists undertook an ambitious reform of social and educational policy in order to strengthen the capacity of the country to create greater social cohesion and use the instruments available to the state in terms of educational policy to raise the level of social capital and civic awareness

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<sup>1</sup> On the 11 March 2004 bombings see Buesa-Blanco, Baumert and Gonzalez-Gomez, 2010; Brown, 2010; Sanz, 2008; and Diaz Fernandez, 2005). On the impact of immigration—especially from North Africa—see Kennedy, 2007; Chari, 2004.

among the population. Also of high priority for the new government was the need to integrate into Spanish society marginalised groups present in the immigrant population. This programme was to prove to be an ambitious attempt at social reform that had never been tried anywhere else but which the Spanish government felt to be vital in order to guarantee the future cohesion of Spain. Therefore, the Spanish government set out to build social capital among its citizens through the introduction of a new programme<sup>2</sup> in the Spanish educational system. This effort was to break new ground in the field of educational policy in Europe, and it was predicated on the assumption that social capital could indeed be constructed through the targeting of public policy in the educational sector.<sup>3</sup>

The present thesis, which is based on the analysis of the Spanish attempt to build social capital, is motivated by the search for the factors important to the building of that capital and, more pointedly, by the role of public educational policy in this endeavour. Was the Spanish government on the right track in focussing on public policy operating through the educational system? In this case the choice was made to target secondary schools in the development of what was considered to be appropriate social values and attitudes during the pre-adult formative period covering the period between 14 to 16 years of age.

This question raises the general issue associated with implementation of the Spanish national strategy. As expressed by Bardach (1977: 5):

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<sup>2</sup> The term “programme” is used to describe the process by which an initial political response to the 2004 bombings—i.e., the government’s social cohesion policy-- led to the passage of laws creating the National Social Capital Building (NSCB) strategy in 2006 which was then followed up by the regional legislation or how they will be referred to in this thesis as Regional Opportunity Structures or ROSs. Therefore the national social capital policy was operationalized through the NSCB legislation and the ROSs, which together constituted the national and regional programmes for social capital building and which provide the thesis with the explicit reference points to evaluate how the overall programme was applied at the local level.

<sup>3</sup> The national social capital building policy was to take the form of a series of legislative provisions that were subsequently gathered together in the 2006 LOE or national legislation on educational reform. The contents of the LOE will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 4. The Regional Opportunity Structures (or ROSs) for social capital building were elaborated by the regional governments on the heels of the passage of the 2006 national legislation and these will be discussed in the chapters on the two regions of Aragon and Castile Leon.

“A single government strategy may involve the complex and interrelated activities of several levels of governmental bureaus and agencies, private organizations, professional associations, interest groups and clientele populations. How can this profusion of activities be controlled and directed? The question is at the heart of what has come to be known...as the “implementation problem”.

In 2004 it was clear to the Spanish government that something had to be done to reinforce social cohesion in the country and the educational system seemed to provide the best alternative for governmental action. As observed by Robert Putnam, education is crucial to the socialisation process; it is in fact “the key to both greater tolerance and greater social involvement” and the best predictor of “engagement in civic life” (Putnam, 2000: 18). Therefore, any study of the “constructability” or increase of social capital and civic engagement must begin with the potential role of the schools in creating those links across civil society.

The thesis identifies and analyses the conditions under which lower secondary schools can play a role in the building of social capital in their function as the last link in the policy implementation chain (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984; Hill and Hupe, 2005) or in their role as ‘street-level bureaucrats’ (Lipsky, 2010; Lipsky and Hill, 2007). More accurately, they are conceived in this thesis as the policy implementers of last resort or those occupying the end of the policy chain that connects educational policy making in Spain from the national to the local level.<sup>4</sup> The policy making and implementation structure in Spain is one characterised by a multi-level governance setting.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, we need to carefully analyse

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<sup>4</sup> The literature on “street-level bureaucrats” was particularly prominent in the social work and planning literature during the late 1970s (e.g., Prottas, 1979; Lipsky 1980). In recent years the concept has come back into vogue (Ricucci, 2005; Evans, 2010; Lipsky, 2010). However, it does not represent a primary focus of this thesis.

<sup>5</sup> The Spanish context within which the research for this dissertation was conducted requires, by definition, an analysis of how policy is made and implemented at different levels of the institutional system—i.e., national, regional, provincial, local and in the individual schools—rather than only at

what happens at each level of the structure, and how the final policy outputs correspond to the initial intentions of the national policy makers.<sup>6</sup> As Peter John (2011: 1) has written, we are interested in “what happens down the line, outside of the black box of policy making once a decision to prioritize has been made...” In other words, are the objectives of the national legislation finally operationalized as the policy flows down the implementation chain that characterizes multi-level policy implementation in Spain?<sup>7</sup>

The thesis is informed by a critical review of the relevant literature on social capital and social capital building. It conceptualises a model for the dynamics of social capital generation indicating how and when the promotion of this asset by a specific actor –in our case the secondary schools-- can take place. On this basis, the thesis sets out to study four secondary schools in the specific institutional and operational context of Spain and in two of its regions--Aragon and Castile Leon—in their role as crucial implementers of the Spanish government’s policy to increase in social capital and civic engagement in response to the political climate that emerged after the elections of 2004.

## 1.1 Social capital, socioeconomic development and democracy

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one level as is the case in the classic work by John Kingdon (1995) on the formulation of policy agendas in the U.S. Congress.

<sup>6</sup> In Spain the structure of policy making changed radically during the second half of the 1970s with the transition from the Francoist to the democratic regime. Previously, policy making was strictly a top dominated procedure (Valverde, 1973; Bardaviso, 1969) with no allocation of power at the sub-national level. After the transition from authoritarianism to democracy Spain became a political system where significant policy making powers were allocated to regions and localities (Balfour and Quirosa, 2007; Balfour, 2005; Gibbons, 1999). In a relatively short period of time, the Spanish system of government went from being characterised by a strong centre and weak periphery to one with a weak centre and strong periphery. From the point of view of policy making and implementation multi-level governance calls into question the means by which the policy process remains coherent from the top to the bottom. Who is in a position to guarantee that what comes out at the bottom of the policy linkage structure is what was initially intended at the top? This is a question of oversight and control which in the case of the EU Cohesion Policy was developed over a ten year period following up on a series of legislative changes and the accumulation of experience on the part of the final implementers of the policy (Leonardi, 2005).

<sup>7</sup> The discussion of educational policy implementation in Spain has many parallels with the problems associated with the implementation of federal programmes in the U.S. See, for example, Hanf and Toonen (1985) and Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) for a discussion of these issues.

Within the evolution of the theory of social capital, the study of civic traditions and regional institutions in Italy conducted by Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993) marked the beginning of a new understanding of the concept and its increased visibility across the Social Sciences. In analysing the macro level impact of social capital, the authors identified the concept as a variable capable of explaining regional differences in the consolidation of the decentralised political system, institutional performance and—ultimately—good governance, thereby contributing to the general wellbeing of the population and therefore supporting the goals of democracy. The study was carried out in Italy's twenty regions from 1970 to 1989. For the first time, social capital was not only conceptualised but also empirically measured as the *sine qua non condition* underpinning institutional capacity in the pursuit of broad based development and political goals across a range of policy sectors. The contemporary and multifaceted notion of development is, of course, an aim that underlines the understanding of the positive role of modern governance and the expectations it creates. Thus, social capital lies at the very core of the notion of development and of the longitudinal trajectory that is needed to produce and maintain modern democratic societies.

Social capital is not only important within the context of development but is a fundamental feature of the operationalisation of democratic societies in terms of “the set of values and attitudes of citizens relating primarily to trust, reciprocity and cooperation” (Newton, 1999: 4) that are considered to be important for the operationlisation of democratic systems. As discussed by Torcal and Montero (1999) in transitional democracies, such as Spain, at the beginning of transition there is very little social capital, but as the democracy consolidates it should witness an increase (rapid or slow is yet to be established) in “social trust and social capital” (p. 167).

Even though the Italian findings generated an increased interest in social capital, they also generated a lively debate on the elements that compose the concept as well as a general discussion of the impacts that it

produces. According to Putnam et al (1993), being the product of a vibrant civic community, the existence of high levels of social capital follows mainly a path dependent logic, rooted in the long term evolution of the community's historical legacy. According to this view, to a large extent history shapes the civic traits of territorial communities and determines their chances of benefiting from differentiated stocks of social capital. Thus, some communities are more richly endowed than others from the inheritance of social capital. The Italian findings pointed to the predominance of norms of reciprocity and diffused trust together with denser networks of associations in the social capital rich communities, as opposed to the prevalence of selected trust and strong family dynamics at the interpersonal level—that were described by Banfield (1958) as 'amoral familism'—and rarefied associational networks found in social capital poor communities. Both occurrences were explained as a product of the different historical evolution of territorial communities.<sup>8</sup>

Various authors have criticised what was perceived to be an exaggerated focus on a *path dependent* approach in the Italian study, and today, at the centre of the debate lies the possibility of creating social capital in the short to medium term (Leonardi and Nanetti, 2008; Paraskevopoulos, 2006; Riedl and Van Winden, 2004; Nanetti, 2001; Woolcock, 2001; MacGillivray and Walker, 2000; Gittel and Vidal, 1998; Ostrom, 1996). The concern for social capital's constructability has proved to be particularly relevant for underdeveloped communities around the world where social capital is in short supply (La Cava and Nanetti, 2002; Dasgupta, 2000; Snack, 1999; Temple, 1999; Kennedy, Kawachi and Brainerd, 1998; Narayan, 1997) and the roots of democracy as not so firmly entrenched; the development and institutional economic literature has focused on how to develop appropriate social capital building strategies as a means of providing a stronger base for economic interactions in open societies (Tragardh, 2007; Lagus, 2003; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000; Stiglitz,

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<sup>8</sup> See Paraskevopoulos (2001) in his discussion of the differences in social capital endowments of two adjacent regions in Greece—i.e., Southern Aegean and Northern Aegean—based on different historical experiences.

2000; Green, Ashton, and Sung, 1999; Szreter, 1997). In other words, if social capital is in short supply, it needs to be encouraged and strengthened in order to both provide stronger roots for democracy and for more effective economic interchanges in a market economy. And Spain, the focus of this thesis, is precisely that example of a “transitional democratic system” (Field, 2011; Gibbons, 1999; Clark and Haltzel, 1987) undergoing significant socioeconomic and political change during the last three decades.

Despite criticising Putnam’s approach, it is in the Italian study itself where some of the above mentioned scholars have found the driving logic behind their contributions to the *constructability* thesis of social capital. Effectively, the iterative nature of Putnam’s ‘virtuous circle’ logic of social capital generation has provided a ‘stepping stone’ to advance some of the ‘constructivists’ approach to the promotion of alternative strategies for social capital creation. According to this line of thinking, authors like Leonardi and Nanetti (2008), Cento and Jones (2006), Halpern (2005), Herreros (2004), Chhibber (2000), Hall (1999), Ostrom (1996), Evans (1996), Levi (1996), and Leonardi (1995), have explored the possibility of social capital generation via *deliberate* state-led interventions in Putnam’s ‘virtuous circle’. In the search for alternative ways for such state-led interventions that may be suited to different territorial contexts, the public policy field provides alternative routes for such state-led interventions: via the governance paradigm with its new modes of governance or via new public policy strategies that profile particular public institutions and actors as potential social capital builders.

## **1.2 Purpose, scope and objectives of the thesis**

In this context, the search for the conditions and the actors that demonstrate the possibility of positively impacting social capital dynamics has become the focus of a growing field of study, in which the role of the

state and other public institutions operating as influential agents in the generation of social capital has been repeatedly highlighted (Leonardi and Nanetti, 2010; Paraskevopoulos, Getimis and Demetropoulou, 2008; Rotberg, 2001; Krishna, 2000; Sturges 1997). Given the point of departure (the Spanish national social capital building—NSCB-- strategy) of the thesis, by necessity we locate ourselves within the constructability strand of social capital theory: The Spanish NSCB programme's strategy is predicated on the belief that social capital can be built through focussed public policies and that its increase is useful for both the functioning of democratic political institutions and, eventually, for economic interactions. The purpose of the thesis is to explore the role of 'social capital builder' that can be played by the public institution identified by the NSCB--that is, the secondary schools--when a purposefully formulated strategy is put into place and implemented. The scope of the work to be carried out here singles out the policy undertaken by the Spanish government and the way it was implemented in four secondary schools in two of the country's regions. The four schools provide the units of analysis for testing the hypotheses generated by the thesis.

The choice of doing this type of research on educational policy and secondary schools is not new to the social capital literature, but within this body of literature the specific relationship between schools as street-level bureaucrats and social capital generation as a state responsibility have not yet been adequately explored. The reason for this gap goes back to the origins of the concept when in the two ground-breaking studies of Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1986) on social capital and education, the interaction between the latter and the former was not the focus of either study. Instead, the two authors looked at the relationship between social capital and educational outcomes through the themes of cultural and human capital, thereby leaving a strong legacy of looking at the impact of social capital on education. This thesis attempts the exact opposite—i.e., it focuses on the potential impact of what could happen in the educational system on the prospects for building social capital among pre-adults

enrolled in compulsory secondary education programmes in two Spanish regions. In other words, it looks at how an actual social capital building programme has been implemented in the Spanish context in four schools and how the outputs of this programme may impact on the outcome whose objective is to add to the social capital stock present in Spanish society.

Coleman's work was focused on the analysis of social capital in the creation of human capital (Coleman, 1988)<sup>9</sup>; while Bourdieu's work was on cultural and social capital. In both works, the potential of schools as institutions capable of producing social capital was not addressed. Rather, the two authors focused on the analysis of social capital's contribution to educational outcomes (Coleman), and of the effects of acquired educational credentials on personal socialisation processes (Bourdieu). Also, from the perspective of the political culture literature, the few empirical studies on the promotion of civic engagement and political participation among children in school have been limited to the analysis of citizenship education contained in the school curriculum (Stevens et al., 2007; Halpern, 2005; Jenkins and Osberg, 2003).

In spite of this constraining focus on the part of the classical social capital theorists, parallel contributions arising from other disciplines such as pedagogy, sociology, and others (Campbell, 2007 and 2000; Eyler, 2002; Stukas and Dunlap, 2002; Clary and Snyder, 2002; Helliwell and Putnam, 1999; Giles and Eyler, 1994; Holland and Andre, 1987; and Beck and Jennings, 1982; among others) have begun to explore how actions and processes—both of a curricular as well as of extracurricular nature—implemented by a single educational institution can impact on the attitudinal features of the immediately surrounding community and which could be described as social capital relevant. Still, these studies remain

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<sup>9</sup>In his study, Coleman (1988) identified a powerful influence of social capital on human capital. According to Coleman, educational outcomes of children are strongly influenced by the levels of *bonding* social capital found in the home. He analysed social capital as an explanation for good and bad educational performance, and his ideas spawned a significant amount of social capital studies building on his thesis and on the link between social capital and education.

reduced in scope and depth in terms of their impact on social capital theory. In effect, not having acknowledged and addressed the multidimensionality of the asset, their findings have been confined to areas of study other than social capital and, therefore, have not been integrated into the mainstream of the social capital literature.

Sociological approaches have contributed to the debate by exploring additional beneficial outcomes of education and the schooling process for social cohesion, political participation and development (Dijkstra, Veenstra and Peschar, 2004; John et al, 2003; Buerkle and Guseva, 2002; Slomczynski and Shabad, 1998; Sehr, 1997; Beck and Jennings, 1982). The building of a sense of community, and the sharing of social norms and patterns of behaviour, are all underlying socialising inputs acquired during the school years along with traditionally knowledge-based competences. In this manner, sociological approaches suggest the relevance of schools as agents in the fostering of the central aspects of social capital. The schooling process is considered to provide an ideal platform for the teaching of basic values and the development of active social networks that facilitate the civic engagement and socialisation of young people, which in turn, is critical in the formation of adult political and social attitudes and, eventually, behaviour.

However, these studies have treated the *constructability* thesis either in an indirect or limited fashion. Thus, most of the studies have maintained their focus on the schools' educational mission and have dealt with the notion of the 'additional benefits' of schooling on a theoretical level when exploring the congruence of the relationship between the educational system's mission and the concept of social capital rather than trying to measure how the 'benefits' can be maximized or delivered. Other studies, which are very few in number but are empirical in nature, have been carried out through a research design that has privileged the single case study approach, thus limiting the significance of their findings and the possibility of drawing inferences across institutionally differentiated

territorial contexts (Buerkle and Guseva, 2002; Slomczynski and Shabad, 1998). As a consequence, these studies have not answered the question of how public institutions at the national, regional and local level can help to build social capital through the schools.

In this context, the overall aim of this thesis is more ambitious and centres on a **twofold purpose**:

- on the one hand, the thesis seeks to *advance the study of social capital's constructability by focusing on the identification and analysis of public policy strategies producing opportunity structures for social capital building*; and
- on the other, it attempts to *empirically investigate how the Spanish government's social capital building strategy has been operationalized in four secondary schools located in two different regions..*

The **scope** of the thesis spans across four case studies of secondary schools in two regions in Spain, a country where social capital stocks are reported to be comparatively low but where recent public policy developments in the educational field have delineated a national strategy and created a set of regional strategies or "opportunity structures" (ROS) that have allowed the possibility for the building of social capital by secondary schools to emerge. Torcal and Montero (1999) have observed that though democracies may establish the roots of social capital they do not in and of themselves provide a guarantee that social capital will be nurtured and re-enforced by subsequent public policies. That re-enforcement of the roots of democracy needs to be provided by the inter-generational changes in the levels of trust and tolerance in local communities. Therefore, public policy makers face the challenge of either doing nothing to enhance social capital or engaging in a pro-active policy process designed to improve the chances of enhancing over time the stock of social capital in transitional democratic systems. As observed by

Wiarda and Mott (2001: 62), the success of this transition is not only important in the case of the Iberian democracies (Spain and Portugal) but also to those newly established democratic regimes in Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa.

In the Spanish case, the Multi Level Governance (MLG from here on) model of educational (and other) policy making procedures provides a strongly regionally differentiated institutional and operational context in which the implementation of a social capital building strategy and configuration of opportunity structures need to be comparatively explored in order to judge on an empirical basis how the national strategy to create social capital and civic responsiveness is being implemented and producing the expected outcomes. We need to remember that in Spain the regions enjoy broad public policy mandates and therefore are in a position to determine the nature of the final outputs of national policy initiatives (Borzel, 2002). Therefore, we want to avoid imposing a model on the analysis that emphasizes central control and steering from one centre of authority at the national level. As discussed by Hanf and Toonen (1985: vi-vii) this approach would expose the analysis to emphasize the 'sub-optimalization' of the policy rather than understanding the importance of local factors operating in the determination of local policy outputs and eventual outcomes.

A useful differentiation between policy outputs and outcomes is provided by DeLeon when he describes outputs as "policy products" and outcomes as "policy results". In his words: "Outcomes are real results, whether intended or unintended" (DeLeon, p. 9 as cited by Hill and Hupe (2005: 9)). In this thesis we will be analysing policy outputs given that they are the concrete results of the new educational policy as operationalized by the four schools in our sample. The Spanish government's working assumption from the beginning was that these policy outputs would lead to

the policy outcome of increased social capital among students attending lower secondary schools.<sup>10</sup>

Specifically, the thesis is guided by six **research objectives**:

1. First, to *make a contribution to the literature on the theory of social capital in transitional democracies* and ways to buttress the roots of democratic institutions through purposely designed public policies.
2. *Second, to contribute to the constructability school of thought*, by analysing the emergence of a ‘new’ social capital builder in Spain’s educational system —i.e., secondary schools. This contribution is new in the literature both in terms of its identification of a *new institutional social capital builder* as well as of its *empirical, comparative nature*.
3. Third, the thesis seeks to *investigate the secondary school institutional and operational context within Spain’s MLG system*. As discussed above, after 2004 the country has provided for the implementation of a defined social capital building strategy where secondary schools represent the central actors in the process. What role did the street-level bureaucrats in the four schools have in determining the eventual outputs of the policy?
4. Fourth, the thesis carries out an *analysis of the differentiated response of the four secondary schools in terms of educational outputs* in implementing the programme for social capital building provided by the national strategy and the regionally shaped opportunity structures.

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<sup>10</sup> See Perrin (2006) for a discussion of the differentiation between outputs and outcomes as defined by the World Bank. See also Stiglitz et al. (2008) and Barca and McCann (2011) on the operationalisation and possible indicators of outcomes in public policy.

5. As a fifth objective, the thesis intends to *identify and discuss the differences and commonalities in school responses* across the four cases. This is important in order to understand the conditions under which secondary schools are capable of helping to build social capital through the desired educational outputs and the important intervening variables that influence the production of these outputs.
  
6. A final objective, based on the empirical results, is the *drawing of conclusions and the discussion of policy implications of the study for the focus on schools as social capital builders and whether the attempt on the part of the Spanish government to reinforce social capital among secondary school students has the possibility of succeeding in transforming educational outputs into positive social capital outcomes.*

### **1.3 The conceptual framework of the thesis**

#### **1.3.1 The conceptualisation of social capital**

Since its inception, the theory of social capital has generated much critical discussion and provided material for debate across the Social Sciences. The definition of the concept generates the first dimension of such a debate, with authors emphasising different aspects of social capital over others. For the purposes of this thesis, social capital is understood as a social construct involving a dual dimension: that of *structure* and that of content or substance. The **definition** of social capital adopted throughout this thesis is:

*the presence in a community of social networks (structural dimension) that are dense and interconnected and that are reinforced*

*and governed by diffused trust and social norms of which the most important is reciprocity (substantive dimension).*

Thus, the thesis understands the importance of the presence of social capital in a community as being associated with its capacity to facilitate cooperation (through the generation of a trustworthy environment and the achievement of credible commitments) and to enable the necessary collective action for the generation of institutional-civil society synergies that underpin good governance, socio economic development, and democratic values.

### ***Social capital's tripartite typology and dual dimensionality***

Conceptual refinements produced in the aftermath of Putnam's work in Italy, have enriched the theory by identifying three distinct manifestations of social capital and allowing for the identification and measurement of its dual dimensionality.

Stemming from the development literature (Woolcock, 2001 and 1998; Gittel and Vidal 1998), three types of social capital have been identified: bonding, bridging and linking.<sup>11</sup> *Bonding social capital* is defined as an asset exchanged through relations based on kinship, shared identity and a common sense of belonging, traits that are found at the level of primary and/or small groups, that is, among members of clans, families, neighbours or immediate friends. The *bridging* type of social capital identifies interconnected associational relationships in societal contexts that are characterised by diffused trust and the sharing of cross-cutting norms. Thus, trust and such norms cut across multiple formal associations and are expressed by members who come from different spheres of society. All of this, in turn, builds a community that is more capable than

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<sup>11</sup> The threefold distinction is what makes current discussions of social capital qualitatively different from those carried out by Coleman and Bourdieu. The latter heavily concentrated on the bonding variety of social capital vis-a-vis the emphasis on bridging and linking variety emphasized in the post-Putnam era. In our Spanish study the emphasis is on the bridging and linking variety of social capital.

others of acting collectively in the pursuit of common goods (Szreter, 2002; OECD, 2001; Gittel and Vidal, 1998; Leonardi, 1995).

The impact of these two types of social capital is noticeably different. The bonding type of social capital is an asset that is found in most 'local' contexts and remains at the service of and benefits only the groups that generate it. In so doing, it even serves as a coping mechanism in poor communities devoid of functioning institutions and deeply affected by natural disasters, acute economic crisis, or civil war (Narayan, 1999 and 1997). Bridging social capital is, on the other hand, an asset with a greater impact potential because it overcomes the confines of bonding by extending horizontally bridges of trust and shared norms beyond any one local group, tribe or family. Strengthening relations across secondary groups that operate in different spheres, bridging social capital manifests itself in the vibrancy of associational life in a community. This form of social capital and its expression in associational measures has dominated the common understanding of the concept in much of academia and has generated a significant amount of research and literature (Paraskevopoulos, 2010; Van Deth et al., 1999; Reggiani and Fabbri, 1999; Grootaert, 1997).

Still, there is a third type of social capital—*linking* social capital—which expresses the systematic connection of an engaged civil society with public institutions in the sharing of the task of policy making and service provision. *Linking* social capital yields long lasting societal impacts because it promotes general institutional performance through civil society's coordinated inputs into the decision making process and through the way in which it facilitates the monitoring of public action. Thus, this third type of social capital provides a vertical dimension to the concept and highlights its political relevance in the pursuit of greater institutional performance and the achievement of economic and social development (Danchev, A. 2005; Woolcock, 2001, 2000 and 1998; Solow, 2000; Chhibber, 2000; Sckocpol, 1999; Baum F., 1999; Leonardi and Nanetti,

1998; Berman S.,1997). But its study is also the most rare from the point of view of empirical research.

In addition to the definitional elements, as will be seen below, the literature on social capital has discussed the existence of a *dual dimensionality*.<sup>12</sup> While its *structural* dimension refers to the nature of the linkages connecting the engaged members and the various social networks that arise from them, the *substantive* dimension includes the “softer” components of the concept of social capital, specifically the social norms and trust that are the elements which *flow* within the structure of the social networks. The two dimensions are found in each of the three types of social capital. In terms of the structural dimension, in the *bonding* type of social capital the network is reduced in scope—including a limited number of people from one/few group(s)-- and is characterised by stronger and relative exclusive linkages between members. In both the *bridging* and *linking* types the structural dimension identifies much wider and denser networks but with much weaker linkages that cut across different formal groups and establish a vertical connection with decision making institutions. The substantive dimension is also present but less differentiated in the three types of social capital, with the exception of the linking type, in which the relationships of trust have a different quality due to the verticality of the linkages --by definition describing a relationship among unequal counterparts-- vis-à-vis the horizontality of the linkages in the bridging and bonding types of social capital.

### **1.3.2 The conceptual model: schools and their capacity to build social capital**

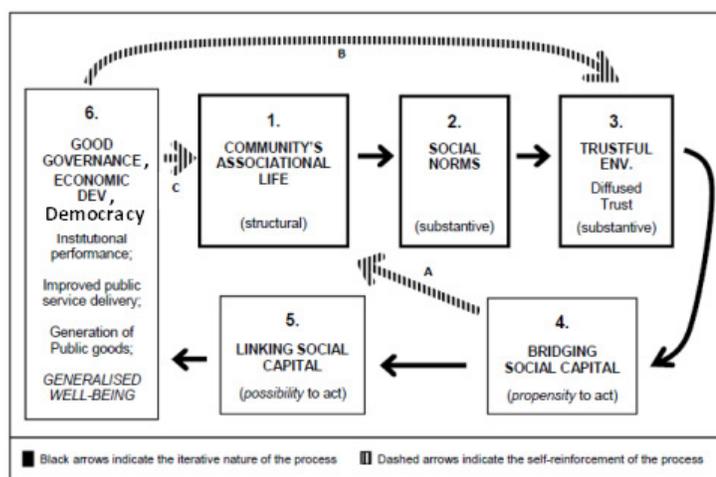
#### ***The backdrop: Social capital generation and the adaptation of Putnam’s ‘virtuous circle’***

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<sup>12</sup> This dual dimensionality is captured in the Spanish NSCB strategy as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4 of the dissertation.

Figure 1.1 below illustrates the thesis' adaptation of Putnam's 'virtuous circle' of social capital generation which informs its conceptual model.<sup>13</sup> The illustration depicts one of the many cycles in social capital generation. It incorporates two logical paths represented by two distinct types of arrows: the solid arrows underline the principal path of the iterative process of social capital generation, while the dashed arrows indicate mutual interactions and self-reinforcing dynamics operating within the cycle.

**Figure 1.1 Adaptation of Putnam's 'virtuous circle' of bridging and linking social capital: one cycle**



Source: Author

In the Figure the social capital generation process begins by acknowledging the existing level of associational life of a community (indicated as box 1 in Figure 1.1). This expresses the structural element of social capital that is found at different levels in different communities, some being more versus others less endowed in terms of associational life and activities. Regardless of a community's endowment at the point of departure, the Figure highlights how the existing interaction among participating members contributes to the observance and sharing of social norms such as reciprocity, cooperation and solidarity. The degree of

<sup>13</sup>The bonding type of social capital is not addressed in the illustration because it represents a type of social capital that is *based on kinship, shared identity and a common sense of belonging (mainly found among members of clans, families, neighbours or immediate friends)* as explained previously. Its generation follows a different process from that of the bridging and linking types of social capital illustrated in Figure 1.1.

sharing underwrites and reinforces (more when the endowment is richer, less when it is poorer) the value system of the community (box 2) that introduces the substantive element of social capital as a community asset.

In turn, the sharing of social norms contributes to the construction of a *trusting environment* (box 3) where trust is diffused and plays, in Putnam's words, an essential role as the *lubricant* of cooperation and the essential component of social capital, permeating every aspect of community life<sup>14</sup>. Thus, in all spheres of the community's life, a degree of trust is present, such as between teachers and parents, politicians and the electorate, merchants and clients, employers and employees, students and teachers, doctors and patients, and more. At this point in the process, the focus is placed on the level of *bridging social capital* that emerges as a feature of a community (box 4), where networks present in the community (structural dimension) not only nurture the respect for social norms (substantive dimension) and encourage their observance, but also involve themselves in community issues. In doing so they reinforce their own significance (box 1) and fuel the creation of an environment of diffused trust. The degree of bridging social capital expresses the community's *propensity* to act in the pursuit of the common goods objective and propensity to operate within democratic norms.

Based on the existing level of bridging social capital, the process enters the phase of *linking* social capital generation which relates to the establishment of vertical ties with public institutions through the systematic political engagement on the part of the associations --and associational networks---(box 5). Thus, the propensity of associations to act is translated into their actual political engagement to yield policy impacts and consolidate the roots of democratic behaviour. The presence of linking social capital in a community is underwritten by the ad hoc mechanisms that channel the collective action of associations into policy demands and

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<sup>14</sup>The identification of associational life as the beginning of the inner loop responds to contributions made by other scholars such as Gittel and Vidal (1998), Herreros (2004), Nanetti (2001), and Woolcock (2001).

the monitoring of political accountability to effectively create desired outputs. It is through linking social capital that a community is best positioned to garner policy outputs, ranging from generalised higher institutional performance and wellbeing as well as establishing the democratic “rules of the game” for the delivery of specific services (box 6). This is because the cycle feeds into a subsequent cycle, in a process that is iterative, and thus sustainable over time, that is fundamental in transitional democratic regimes.

The second logical path identifies three mutually reinforcing interactions operating within the social capital generation process. First, as mentioned above, bridging social capital bolsters the community’s associational life (arrow A); secondly, the higher level of good governance and socio-economic wellbeing achieved directly increases social trust (arrow B); and thirdly, it also contributes to the increase in the community’s associational life (arrow C). This second logical path further underscores the *sustainability* of the process, whereby social capital is reproduced and increased in its robustness with every cycle. The adaptation purports that the depiction of a second and third cycle should show boxes of a larger dimension, because in the virtuous cycles stocks of social capital (trust, norms and networks) ‘tend to be self-reinforcing and cumulative’ (Putnam et al, 1993: 177) and thus, as reflected in the title of the book, “making democracy work”.

At the same time, the illustration also suggests the *fragility* of the process of social capital generation, sharing the view that the trait of insufficient stocks of social capital ‘is also self-reinforcing’ (Putnam et al, 2003: 177) if not adequately governed. Over time, social capital can be created but can also be depleted or destroyed. Institutions, events, people and ideas can incrementally reverse the ‘virtuous’ direction of the process. Thus, if any of the connections between the boxes were to ‘break’, the content of each of the boxes would be negatively impacted, and during the second time around, the level of social capital would likely begin to decrease. But this

thesis' model ultimately purports, and its empirical study explores the point that institutions can make a difference in building social capital stocks. The thesis conceptualises that the virtuous circle can be bolstered at any point via deliberate actions by political actors or by the intervention of public institutions, such as, in this case, secondary schools (boxes 1, 2 and 3) as illustrated in Figure 1.2.

### ***Schools and their capacity to build social capital***

Providing an ideal and natural setting for network creation and the sharing of norms and values, schools are conceived in the thesis and in the national NSCB strategy as very important actors in a local community with a crucial role to play in the implementation of social capital building strategies. Thus, schools have the capacity to impact Putnam's 'virtuous circle'<sup>15</sup> of social capital generation. The iterative nature of the social capital generation process and the identification of its three key phases—initial level of associational life, stipulation of social norms, creation of a trusting environment--for the production of bridging and linking social capital underpins the underlying proposition of the study: purposeful intervention in the process of social capital generation by secondary schools is possible and its dynamics need to be understood better by policy makers and scholars. The intervention by the schools has the potential to achieve either the generation of new social capital in places with low stocks, or an increase in the existing levels where they need to be replenished.

Operationally, in this thesis and according to the national strategy secondary schools are projected to represent suitable actors in carrying out such interventions that will contribute to the building of social capital. Secondary schools are well placed for this purpose not only in terms of the nature of their function (education), but also in terms of the temporal sequence of their intervention (educating students during the formative years in their life), of the status they hold in the community (as important

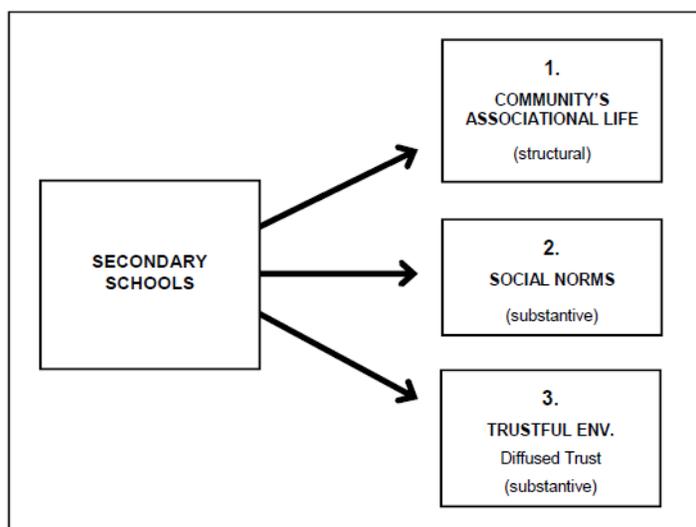
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<sup>15</sup>See Putnam et al. (1993: 163-185).

institutions they receive the attention and focus of public authorities, parents and civil society) and of their place within the public policy implementation process as street-level bureaucrats.

The social capital generation model in the thesis involves the intervention of secondary schools at three specific points in the process--that is, via: the bolstering of students' associational life (box 1 in Figure 1.2); the strengthening and continued assertion of social norms (box 2); and the construction of an environment in the school, characterised by a high degree of diffused trust among the members of that community (box 3). The 'community' in this thesis is the school's student body.

**Figure 1.2 Intervention points for social capital building by secondary schools**



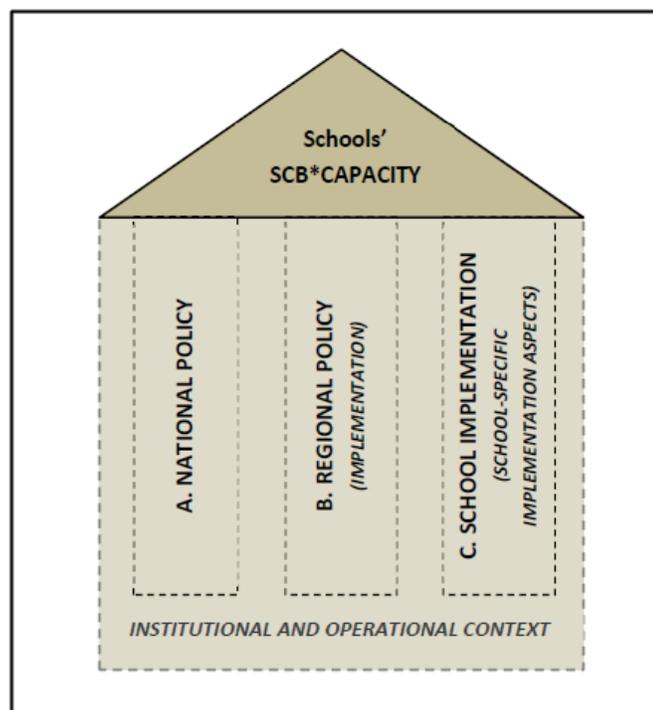
Source: Author's formulation

This intervention into the social capital generation process is conceptualised as taking place at the micro level within the schools' student community via organisational actions undertaken within each school's educational policy framework. Thus, the intervention in the student community's associational life (box 1) concerns the encouragement of network generation (structural dimension of social capital), while the school's actions addressing social capital's substantive dimension (boxes 2 and 3) pay attention to and aim at reinforcing social

norms (such as solidarity, cooperation, reciprocity) as well as to build trust among the students as a component in the school's daily life.

In this context, the thesis' conceptual model centres on the analysis of the necessary conditions for schools to foster and strengthen their *capacity* to build social capital. In Figure 1.3 below, the model depicts three fundamental pillars that support the schools capacity: public policy at the national level (pillar A), the policy's implementation at the regional level (pillar B) and other school-specific implementation aspects (pillar C) intervening in the own school's capacity building process.

**Figure 1.3 Conceptual model: School's capacity to build social capital**



\* SCB stands for social capital building.  
Source: Author's formulation

The model purports that together, these three pillars constitute the *institutional and operational context* in which schools function in a given milieu. In effect, for schools to consolidate their capacity as social capital builders within a community, they need to be at the core of a specifically designed national public policy that delineates such a role and contributes

to the nurturing of their social capital building capacity. However, the existence of such a policy is not enough; its regional implementation and critically the regional level legislative implementation acts need to ensure the continuation of such a nurturing environment by establishing spaces and opportunities that maintain and enhance the initial steps taken by the national policy. In a similar vein, school-specific implementation aspects play a crucial role as well; schools with a stronger internal leadership to facilitate the integration of changes or with a greater sense of their part as implementers are more likely to be successful in the task of adopting a new role. This conceptual model is operationalised in the next section.

### **1.3.3 Operationalisation of the model: Hypothesis, variables and research questions**

The exploratory nature of the thesis builds its empirical work on the basis of a working hypothesis. Specifically, it tests whether *secondary schools can become social capital builders if they operate within the institutional context to strengthen associational activities, strengthen social norms and help to diffuse a trusting environment*. Conceptually, as illustrated in the previous section, the components of social capital's two dimensions (social networks in the structural dimension and social norms and trust in the substantive dimension) are expected to be nurtured through targeted school activities. But the essence is to understand under which conditions secondary schools can perform this role in an effective manner. In other words, the main issue is to clarify *when* is the institutional and operational context in which secondary schools operate adequate for them to engage in such a task. The thesis therefore hypothesises that: *if provided with a well implemented social capital building strategy which creates an adequate institutional context that offers them the necessary opportunities and resources, then secondary schools can emerge as effective social capital builders in their own right*.

The thesis has set out to test the hypothesis presented above within the context of the Spanish educational system. Spain was selected for this purpose due to the fact that during the initial stages of the Jose Luis Zapatero's PSOE<sup>16</sup> government (2004-2011) (Field, 2011) a significant attempt (LOE of 2006) was made by the national level to promote the building of social capital through a substantial reform of the educational system. Given Spain's regional system of policy making and implementation, the move by the national government to promote specific outputs on the part of the educational system required the intervention of the regions in order to translate the intent of the national policy into specific actions by schools in the various regions. In other words, Spain presents a typical example of a system of policy making and administration that is characterised by a system of "multi-level governance" (MLG) where the initial formulation of a policy and its eventual implementation depends on the intervention of a number of institutions at the different levels of the public policy making and implementation structure (Agranoff, 2010; Borzel, 2002 and 2000; Page and Goldsmith, 1987).<sup>17</sup>

In the case of Spain, the MLG system operating within the educational system is five-fold in nature. It is based on the potential actions on the part of the national government, regional government, provincial government, communal government and the individual schools. In Spain the secondary schools carry out their educational function within the boundaries set by the national level, but their capacity to operate as social capital builders depends to a large extent on the provisions supplied at the other levels where issues of competence, finance, autonomy and inter-organisational relations are extremely relevant.

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<sup>16</sup> PSOE: Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. In December 2011 the Socialists were replaced by Mariano Rajoy's Spanish People's Party (Palomo, 2011).

<sup>17</sup> Governance is to be distinguished from government in that the former signifies that a wider range of actors may be participating and that simplistic hierarchical models of authority and control over implementation need to be abandoned (Hill and Hupe, 2005: 1).

In effect, as will be seen below, in Spain the multi-level governance setting in education is initially framed by a nationally formulated law that delineates the national strategy which is then translated into the regional and local context by appropriate regional legislation and governmental actions at the regional, provincial and local levels. Thus, the implementation activities undertaken by the region and other lower level institutional actors (Knoepfel, 2007) configure what in this thesis is referred to as the 'regional opportunity structure' (ROS), a framework with which the secondary schools are able to engage in effective policy making that is associated with the translation of a national law into specific provisions governed by the regional legislation. Thus, the ROS represents the regional strategy for the achievement of the objectives of the national legislation. The extent and quality of the schools' engagement or response to the ROS determines their capacity to reflect the original objectives of the national law which in this case involves the building of social capital in the respective body of students (i.e., the school's 'community') and the success of the region's operationalisation of these objectives through its institutional and financial provisions.

Given the multi layers of governmental institutions involved in the translation of the national social capital building strategy into effective outputs (i.e., educational targets) and outcomes (increased levels of social capital) we need to face the problem associated with the implementation of national policies at the local level within the context of the multi-level governance system which exists in Spain. As Pressman and Wildavsky (1984: xxi) have stated "...implementation, under the best of circumstances, is exceedingly difficult." Bardach (1977: 3) adds that "It is hard enough to design public policies and programs that look good on paper. And it is excruciatingly hard to implement them in a way that pleases anyone at all, including the supposed beneficiaries or clients".

This is particularly the case when the implementation process has to go through numerous reiterations at the regional and local levels and where a

number of important institutional players are present before we even get to the individual schools. Therefore, the chain of interrelated policy decisions and implementation actions is long indeed in the Spanish educational system. According to Pressman and Wildavsky (1984: xxiv) the longer is the “chain of causality”, the greater is the number of reciprocal relationships that must exist between different levels of government and therefore the more complex implementation becomes.<sup>18</sup> The logical consequence of these numerous reiterations of the policy and its implementation may be delay, underperformance and rising costs (Hupe, 2011; Badrach, 1977)

It follows that the schools’ role as social capital builders will in the first instance be significantly determined by the configuration of the institutional and operational context shaped by the content and dispositions of the national law and of the subsequent translation of the national objectives into policy provisions formulated at the regional level. In addition, the reaction of the secondary schools to this potential new role will be nuanced by two (intervening) factors: first, their own degree of previous experimentation in responding to local problems and opportunities provided by the multi-level setting of the Spanish educational sector and second, the quality of the leadership (i.e., human resources) they possess in responding to contemporary challenges as was the case in the post-2006 setting.<sup>19</sup>

As a consequence, two additional corollary working hypotheses informing this thesis emerge: 1. *the quality of the school’s previous experimentation in meeting local problems and integration into the multi-level setting will influence the way and extent to which the regional opportunity structures*

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<sup>18</sup> See also Cairney (2009) and O’Tolle, Jr, 2000)

<sup>19</sup> Here we will make reference to the work carried out by Kingdon (2003) on the nature of the “windows of opportunity” presented by the political and policy streams within the U.S. Congress. In our case the NSCB and regional ROS have presented “windows of opportunity” for schools to take an active role in building social capital. See also Exworthy and Powell (2004) for their distinction between “little windows” at the local level and the “big windows” at the national level. Their discussion fits nicely with the general “windows of opportunity” concept discussed in this thesis that is utilised at the regional and local levels and that have been provided by the national legislation.

*are used by the schools, therefore having a bearing on their capacity to build social capital; and 2. the present strength and quality of the leadership at the school level will affect the capacity of the schools to perform the role of social capital builders.*<sup>20</sup>

Figure 1.4 presents the variables that will be used in the thesis to test the main and the two corollary hypotheses. The “dependent” variable is defined as the secondary schools’ *capacity* to operate as social capital builders (SCBs) within the educational system. Their capacity to effectively carry out this function will be assessed in terms of the degree and quality of response on the part of each school to the opportunities for action provided by the regional legislation that has set out to operationalise the national law.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the basic unit of analysis in the thesis is the individual school and its capacity to carry out the function of social capital builder as stipulated by the transposition of the national law into the regional educational system. In our view the schools were put in a position to use the national and regional legislation to become significant social capital building institutions through a change in the curriculum, the creation of outreach programmes to further involve students and community groups in school activities and the nurturing of student organisations and individual student participation in school programmes as called for by the national and regional NSCB strategy.

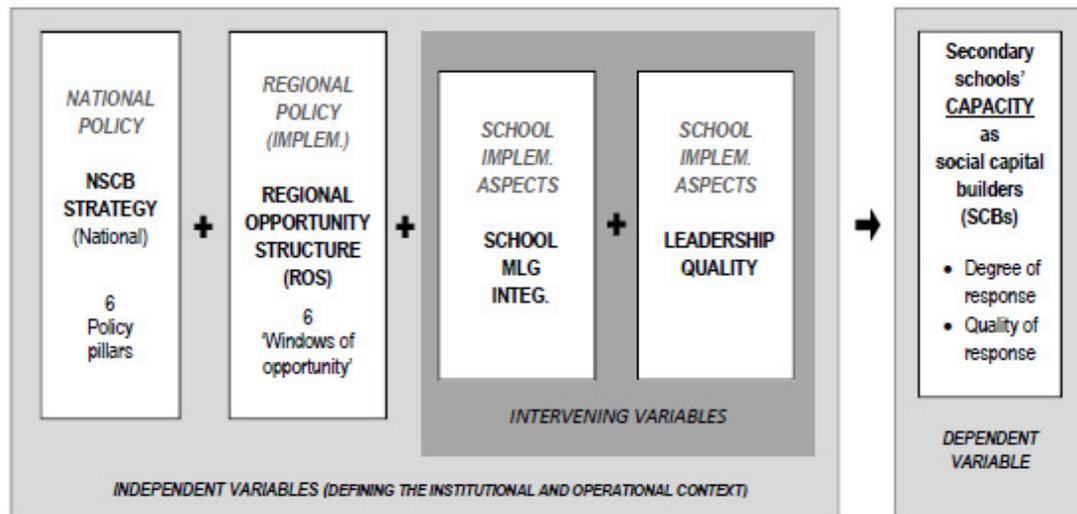
Figure 1.4 illustrates the variables that inform the work of this thesis. The “independent” variables represent the components and aspects of the

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<sup>20</sup> The modelling of the interactions described in Figure 1.4 below is similar to the model suggested by Goggin et al. (1990: 32) in their communication model of inter-governmental policy implementation where the intermediate variables are defined as “feedback” and “state capacity”, the dependent variables as “state implementation” and the independent variables as “Federal, state and local inducements and constraints”.

<sup>21</sup> In analysing the process of implementation of the national law at the school level, we have to be aware of the warning provided by Majone and Wildavsky (1984: 177) that “when we act to implement a policy, we change it”. When we vary the amount of resources, actors and environmental conditions within which a policy is implemented there is a strong possibility that we also change the nature of the outputs and eventual outcomes.

Figure 1.4 The variables in the thesis



Source: Author's formulation

institutional and operational contexts—i.e., the national policy that initiated the institutional process and programme formulation and the regional 'opportunity structure' that translated the national programme within the regional context--that impact the schools' capacity to operate as social capital builders. The thesis identifies four such "independent" variables with the third and fourth conceived as two "intervening" variables:

Briefly, the first two national and regional independent variables are:

a) *National social capital building (NSCB) programme.* It represents the contents of the ad hoc framework law formulated at the national level. It brings together elements from across six different educational policy areas. It represents the driving force of the policy; and,

b) *Social capital building regional opportunity structures (ROS).* They represent the regional translation of the national framework law--that is, how it is implemented at the regional level. Each ROS is comprised of six 'windows of opportunity' (as the term is referred to in this thesis) that are linked to the six individual pillars of the national strategy. There is one regional pillar or 'opportunity structure' for each of the national pillars.

Both the national and regional levels provide the necessary resources to implement the NCSB and ROS strategies.

The third and fourth variables are 'intervening variables':<sup>22</sup>:

c) The quality of the *school "integration" into the multi-level setting*". This variable focuses on the school's track record and traditions within the Spanish educational system and at the local level in meeting local problems which could be defined as the 'institutional capital' of each school; and,

d) *The leadership quality of the human resources* (i.e., the quality of human capital) that are present in the school in terms of the principal, teachers and school administrators and how or whether the school has gone beyond what was strictly required by the regional strategy for social capital building based on the initiatives taken by the school administration.

The thesis engages with seven research questions:

1. What are the critical elements of the national programme devised to promote secondary schools as social capital builders?
2. How did the two selected regions translate the national programme into an 'opportunity structure' articulated into six policy pillars for social capital building in secondary schools?
3. What response did the secondary schools put into place with regard to the opportunity structure and the six policy areas mandated by the regional legislation?
4. How fully did the schools take advantage of the 'windows of opportunity' for social capital building?

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<sup>22</sup> The use of the term intervening variable is used to describe characteristics that are specific to individual institutes and represent a range of differences across the individual cases.

5. Why did schools perform differently? What may explain variations in the social capital building provisions across the schools? (comparative assessment of differences)
6. Conversely, what is common in their response?
7. Are secondary schools in Spain capable of operating as social capital builders? What is the significance of the Spanish case for the constructability theory of social capital building?

#### **1.4 Expected results from the thesis**

The thesis aims to generate a number of contributions to both the theoretical debate on social capital's constructability as well as to the empirical literature on social capital in Spain and beyond. Specifically, the four outputs of the thesis are expected to consist of:

1. The identification of region-specific approaches and opportunity structures (ROS) for social capital building in secondary schools. Due to the devolved nature of Spain's MLG model, the regionally construed opportunity structures are expected to be different; thus, the thesis is expected to contribute to a deeper understanding of the differences underlining policy choices within Spanish regions.
2. Across the four case studies of secondary schools, it is expected that those afforded a more constructive opportunity structure on the part of the region will have taken a more pro-active stance, thus responding to a greater extent and with a higher level of action. This empirical analysis contributes to the assessment of tailored-made social capital building strategies, and in doing so, to the constructability theory.

3. A corollary output of the thesis is the construction of an analytical framework for the assessment of regional policy implementation in general and in particular of the implementation of secondary educational policy.
4. The final contribution is that the thesis will allow a measurement of the final outputs that come out of the MLG implementation structure vis-à-vis what the national level legislation intended. In other words, how have the schools changed the original objectives of the policy in their implementation of the programme?

## **1.5 Structure of the thesis**

The thesis is structured into eight chapters, covering the literature review, the institutional context within which the case studies are embedded, the methodology used to carry out the study, the empirical field work and analysis of the four cases, the comparative analysis across the cases, and the conclusions and policy implications. A brief summary of each of the chapters is presented below.

### Chapter 1. Introduction

The overall purpose, scope and objectives of the thesis are introduced. The conceptual framework is explained, enunciating the main and corollary hypotheses, the variables, and the research questions together with the expected results. Lastly, the structure of the thesis is presented.

### Chapter 2. Social capital, its constructability and the state's role

It identifies and discusses the literature relevant to the thesis. Various bodies of the social capital literature are covered, beginning with those dealing with the nature of the concept of social capital and its typologies. A

second important section of the chapter focuses on the debate regarding the ability to generate social capital. In a third section, the chapter positions itself within the constructability strand of the theory and discusses the role and responsibility that the state and public institutions have in such an endeavour in three subsections exploring the concepts of governance, the implementation of specific public policy for social capital building and the role of a specific public institution (secondary schools) in achieving such a goal.

### Chapter 3. Methodology and research design

This chapter presents the methodology used to carry out the study in terms of deskwork and fieldwork and the overall design. Adopting the multiple case study approach, the study incorporates several qualitative methods, including personal interviews, observations, and content analysis. The chapter presents the selection of the regional and school case studies, restates the hypothesis and details the operationalisation of the variables, the research questions and the analysis to be carried out.

### Chapter 4. The Spanish territorial and institutional context

The chapter introduces and discusses the background characteristics of the territorial and institutional context from where the regional and secondary school case studies have been selected. In explaining the choice of Spain for the case studies, the chapter profiles the Spanish social capital landscape, highlighting historical regional differentiations. It then proceeds to identify and analyse the new opportunities articulated in an emerging strategy for social capital building provided by the Spanish educational system where secondary schools are at the core of the effort. Relatedly, a review of the educational system that underlines Spain's multi-level governance (MLG) setting is undertaken. Subsequently, the national law framing the social capital building strategy (NSCB) for Spain's secondary schools is presented as the first step in the construction of the

institutional and operational context in which secondary schools are posited as potential builders of social capital.

#### Chapters 5 and 6. Regional opportunity structures (ROS) and responses by secondary schools

These empirical chapters analyse the regional opportunity structures (ROS) and the type and quality of responses to them by two secondary schools in each of the two selected regions (respectively, schools in Aragon in Chapter 5 and schools in Castile Leon in Chapter 6). In the two chapters, the characteristics of the regional opportunity structures as the means for the implementation of the national social capital building strategy are analysed. Subsequently, the profile of each school—in terms, among others, of its presence in the neighbourhood, curricula, and student body-- is discussed. In a third section, the chapters analyse how the schools have responded to the windows of opportunity for social capital building identified in the first section of the chapter. The chapters close with a preliminary assessment of the dependent variable in each of the four cases.

#### Chapter 7. Comparing two regional opportunity structures and four case studies for social capital building

This chapter undertakes the analysis of the two comparative research questions and assesses the four cases relative to the commonalities and differences in the scope and internal coherence of their responses. A first section of the chapter is devoted to the comparison of schools in terms of the extension and intensity (level of formalisation and scale) of their response to each window in the opportunity structure of their respective regions. Then the chapter focuses on the evaluation of the coherence of their response vis-à-vis the dual dimension of the social capital concept. Finally, the chapter analyses the reasons why differences exist by assessing the independent and intervening variables (adequacy of institutional and operational context).

Chapter 8. Conclusions, policy implications and agendas for future research

The final chapter of the thesis summarises the research undertaken, by drawing conclusions on the basis of the findings provided by the analysis. It discusses the meaning of the findings vis-à-vis the thesis' conceptual framework and hypotheses as well as with regard to the literature. The chapter also focuses on the policy implications of this thesis with regard to improving the capacity of schools as social capital builders for the student body and closes by outlining the elements of a research agenda that builds on the thesis' conclusions. In sum, the chapter provides an assessment of Spain's NSCB strategy and the MLG system for implementation in determining the capacity of the secondary schools in the two regions to operate as active builders of social capital at the time of the fieldwork in 2009.

## **Chapter 2. Social capital, its constructability and the state's role: a literature review**

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2.1 Conceptualising social capital

The study presented in this thesis engages with a wide spectrum of literature stemming from different disciplines. The literature review is structured into four sections. Locating its core within the debate on social capital creation and the identification of the conditions necessary to do so, this chapter begins with a discussion of the social capital concept and its most frequent interpretations. The second section engages with the debate on its creation, by first presenting the path dependent approach as the basis for the endowment school of thought, and ending with the

constructability strand, that hypothesises a less deterministic approach to social capital creation.

In its third section the chapter addresses the more recent debate on the role of the state in social capital creation. This role has been strengthened by the important place that the concept of governance and its MLG structure have assumed in the institutional literature. In fact, the focus on the role of civil and civic society in their partnership role with public institutions represents an integral part of the concept. The literature linking social capital and education- has begun to include schools as such institutional partners, by emphasising the need to explore a new approach to schools as central actors in innovative social capital building strategies. In closing, the chapter profiles the implications of the literature review for the study carried out in this thesis.

2.1.1 Definitional elements and dimensions of social capital

The ample literature on social capital recognizes that it has become an influential concept in the social sciences in terms of the theoretical and policy contributions it makes to the improvement of the economic and political conditions of people and places. There is also a broad consensus on the fact that the concept has 'an immediate intuitive appeal' (Baron, Field and Schuller, 2000) and there is a degree of convergence of views on the principal elements that now define the concept and inform its interactions. This is because, by and large, the basic aspects of the scholarly writing on the concept of social capital consistently incorporate the definitional elements of trust, norms of reciprocity and social networks that were contributed by the three main authors who have helped mainstream the concept into the lively theoretical but also policy debate on

the concepts: Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert D. Putnam. The first two are Sociologists while the last is a Political Scientist.²²

Building on his work in the 1960s and 1970s on the primacy of economic capital Bourdieu wrote in 1983 an essay on the forms of capital and its accumulation by elite groups to maintain their privileged position, but in 1997 Bourdieu (1997) adjusted his previous view and argued that capital is 'unitary' but takes up three key forms: economic, cultural and social. While in his theoretical formulation, economic capital maintained the top echelon, social capital was deemed to be a multiplier relative to the other two forms given their element of 'sociability'. Bourdieu's earlier contribution went fairly unnoticed until James Coleman's seminal article, which brought social capital to the forefront of the debate in the Social Sciences. Coleman brought to his article (1988) an explanatory focus for much empirical work he had done (Hoffer, Greely and Coleman, 1985) on the relationship between educational achievement and social inequality. He defined social capital as: 'a particular kind of resource available to an actor'. The two main elements of which are: 'some aspect of social structure' and the fact that this facilitates 'certain actions of actors –whether persons or corporate actors-within the structure' (p.98). In subsequent work (1990: 300), he elaborated on his initial definition: 'social capital is the set of resources that are embedded in family relations and in community social organisation and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person'. Generally, he argued that social relations constituted precious capital resources for the actors, through mechanisms creating mutual obligations, trust and expectations, and also making available information and setting norms that could be enforced.

Putnam's longitudinal study of the institutional performance of the newly created Italian regional institutions (Putnam et al, 1993) extracted from its

²² The concept has spilled out beyond these two disciplines and has impacted to a great extent the literature in the field of Economics, Economic History, Anthropology, and Regional Sciences.

empirical findings the concept of social capital. In it and in a subsequent article on the decline of civic engagement in the United States (Putnam 1996: 56; Putnam et al, 1993) the three keystone elements of social capital were defined as: 'features of social life –associational networks, norms, and trust-- that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives'. Thus, social capital has both normative elements, such as norms of reciprocity, cooperation, and solidarity, and trust that are diffused across various spheres of social life; as well as structural elements, such as associational networks that interconnect and prompt participants into action. Other publications that have followed have refined the elements. For example, in the context of development aims Leonardi (1995) defines the element of 'shared objectives' as the production of 'common goods'; and the element of 'norms' in Schuller and Field (1999) is defined as the acknowledgement of each others' systems and values, that is in terms of tolerance as well.

2.1.2 The growth of the literature on social capital

In order to engage in the debate on the constructability of social capital, a review of the debate in the literature on its very nature is first warranted. One of the main criticisms to date of the social capital concept lies in its ambiguity and alleged vagueness. This ambiguity arises from two competing views of social capital: the understanding of social capital as an individual resource, versus the understanding of it as a collective asset. From this duality of interpretation of the nature of social capital the related debate on its measurement has also ensued. For the purposes of this thesis the first debate is the most relevant. The two perspectives on its nature reflect the growth of the research on social capital, so that it has moved from Sociology and Political Science into other Social Science fields such as Psychology and Pedagogy where the focus on the individual is important, but also into other disciplines such as Institutional Economics, Public Administration, Development Planning, and Public

Health among others. The Political Science literature on social capital has expanded to include: the new strand of participatory governance, such as Paraskevopoulos and Leonardi, (2004); research on civiness as well as the dis-engagement from it, such as again Putnam (1995), and Fukuyama (1995); and large scale initiatives on the methodology to measure the stocks of social capital, such as the World Value Survey, the European Social Survey (Meulemann, 2008) and Eurobarometer of Eurostat, or the 'household surveys' of the World Bank and the Community Benchmark Survey of the Saguaro Seminar. In this regard, social network analysis (SNA) techniques have also contributed to the social capital measurement debate (Scott, 1991).

The field of Economics has advanced the debate on the nature of social capital by contributing two important aspects. On the one hand, it has offered the perspective elaborated by the many pertinent works on 'Institutional Economics' that emphasize the role of decision making actors within both the institutions and civil society in order to achieve the objective of growth (Stiglitz et al, 2009; World Bank, 2002; Woolcok, 1998; Romer, 1994; North, 1990). On the other, Economics has also developed a line of inquiry that focuses on the ethical dimension of Economics (Lawrence and Weber, 2007; Sen, 1987). This line of enquiry has contributed to the debate on social capital the element of social values and the aims of economics (Sacconi and Degli Antoni, 2011; Baron, 2005). The pedagogical sciences, taking off from Coleman's work, have also made important contributions (Dijkstra, Veenstra and Penshar, 2004; Buerkle and Guseva, 2002; Carbonaro, 1999) singling out the role of the public education system in the overcoming or reproducing social inequalities (D. Ashton and J. Sung. 1999; Stanton-Salazar, R. and S. Dornbusch, 1995).

The field of Psychology has contributed the analysis of individual characteristics as an aspect of social capital (Donnellan, 2004; Brehm J.

and W. Rahn. 1997), while the fields of Public Administration and Public Policy have identified the significance of the culture of cooperation within bureaucratic structures in relation to the learning curve (Paraskevopoulos, 2004). Research on Public Health has attempted to empirically measure the link between social capital and the health of population groups (Wilkinson and Pickett, 2010; Wilkinson and Marmot, 2006; Baum, 1999; Campbell C. et al. 1999; Kawachi et al., 1997). Finally, the field of Development Planning (JAPA, 2004; OECD, 2001; Dasgupta and Serageldin, 1999; Gittell and Vidal, 1998; Leonardi and Nanetti, 1998; Temkin and Rohe, 1998; Blakely and Snyder, 1997) has advanced the propositional perspective of the twin approach to development --grass-root and top-down-- based on the participation of the stakeholders, supported by institutional initiatives and nurtured by the trust exchanged through social interactions.

2.1.3 Social capital as an individual or collective resource

Addressing the nature of social capital, one stream of the literature (Lin, 1999; Burt, 1997; Flap, 1991; among others) positions social capital as an individual resource, characterised by its provision of individual returns or benefits to those who participate in its creation. According to this view, social capital generation is dependent on individuals making strategic investments in social relations. Private firms are generally considered as typical examples of social capital in this perspective since, by definition, they bring individual returns to those who decide to invest in them. Even though most contributions to this perspective have been developed acknowledging the ground breaking work by Granovetter (1973), both Bourdieu and Coleman discuss this view of social capital in their seminal contributions to the concept.

In Bourdieu's work, the nature of social capital as a resource for individual benefit is evident when he addresses the issue of its creation. For

Bourdieu, social capital is the ‘...aggregate of actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of [...] relations... [which]... is the product of investment strategies aimed at the production of relationships directly usable in the short or long term...’ (Bourdieu, cited in Richardson, 1986: 51-52).

In a similar approach, Coleman (1990) refers to this perspective of social capital when he states that there are ‘some forms of social capital which are the direct result of investment by actors who have the aim of receiving a return on their investment’ (Coleman, 1988: 302). He specifically mentions the establishment of business organisations and views those who participate in the network as the creators of this form of social capital. He therefore conceives the creation of a ‘privately derived’ type of social capital dependent on individual investments or decisions (Sacconi and Degli Antoni, 2011).

Later, authors have further elaborated on this view of social capital. The view of social capital as networks advocated by some authors (e.g., Lin, 1999; Burt, 1997; Flap, 1991) highlights the role of ‘bridging social capital’-that is, the connecting type of social capital--but it emphasizes the “return” or use for the individual. By stressing the structural dimension of social capital and directing attention to issues of network location and type of resources embedded in the network, this strand of the literature enhances the perception of social capital generation via individual strategic investments in networks. Building on Granovetter’s (1973) work on social networks and his theory on the strength of weak ties, this line of research has regarded the qualities of a network, the types of resources embedded within it, the access to and the location of the actor in the network as crucial factors in assessing the quantity and quality of the returns from and levels of social capital for an individual.

A second richer stream of literature in terms of publications has the most important policy implications. It views social capital as a collective asset. This view assigns public good production characteristics to social capital, emphasising that its outcomes provide benefits to the general public — benefiting even free riders who do not contribute to its accumulation. Coleman, who was its first exponent, stressed that since it does not belong exclusively to its creators or beneficiaries, social capital is not easily exchangeable (Coleman, 1990:315).

Putnam's research has been identified as an exemplary work that is representative of this view of social capital (Lin, 1999:32). Trying to understand the differences in institutional performance of the Italian regions, the research concludes that the performance of an institution invariably depends on how the dilemmas of collective action are solved (Putnam et al 1993:164). These dilemmas, concerned with the fragility of credible commitments that may indeed inhibit cooperation, are identified as a direct consequence of the lack of trust. When people are not trustworthy, individuals do not take risks thereby dooming the possibility of cooperation. Social capital is presented as the solution to the conundrum because it provides and nurtures a type of social organisation that is rich in diffused trust and, in turn, enables the collective action necessary for the attainment of public goods and the rooting of democratic practices.

Putnam, as said, defined social capital as the “features of social organisation such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action”, and identifies trust as its most important component. Trust and norms (of which the most important is reciprocity), are seen as crucial in overcoming opportunism and encouraging the pursuit and attainment of public goods (Rothstein and Uslaner, 2005; Uslaner, 2002; Putnam et al, 1993:167-171).

With this definition, Putnam affirms social capital as a complex inter-relational concept with multiple components that together compose a completely separate and new unit. In fact, he speaks of a 'socially trustful environment' (my own words) which he associates with the civic community. This 'environment' is of course characterised by the essence of what a public good is-- its benefits extend to everyone-- so that individuals who participate in its creation cannot capture its benefits on an exclusive basis. Moreover, since ownership is not exclusive but a collective characteristic, it is not easily exchangeable as Coleman has pointed out. The identification of public good characteristics in social capital is not solely attributable to Putnam. This has also been addressed, as noted, by the earlier contributors to the theory, Coleman (1988) and even Bourdieu (1983).

The generation of social capital from the collective asset perspective is viewed as the by-product of civic social activity (Maloney and Robteutscher, 2007). Social capital is best represented in the 'civic community' with its characteristics of democratic politics—i.e., political equality, participation in public affairs, associations and social structures of cooperation, and diffused trust. In fact, trust –which is the most important component of social capital-- is derived from norms of reciprocity and active participation in networks of civic engagement (Putnam et al., 1993:87 and 171). Even though he establishes an apparently circular causality, Putnam provides an answer to the question of social capital generation when he asserts that trust is the 'lubricant' of cooperation and the real enabler in the emergence and reproduction of networks. Trust is hence implicitly given a privileged place among the other social capital components as the fuel for its reproduction and, thus, the continuous production of public goods.

In turn, Coleman had identified the voluntary associations as the generators of two important types of by-products. The first relates to the

possibility of 'appropriability'²³ of the [created] organisation for other purposes' A strength of associations is that when the initial motive for the creation of a voluntary organisation disappears, the organisation can be re-directed towards the generation of other public goods. By providing this opportunity, the organisation itself constitutes a form of social capital: a resource available to those who are members of the network. The second by-product derives from the typical work performed by voluntary associations which generates public goods that benefit the general public (Coleman, 1990:313)²⁴.

Based on her ground breaking work on rational choice, Elinor Ostrom (1996) stresses the by-productivity thesis of social capital generation. As a theorist in the field of development,²⁵ Ostrom (1996) argues that the overcoming of poverty and the improvement in the production and delivery of public goods and services in underdeveloped areas is dependent upon the crossing of the great divide – that is, the narrowing of the distance between public agents and citizens. Following the logic of co-production and generation of synergic relations between the public and private spheres, social capital is created as a collective good.

On the whole, the understanding of social capital as a complex collective concept that is generated as an outcome or by-product of social interactions, leads to the question of how such interactions come about. The answer to the question of social capital creation was provided by Putnam in his 1993 study: trust nurtures the networks of civic engagement and norms of reciprocity (Sztompka, 1999); the latter in turn promote greater social trust and create the social capital characteristic of the civic community in a virtuous cycle of interactions.

²³ Coleman (1990:313), referring to the possibility of using the organisation for new purposes. Text in parenthesis is the author's.

²⁴ Coleman gives the example of changes introduced by a PTA organisation in school activities, from which the whole student body will benefit, regardless of having contributed to its achievement.

²⁵ Significantly, her theoretical work was recognized with the Nobel Prize in Economics in 2010, the first to be given to a Political Scientist.

2.2 The debate on social capital building

2.2.1 Critiques of Putnam

Turning directly to the debate in the literature on social capital building, two major lines of criticism²⁶ of Putnam's work are identifiable: its perceived deterministic perspective and the circularity of its argument. In terms of the first line of criticism (Putzell, 1997; Tarrow, 1996; Sabetti, 1996; Levi, 1996), it is pointed out that in his attempt to provide a theoretical basis for social capital creation, Putnam did not propose a logic that included the state or other external actors to explain the presence or absence of civic norms and vibrant networks of civic engagement in a community. The conclusive remarks on the historical reconstruction of civic communities in the Italian case, led a number of authors to interpret the message of the study as skewed in favour of path dependency. Stocks of social capital relate to virtuous or vicious circles, in which the prevalence of either characteristic impinges upon the future levels of civiness, since civic traits in a community tend to reproduce and reinforce themselves as much as is the case for uncivil traits. Social context and history matters in this setting, so that 'where you can get to depends on where you're coming from, and some destinations you simply cannot get to from here' (Putnam, 1993:179).

This implicitly deterministic explanation spawned an early wave of criticism that focused on the lack of acknowledgement of the state's role in the theory. A special section of *Politics and Society* (1996) was devoted to scholarly works critical of Putnam et al 1993, and an article by Sid Tarrow (1996) followed. Serving as the starting point of the debate on social capital's constructability thesis and the role of the state in that process, similar arguments were made by Sabetti (1996) in identifying the lack of

²⁶ For example, other lines of criticism have been related to: the difficulty in measuring the concept of social capital, the wide breath applications of the concept, and the difficulty of separating generational and period effects (Hall, 1999; Portes, 1998).

attention to government action and state building patterns as explanatory factors in the differences in institutional performance between the north and south of Italy. Sabetti, Tarrow (1996) and Leonardi (1995) argued in favour of a different approach to social capital generation which not only would consider the creation of social capital in a shorter time-frame, but that had a less deterministic outlook for the achievement of institutional performance and economic development. Levi's (1996) article picking up on Putnam's vicious circle element was the first of several articles to focus on the reality of 'unsocial capital' and the consequential need for state intervention to decrease its impact. Putzell (1997) for example, elaborated on the 'dark side' of social capital as did Mason's theoretical contribution (2000).

The arguments critiquing the absence of the institutional actors in producing social capital were soon echoed in the Development Economics literature (Woolcock, 1998; Narayan, 1997) and found important support in later contributions from the Public Policy field (Halpern, 2005; Leonardi, 2005; Herreros, 2004). Analysing Putnam's findings, Herreros (2004) concludes that the role of the state is crucial in either fostering or diminishing social trust. He argues that Putnam's 'virtuous circle' is particularly vulnerable to the absence of state action. In this author's view, the state's interest in promoting participation in associations and its will –or lack thereof— to enforce the efficacy of agreements and transparency is crucial. Both state actions can either encourage or discourage the dynamics of social capital generation, depending on their efficacy. Herreros concludes that the idea of the existence of a 'virtuous circle' with no external influences other than an historical logic lacks historical credibility (Herreros, 2004:100).

The second line of criticism relating to social capital generation has centred on its circularity (Schuller, Baron and Field, 2001). The question here is whether social capital is an asset of a civic and equitable society or

if it represents the way to pursue it. In other words, if social capital is the variable that explains positive social outcomes (i.e., the cause of lower levels of crime) or rather it is the effect of lower crime levels (Portes, 1998). Where is the starting point for the creation of social capital?

In this debate, the defensive line in support of social capital has been argued is to be found in its very nature (Leonardi and Nanetti, 2008; Whiteley, 1999; Boix and Posner, 1998): that is, not only is social capital a multi-dimensional concept but it is also one that is the result of a variety of relations. In this regard, it is a capital asset that is unlike others that can be measured by one variable, for example, the measure of financial capital in terms of the value of deposits. Social capital, instead, requires a research approach that allows us to 'look at social phenomena from different angles simultaneously, in ways that allow us to capture the changing nature of relationships' (Schuller, Baron and Field, 2001: 29). In sum, the very lines of criticism of social capital building in Putnam et al (1993) have led to the emergence of the constructability literature that will now be analysed.

2.2.2 The emergence of the constructability literature: the contribution of the development literature

The publishing of Putnam's study came in the midst of the stir provoked by the revisiting of the Post Washington Consensus²⁷, and contributed to the meteoric rise of the social capital concept in the development field. Until then, the understanding of social relations and their importance in the achievement of economic development had been considered as either "burdensome, exploitative, liberating or irrelevant" (Woolcock and

²⁷ In the 1990s a significant shift in the approach to development upheld by the major international development organisations occurred. After the economic crisis in developing countries such as Mexico and Argentina, the neo-liberal and strictly economic criteria set by the "Washington Consensus" –an agreement on development criteria defined by major development actors, in particular the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.- was significantly questioned, opening the debate for the inclusion of social issues back into the development agenda. (For further comments see Stiglitz, 2001)

Narayan, 2000:228), but never as useful or effective, let alone efficient in its impact. However, the recognition of the importance of communities, social norms and social relations comprised by the concept of social capital quickly found its way into the development field and the development literature. According to Woolcock and Narayan (2000) the literature addressing social capital and economic development can be organised into four different “perspectives” –the *communitarian*, *networks*, *institutional* and *synergy* views--which concerning the promotion of social capital, differ on “... the extent to which they incorporate a theory of the state” (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000:239).

Concerning the *communitarian* and *networks* views, whereas the former identifies social capital with the existence of associations and other civic groups in society, the latter focuses on ‘the vertical and horizontal associations between people and the relations between those organisations and other entities such as community groups and firms’ (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000: 230). Despite addressing important features of social capital, neither of the two strands of literature formally engages in the debate on the origins of social capital as a collective asset. The *networks* view (Lin, 1999; Burt, 1997; Flap, 1991) perceives social capital as an individual asset whereby its generation is dependent upon individual decisions of strategic investment. Meanwhile, the *communitarian* strand (MacGillivray and Walker, 2000; Gittel and Vidal, 1998; Etzioni, 1993) seems to be solely concerned with the presence or not of the asset without questioning its source. The policy prescriptions derived from both views of social capital are limited to the maintenance of the existing social capital stock without dwelling on strategies to build it.

Conversely, both the *institutional* and *synergy* perspectives, confront the issue of social capital generation by integrating into their approaches --to different degrees-- the important role that is played in the process by the state and all of its different levels of manifestation—i.e., national, regional

or local. The *institutional* view regards social capital as a variable dependent on the political, legal and institutional framework in which it develops and exists, assigning an important responsibility for social capital creation to government institutions. Representatives of this strand have found evidence which confirms the dependence of social capital on good government and the right public policies that nurture it (Nanetti, 2001; Tandler, 1997; Knack and Keefer, 1995 and 1997; Skocpol, 1995 and 1996). Woolcock and Narayan (2000:235) criticise this vision of social capital generation when in some cases it ignores the importance of alternative interventions at the micro level and over emphasises the significance of top down solutions, as if only governments can create the environment or framework necessary for the emergence of social capital. However, taken together, policy prescriptions for the creation of social capital that derive from these perspectives, do acknowledge the valuable role and impact of external influences (government actions and policies) on the mobilisation of social capital's 'virtuous circle'.

The approach taken by the *synergy* view, which understands social capital as the dynamic relations within and between bureaucracies and various civil society actors, constitutes an attempt to synthesise the *networks* and *institutional* perspectives. This more comprehensive approach to the relationship between social capital and economic development addresses the issue of social capital generation proposing that economic and social development can only be achieved through the establishment of an effective partnership between government and society. Neither the government nor the community have the capacity, insights, vision or resources to promote sustainable development on their own (Leonardi and Nanetti, 2010 and 2008; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). Of all the actors in this synergic partnership, 'the state's role ... is the most important and problematic. This is so because the state is not only the ultimate provider of public goods, ... the final arbiter and enforcer of the rule of law... but also the actor best able to facilitate enduring alliances across the

boundaries of class, ethnicity, race, gender, politics and religion.' (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000: 236).

Outside the field of development, exponents of this view have also strongly advocated the development of dynamic and synergic relationships between state and society for the delivery of public goods and producing, in turn, social capital. Following the logic of co-production (Ostrom, 1996; Evans, 1996), involved citizens learn how to work with each other, and with public agencies and public officials, thereby contributing to the construction of credible commitments and the generation of a 'trustful' environment. Social capital is, hence, created as a by-product of such interaction, constituting an asset to draw upon for the production of future public goods. Contributors to this view have continued to be critical of Putnam et al (1993) for not having adequately explored the relationship between social capital and state institutions (Maloney, 1999; Maloney, Smith and Stoker, 2000).

Summing up, the question of social capital generation and the state's role in such a task has been amply acknowledged and justified by the literature in the economic development and related fields. As will be mentioned in the following section, similar arguments calling for the state's fulfilment of its responsibility in fostering social capital are found in the Political Science and the Governance and Public Policy fields of study.

2.3 The state's role in social capital constructability

2.3.1 The concepts of governance and implementation and social capital as a by-product

The concept of governance has made an important contribution to the debate on the constructability of social capital. Complementing the view that social capital should be promoted via public policy in communities

with particular needs, the Public Administration literature has also realised the importance of the nurturing of social capital within the new governance scheme and its policy networks. And there are different ways in which the state can promote social capital. Schuller, Baron and Field (2000: 33-34) see three dimensions in this trend: 1. the devolution downwards of power and responsibility within the state; 2. the need for inter-relatedness across policy sectors; and 3. the 'dispersion' of decision making from state organs to community associations.

With the shift from government to governance –that is, from the 'static' to the 'enabling' state (Wright and Page, 2007)-- experienced in the West European countries since the beginning of the 21st century (John, 2001) a first set of opportunities for social capital promotion by the state has arisen. The move away from the traditional conceptualisation of government to one of governance dynamics has highlighted the importance of policy networks and their shared decision-making processes involving high levels of coordination, as well as of community involvement and active participation of stakeholders that has begun to take place (Paraskevopoulos et al., 2006; Paraskevopoulos and Leonardi, 2004).

The redefinition of the way the state works and how it relates to private citizens and civil society initially sparked multiple definitions of governance (Hoogh and Marks, 2001). In the attempt to clarify its meaning, Stoker (1998) stresses that this conceptual shift- (i.e., inserting private stakeholders)- refers to the rise of a 'new process of governing, a changed condition of ordered rule, or the new method by which society is governed' (Stoker citing Rhodes, 1998:17). Effectively, a common feature in all definitions (Pierre and Peters, 2000; Stoker, 1998) is the referral to a governing *style* in which the boundaries between the public and private realms are blurred, and a change in mentality and processes is observable. What is also evident is that the concept of governance does not assume any longer one set of government institutions (e.g., national

government) in charge of the policy but rather a potential multiple set of government institutions at the sub-national level with their own decision making autonomy, political autonomy and financial resources. As a result, Stoker (1991) describes the existence of three types of public authority structures: centralized, shared and diffused. In the Spanish case the distribution of authority would be more in the direction of shared authority for policies such as education between the national and regional levels and where the responsibility for implementation is diffused among a variety of actors at the local level.

In this context, community involvement and community participation in policy networks become crucial features of decision making and implementation. The structure of decision making is commonly understood in three ways. Community involvement is often regarded as the participation of community representatives in the local governance process--that is, in the '...framing [of] local strategies, [the] monitoring [of] how they are implemented, and [the] managing [of] local services...'; or as the '... participation in voluntary and community organisations which can serve as a mobilising force for other types of participation...'; or as the '... participation in informal social mechanisms based on 'family, friendship and neighbourliness''(Goodland, Burton and Croft, 2005). In either of these accounts, community stakeholders are seen as equally important counterparts to state representatives in the governing process. As such, they are increasingly taken into account and invited to contribute in the policy process.

The evolution of the concept of multi-level governance has placed the emphasis on the role of networks of actors in the policy process (Barrett, 2004; O'Toole Jr., 2000 and Matland, 1995) and diffused responsibility for the eventual outcomes. In fact, in the implementation literature much emphasis has been given to a bottom-up approach emphasising the fact that policies are made at the grassroots level where they are implemented

rather than at the top where they are initially formulated (Lipsky, 2010). A more balanced approach has been proposed by Scheirer and Griffith (1990) who propose a third alternative between the top-down versus bottom-up approach emphasising an empirical verification of what exactly happens in the interaction between decision-making and implementation in various policy fields (John, 2012; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

Fung (2002) further re-enforces the above idea of networked governance when analysing the advantages of new governance forms which he identifies as collaborative governance arrangements contrasting the more traditional —interest group based— adversarial governance arrangements and the ‘technocratic public insular administration’ (Fung, 2002:2; Font, 2002). Even though warning about risks of ineffectiveness should the participating interests not be well organised²⁸, Fung (2002) concludes that the participatory collaboration model offers the possibility of solving complex public problems that no top-down model could effectively address. In his view, benefits derived from new governance forms are associated with ‘innovations in methods for public problem solving, the greater reach and subtlety of public action, informational advantages, legitimacy, equity, public deliberation and civic education’ (Fung, 2002:2; Font, 2002).

Within this framework, social capital is not only regarded as a necessary tool for the achievement of the two main state priorities —competitiveness and social cohesion (Buck, 2005:58)— but crucially as a requirement for the governing process itself. As Stoker has stated, ‘*at its most abstract, governance is about a change in the long-standing balance between the state and civil society... [it] is connected to the concern about social capital and the social underpinnings necessary for effective economic and political performance*’ (Stoker, 1998:21-22). At the same time, it has been recognised that the government might not have sufficient information on a

²⁸ Fung discusses the importance of the existence of a countervailing power within the participatory collaborative governance model in order for its benefits to become a reality. See Fung, 2002.

specific problem and may not be able on its own to identify and negotiate solutions for the problem. Edwards (2001), signals the importance of the constant maintenance of the proper functioning of the policy networks on which the new modes of governance depend. The implication, therefore, is that by establishing and encouraging the formation of such networks, the state in fact promotes the generation of social capital; citizens are thus encouraged to organise themselves to facilitate the collective action necessary for participating in the governance process; and the policy outputs are in greater alignment with the original policy intentions (Andrews, 2012).

Ultimately, the suggestion is that increased involvement of organised citizens in policy processes will additionally breed more social capital on which to draw upon in the future. This provides a further argument in favour of the possibility of an intervention in the 'virtuous circle' described by Putnam for social capital generation. In this governance framework, social capital becomes an asset for public policy effectiveness and efficiency, and a by-product of the participatory structure which the new paradigm creates.

2.3.2 The implementation of specific public policy for the building of social capital

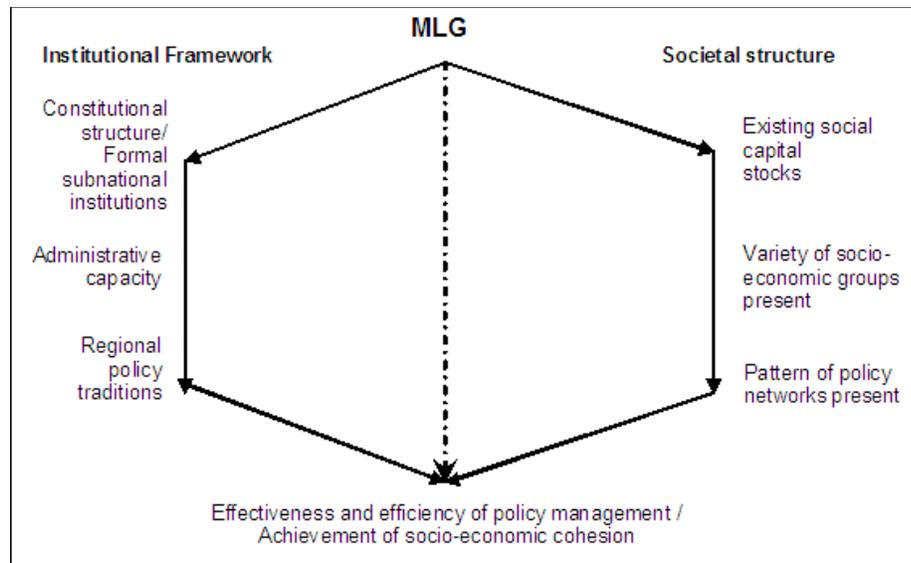
The identification of a role for the state and for state institutions in the social capital creation process is also supported by authors focusing on the impact that public policy and public institutions can have on the 'virtuous circle' of social capital generation (Halpern, 2005; Herreros, 2004; Levi, 1996). This literature contributes to the normative and policy question of where the starting point of the social capital enhancement process should be located. Effectively, these authors acknowledge --albeit with varied degrees of explicitness-- the cyclical and iterative nature of the social capital generation process in Putnam's formulation of the 'virtuous' and 'vicious' circles of social capital reproduction as an important starting

point for their proposals. Their formulations of social capital building in one way or the other refer to deliberate state-led interventions in such cycles in order to increase social capital stocks. Nonetheless, the pursuit of social capital building via public policy brings with it several considerations inherent to public policy studies. In operational terms, and moving away from the social capital and Political Science literature, this refers to the implementation of strategic public policies by the specific street-level bureaucrats (e.g., teachers, social workers, policemen) which enact the state's intervention in society and are therefore in a position to participate in the social capital generation dynamic.

The Public Policy literature has amply discussed the elements, stages and dimensions of the public policy cycle (John, 2012 and 2011; Hill, 2005; Hill and Hupe, 2002). Stuart Nagel has written that the analysis of public policy can be defined as an "evaluation of the alternative governmental policies or decisions in light of given goals, constraints and conditions (1984: xiii)". In effect, aside from the choice of policy field –which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter--, from a strictly public policy perspective, the success or failure of the state's intervention in the social capital promotion cycle will eventually depend on the characteristics, actors and stages of development of the policy's implementation process (Nagel, 2000; Munger, 2000; Palumbo and Calisto, 1990).

In terms of public policy implementation, borrowing from an analysis of the governance structure of cohesion policy in the EU (EsocLab, 2006), the multi-level governance structure presented in Figure 2.1 illustrates the dual role that is played by the institutional and societal structures under consideration in general in countries with a regional institutional system such as Spain (Aja, 2004; Cuchillo, 1993; Clegg, 1987).

Figure 2.1 MLG: the policy making and implementation structure and the impact of the social structure



Source: SOCCOH project, EsocLab, European Institute, LSE, 2006.

In the Spanish case, particularly when it comes to the analysis of educational policy making and implementation during the last decade, there is the presence of a system of decision making and implementation that seems to be hierarchical in nature but which in reality constitutionally links the national to the regional and local levels in the public policy process. The implication of the MLG system of governance is that no one level of the policy system is autonomous or independent from the other (Charbit, 2011; Kazepov, 2010; Piattoni, 2010; Hooghe, 2001; Marks, 1996). In order to effectively promote policy outputs and outcomes, the different levels of the institutional structure need to work together in a harmonious and efficient manner (Enderlein, Walti and Zorn, 2010; Munch, 2010; Paraskevopoulos et al, 2006; Stoker, 1991). Otherwise, the system runs the risk of grid lock and of creating institutional stalemates in the policy process. Marks (1996) has written that the point of departure for this multi-level governance is the existence of overlapping competencies among multiple levels of governments and the interaction of political actors across these levels.

With regard to the Spanish case, Clegg (1987) writes that in Spain:

“The devolution of important legislative and executive powers to new elected bodies at the regional level was more far-reaching than the decentralisation reforms introduced during the same period in France and Italy, particularly with regard to the dominant role that the regions have been given in relation to local authorities” (Clegg, 1987: 130).

On the institutional side, the Figure highlights how the overall effectiveness of policies are dependent not only on the formal aspects of the institutional linkages within the MLG system but also on the administrative capacity (or experience) that is present at each level of the policy making and implementation process. In an institutional system based on regions as is the case in Spain, the question of the regions' capability of creatively adding to policy indications handed down by the national level or of their formalistic and automatic transposition of national policies into regional legislation arises. What is important here is not only previous experience in dealing with the policy sector but also the capacity to creatively fit the national policy to regional needs and objectives (Hill, 2005; Hill and Hupe, 2002). In Spain, education and the coordination of scientific and technical research were allocated by the Constitution to the centre, but the regions were given a supportive role in translating those indications from the centre into the various regional contexts (Cuchillo, 1993).

The MLG system being analysed in this thesis has basically five levels of decision-making and implementation that need to be considered—the national, regional, provincial, communal and school levels—with the most important roles being played in the educational policy by the national, regional and school levels. In this case, the final level where the ultimate implementation of the policy happens is at the level of the individual

school. The administration of the schools constitutes in our case those “street-level bureaucrats” who ultimately implement and deliver the policy. The literature on street-level bureaucracy is concerned with the government’s frontline workers on policy delivery (Lipsky, 2010). Constant attention has been paid to issues of control over administration, particularly in three areas: democratic governance, the treatment of citizens, and policy achievements (Scott, 2001; Wilson, 1989; Lipsky, 2010). From the perspective of the state’s responsibility of policy promotion, it is the latter area which deserves the most attention, and it is here that the human dilemmas and the quality of the existing human resources, such as leadership and proactive qualities, are most relevant in determining final policy outputs.

Figure 2.1 also highlights the impact of the social structure in determining the eventual outcome of the MLG system of governance. Simona Piattoni has observed that the multi-level systems of governance are not only concerned with formal institutions but that they also make room for social interactions capable of incorporating “an inherently dynamic concept that crosses several analytical boundaries or ‘gates’: namely the gates between center and periphery, between the domestic and the international, and between state and society” (2010: 27). Therefore, MLG represents the ideal system for analysis in regionalised systems of governance in that it allows for a factoring in of the actions of both formal and informal institutions as well as pertinent social actors. In our case those relevant social actors are networks, existing socioeconomic groups concerned with the policy area, and existing stocks of social capital.

2.3.3 The choice of policy field: the potential of schools in social capital promotion

With the recognised importance of the role of public policy in social capital generation, the need to focus on the relevant sub-field of public policy

implementation becomes crucial. Within this context, the potential contribution to the social capital constructability thesis of educational policy and schools as public institutions at the disposal of the state for the implementation of a social capital building strategy has not been adequately addressed by the literature. Until now, this strand of literature has had a limited and fragmented view of the link between education and social capital, the role of the schools in forming long lasting social attitudes and values, and in considering the schools as crucial actors in the building of social capital.

Nonetheless, the review of studies stemming from the Sociological, Psychological and Political Science fields focusing on the mission and effects of the formative process and education suggest its vast potential impact on social capital generation dynamics. Particularly, because some studies have identified how schools exclusively focus on their academic mission, they fail to integrate all of the students into the educational community, and therefore perpetuate educational and social inequalities (Clark et al. 1999; Clark and Munn, 1997). With the purpose of accentuating the relevance of the field for social capital building and the need to continue its study, this section of the chapter will first review the ways in which the current social capital literature has approached and analysed the association between schools --and education in general-- with the concept of social capital.

Subsequently, more traditional accounts of education's role and mission in society will be addressed with the purpose of recalling their significance as a social policy field with an important bearing on social capital. In doing so, the section ends with a review that singles out contributions from the Educational and the Sociology of Education fields which have specifically engaged in the study of alternative avenues for school involvement in the promotion of social capital.

Education in the social capital literature

Within the social capital literature, the association between education and social capital on the one hand, and schools and social capital on the other, has been approached in three main ways: either maintaining the focus on the impact of social capital on educational outcomes (Coleman, 1987, 1988, 1990), assessing education and its contribution to perpetuating social inequalities (Bourdieu, 1997), or more frequently, and inheriting this view from the more general Political Science literature, by centring its attention on *educational attainment levels* and not on schools as actors (Glaeser et al., 1999; Helliwell et al., 1999; Nie et al., 1996; Putnam, 1995). In effect, the interpretation of schools as potential actors in social capital building has only been addressed by a few isolated studies (Stevens et al., 2007; Halpern, 2005; Jenkins and Osberg, 2003) and often with a focus on children's social capital in a specific context, without placing attention on the role of schools as "street-level bureaucrats", thus incorporating the state's role in building social capital. Overall, none of the approaches have engaged with the analysis of schools as public policy implementing actors in charge of the crucial social capital building tool: the formative process in influencing social attitudes and values of the students in the educational system.

The first and most prominent of these views arises from the ground-breaking work of James Coleman (1987, 1988, 1990) on social capital and educational outcomes. Building on this author's theses, a considerable amount of literature and research conducted within the social capital field (Dijkstra, Veenstra and Peschar, 2004; Hallinan and Kubitschek, 1999; Morgan and Sorensen, 1999; Carbonaro, 1998) assumes the existence of a one way relationship between the two concepts: the social capital that is available to students will have a significant impact on their educational outcomes (Coleman, 1988).

According to Coleman (1988), a child's success or failure in the educational system depends on the functional community surrounding the child's educational process which will guarantee the necessary support for his/her success. In their study of educational attainment, Coleman and Hoffer (1987) compared educational outcomes of children studying in private Catholic schools vis-à-vis those studying in public secular schools. Their findings led them to affirm the importance of the presence of social norms and social networks surrounding the children during their schooling years. The idea of the "functional community" existing in Catholic communities was therefore recognised as the crucial variable impacting educational outcomes. This functional community is typified by the existence of robust social networks and strong intergenerational links or "closure" (Coleman, 1988:106). According to Coleman (1988:105-106), closure refers to the structural characteristic of the network whereby all of the members of the network have linkages with each other. The closure found in these types of networks allows for a homogenous system of effective social norms to exist and ensure the effective monitoring of the children's social behaviour thus creating a favourable environment for his/her learning to take place (Coleman, 1988).

Following this hypothesis, research studies conducted in various countries (Dijkstra et al., 2004; Morgan and Sorensen, 1999; Carbonaro, 1998), have sought to analyse the correlation between educational outcomes and the degree of closure in their respective communities. Thus, these studies have strengthened the assumption of a one way relationship between the two concepts, thereby implicitly discarding a potential impact of education on the generation of social capital.

A second approach to education present in the social capital literature, builds on Bourdieu's (1986) notion of cultural capital and its effects on society. Although this approach differs radically from the previous one because it acknowledges the existence of an inverse relation between the

concepts and thus recognises the specific role for education in social capital generation, it is nonetheless centred on some of the associated effects of education *credentials* and not on the education process or in its contents vis-à-vis social capital.

According to Bourdieu's notion of the 'institutionalised state of cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1986), educational qualifications objectified in a certificate, diploma or degree, ensure the recognition in society of the cultural capital possessed by the individual. Bourdieu argues that these type of 'credentials' favour the individual's access to certain types of networks thereby generating exclusive social capital patterns that reproduce stratification and inequality in society (Bourdieu, 1980, 1983). For this author, dominating social classes will ensure their survival through the socialisation of new generations that with the 'right' credentials will access the 'right' social networks²⁹.

Finally, a third frequent view of education in relation to social capital inherited from the wider Political Science literature emphasises the effects of educational attainment levels on democratic citizenship, political engagement and participation, trust and collective action (Patulny, 2003; Glaeser et al., 1999; Helliwell et al., 1999; Inglehart, 1999; Nie et al., 1996; Putnam, 1995). Even though this perspective reveals a significant role for education in social capital generation via the promotion of its most relevant aspects, it fails to take into account the formative process itself, by focusing on the results of that process and their possible association with existing levels of social capital.

In effect, within this third view, a study of education and democratic citizenship building was conducted by Nie et al. in 1996. According to these authors, education provides both the *skills* to become politically engaged and the *knowledge* to understand and accept democratic

²⁹ As will be seen further into the chapter, Bourdieu's vision of educational effects resembles the effects advocated by educational theories of allocation and legitimisation (Meyer, 1977).

principles (Nie et al., 1996: 12). The authors identified two dimensions of democratic citizenship (democratic enlightenment and political participation) and found positive correlations between these two dimensions and the level of educational attainment. In effect, the study revealed how educational levels impact the level of political tolerance and the knowledge of democratic principles, with both attributes corresponding to the first dimension of democratic citizenship. At the same time, the correlation analysis also revealed a positive association between educational attainment and attributes such as political participation, voting, knowledge of leaders, etc. (Nie et al., 1996).

Furthermore, Nie et al. (1996) argue that political participation is also enhanced through the placement of individuals in social networks favoured through their educational attainment levels. In this sense, educational attainment is argued to have an additional influence on political participation due to its impact on the 'positional life circumstances' of the students (Nie et al., 1996:44-45). Hence, 'individuals with higher educational levels are more likely to be closer to the central nodes of politically important social networks', while those with less education, will normally remain at the periphery of such networks (Nie et al., 1996:46).

Even though they received criticism regarding their methodological procedures (Helliwell et al., 1999), Nie et al., 1996) formulated different types of effects for different outcomes. In this sense, in terms of political and social engagement, they found that the effects of education are relative. This means that due to a fixed amount of opportunities and benefits that can be achieved within one community through engagement, a rise in benefits derived from one's own level of education will depend on the average contextual levels. In turn, for organisational membership levels, they found that while each year of individual education accrues beneficial effects, these will be offset by the increases in average education levels in the community (see Helliwell et al, 1999:3-4). Finally,

regarding tolerance indicators, their study revealed a positive cumulative effect of education, whereby the higher the levels of education, the higher the levels of tolerance that will exist in a community (Nie, et al., 1996).

Building on the previous study, Helliwell et al. (1999), find 'pervasive positive effect[s] of general education increases on levels of trust and participation' (Helliwell et al., 1999:7). Performing a longitudinal study, these authors provide evidence of a positive correlation between educational attainment levels and social trust over time (Helliwell et al., 1999). In their 1999 study, Glaeser et al. also found evidence to support the hypothesis that, from a number of perspectives, educational attainment levels impact trust and trustworthy behaviour in society. Analysing trust surveys, these authors conclude that not only is trust much higher among well educated people, but general behaviour towards higher status individuals is often characterised by higher levels of trust, for they are regarded more trustworthy (Glaeser et al., 1999:12). Conversely, they find a negative effect on trust levels of individuals leaving school before they are 18 (Glaeser et al., 1999:15). Once again, even though these findings strongly support the notion of the importance of public education policies, they refer to policies addressed at increasing school enrolment and finishing rates, with little attention being paid either to the schools as crucial actors for the social capital building effort, or to the aspects or modules of the formative process that are particularly relevant in the production of positive outcomes in the building of social capital.

In sum, only one approach to education and schools within the social capital literature has concerned itself openly with its relevance for social capital promotion (Moschonas, 1997). However, it has done so in a rather limited fashion, and as with the other three approaches, it has failed to conceive of schools as the state's representative in the fulfilment of its responsibility in promoting civic values and has neglected to analyse the

way schools use the formative process itself as a tool for the building of social capital.

The relevance of education in society

Intuitively, education performs a crucial task in society, as evidenced by its dual role as a transmission vector for knowledge and skills as well as a shaper of values and social behaviours. This twofold purpose was originally identified by John Dewey (1915) at the beginning of the 20th Century as the role of the schools in society in terms of “physical development, ...ability to read, write, and figure..., the knowledge of geography and history, improvement in manners, habits and promptness, order and industry” (1915: 3). More recently they have been identified by Moschonas (1997) as education’s dual dimensionality: the socio-economic and the cultural-political dimensions. Depending on which role is given priority at a given time, the perceived function, role and mission of education in society has not fundamentally changed over time; as is expressed by John Dewey (1941) the role of schools has not changed that much over the last century in Western society.

In response to economic and political pressures of the XX century, the socio-economic perspective of education’s role has become prevalent again, and the dominant social classes perceive education as a means for the preservation of the social order. For the rest of society the educational system is seen as a means of advancement which provides ‘collective improvement [through] raising class consciousness and forging political solidarities among progressive groups’ (Simon, 1969 cited in Green et al, 2003). In the case of Spain the cultural-political dimension of education has been prioritised and the understanding of education’s goals is seen as the introduction of new notions associated with class and ethnic solidarity, and the concepts of nationalism and democratic citizenship (Green et al., 2003: 5).

From a historical point of view, the socio-economic dimension of education (Moschonas, 1997) was openly pursued in the second half of the past century. After the Second World War, education's mission was redirected from nation-building (political aim) to the achievement of socio-economic welfare (Green et al., 2003). Only newly independent states focused their attention and efforts on the political character of education (Green et al., 2003:7). In the 1960's, this economic view of education finally gave birth to the Human Capital theory (Moschonas, 1997; Becker, 1975; Schultz, 1961).

The view of education's role in society from an economic standpoint refers to the conceptualisation of education as an economic asset for development and growth. A workforce's endowment of knowledge and skills is treated as another form of capital: Human Capital (Becker, 1993, 1975, 1964). From a utilitarian perspective, education assumes the role of a provider of 'increased goods' for the labour market and its outputs are in the form of increased levels of skills, talent and knowledge. Educational institutions specialise in the production of training and are considered as mere 'mechanism[s] for the meeting of the needs of the labour market' (Moschonas, 1997:7). According to this approach, public education is taken as an investment by the state from which market benefits are obtained. The ultimate role and mission of education --from this utilitarian perspective-- is that of improving the labour market's efficiency and productivity.

Conversely, the political approach perspective has traditionally been associated with the achievement of social goals in society. According to Green et al. (2003), during the XVIII and XIX centuries, education was seen as primarily responsible for the 'building of the nation' and the fostering of 'cohesive national identities'. It was, hence, understood as an instrument for state formation, not only by providing the state with skilled

bureaucrats, but also by 'promoting loyalty and social order amongst the people, disseminating dominant rational ideologies and languages, and customising population to the new regulative regimes of the nascent modern bureaucracies' (Green et al., 2003: 5).

Sociological approaches to education added a new perspective to its role and mission in society. Socialisation theories contributed to the debate by placing education at the centre of social and moral concerns. According to Durkheim, the social function of mass education was the attainment of social integration. From his point of view (also supported by the liberal education view espoused by authors such as J.J. Rousseau, J. Mill and J.S. Mill), education is thought of as an instrument for "fixating" in children the necessary common features, or indispensable similarities, for ensuring a harmonious life in community. Education was therefore assigned the responsibility of 'building up' society by teaching new generations the necessary 'core values, [the] collective morale, solidarity and group spirit' (Walford et al., 1998) for life. This view defines education's main tasks as those of preparing citizens and enhancing political legitimisation (Moschonas, 1997; Dewey, 1941).

The more traditional socialisation theory of education upholds that the schooling process prepares students for life in society, instilling in them the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values necessary for their future (Meyer, 1977). According to Meyer (1977), socialisation theories of education are based on a three proposition-model as follows,

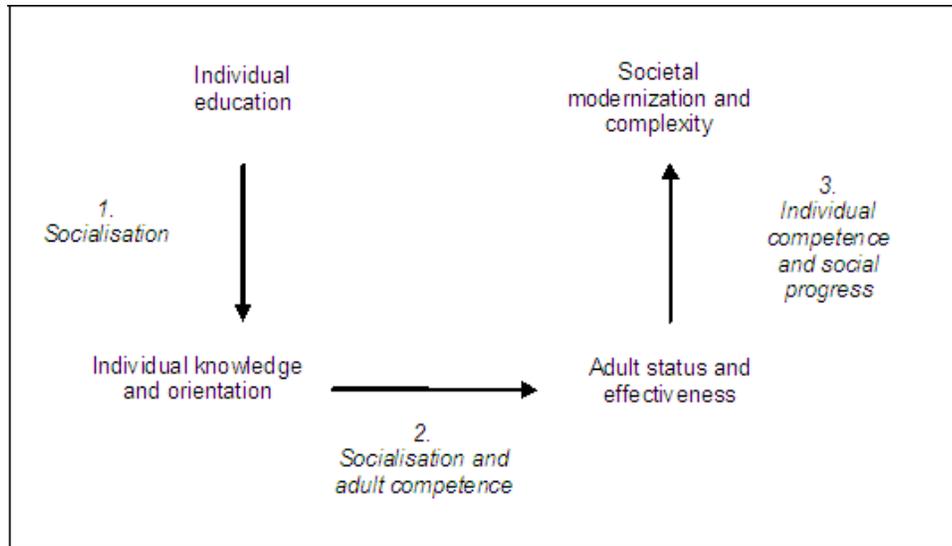
"Proposition 1 (Socialisation). Schooled persons are socialised to expanded levels of knowledge and competence and expanded levels of modern values or orientations.

Proposition 2 (Socialisation and adult competence). Early socialisation to higher levels of knowledge, competence, and modern values or orientations creates higher levels of adult status and competence.

Proposition 3 (Individual competence and social progress). The expansion of the number of skilled adults expands the complexity and wealth of society and social institutions." (Meyer, 1977:57)

The model described above is visually explained in the Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 Traditional socialisation theory



Source: Meyer, 1977: 57

Typical attitudes and values sought after within this perspective of educational effects include racial, ethnic and cultural tolerance, social responsibility, the reinforcement of social norms, attitudes towards community engagement, sense of personal efficacy and commitment, among others (Clary and Snyder, 2002; Eyler, 2002; Stukas and Dunlap, 2002; Giles and Eyler, 1994; Holland and Andre, 1987). Conversely, typical knowledge and skills referred to as necessary for developing an effective sense of citizenship involve the learning of civic values through the understanding of the concept of democracy, the nature of rights and duties, and the importance of participation, community involvement and civic engagement (Campbell, 2000 and 2006; Eyler, 2002; Helliwell and Putnam, 1999; Beck and Jennings, 1982; Dewey, 1916).

During the decade of the 1970s, socialisation theories ran into strong criticism and gave birth to models of allocation and legitimisation effects of education which highlighted education's instrumental role as '... a selector, sorter and allocator [more] than a socialiser'³⁰ (Meyer, 1977:58-59). These theories of educational allocation and educational legitimisation argue that '... people in modern societies are allocated to adult roles on the basis of years and types of education, apart from anything they have learned in schools' (Meyer, 1977).

Despite the above, the sociological and educational fields have continued to explore the socialisation effects of education and encouraging evidence on school involvement in the promotion of social capital relevant elements has been analysed. Even though some of these contributions have wandered into the social capital literature--particularly those centring on citizenship education (Campbell, 2000 and 2006; Helliwell et al., 1999; Slomczynski and Shabad, 1998; Western Washington University, 1994)--others have produced more isolated but equally interesting findings focusing on alternative courses of action available to schools. According to John et al. (2003), it has often been the case that the 'current social capital literature neglects the causal importance of other socialisation mechanisms' (John et al., 2003:4). In the subsections below, a brief account of these contributions is presented.

Extracurricular activities: pre-adult political participation and community involvement

Studies stemming from research on political socialisation, education and cognitive psychological have focused on the particular importance of extracurricular activities for the encouragement of pre-adult political attitudes on participation. While at the curricular level democratic knowledge and cognitive development for effective citizenship is addressed, at the extracurricular level these values are further reinforced

³⁰ The text in parenthesis is the author's.

by activities addressing participation, community involvement, and social and voluntary work (Eyler, 2002; Giles and Eyler, 1994). Even though serious concerns (Holland and Andre, 1987) have been raised regarding methodological problems in the existing research on participation, the field is still considered to be of great importance, and its impact on several crucial issues for social capital is still regarded as significant. In spite of the social capital literature not having embraced and articulated into its theoretical framework and research agenda the majority of these views, they still represent a significant and relevant strand of literature addressing social capital issues.

In their article "Pathways to Participation", Beck and Jennings (1982) expressed the need to rescue the socialisation theories of political participation and bring them back to the fold. After the strong criticism to these theories during the 1970s, Beck and Jennings claimed in their study that pre-adult socialisation was very important for adult political behaviour. They proceeded to test four socialisation models of political participation and analysed four possible influential variables in the formation of the political behaviour of young adults: parental socio-economic status (SES), parental political activity, parental civic orientations, and school extracurricular activities (Beck and Jennings, 1982:95-96). Identifying the school as an important agent of political socialisation, they concluded that the school activities model – emphasising the extracurricular type of activities-- yielded the strongest degree of influence on the political behaviour of young adults in three ways: promoting adult political activity; providing the student with experience in political association and political interaction; and by instilling 'activist orientations' in students with reference to their immediate environment (Beck and Jennings, 1982:101).

Considering the evidence of the socialisation effects of education as a compelling theory to build upon, an interesting contribution from the

educational field addresses the importance of fostering community involvement and suggesting educational actions as an important path in achieving this goal (Eyler, 2002; Giles and Eyler, 1994; Stukas and Dunlap, 2002; Clary and Snyder, 2002). Focusing on extracurricular activities, this strand of research draws attention to topics of academic service-learning, the importance of reflection and contextualised knowledge formation, considering them all crucial actions and methods that ensure the lasting effects of education on the maintenance of values and pro-social behaviour in adults.

Addressing the importance of academic service-learning, Eyler (2002) highlights how the combination of academic study with community service provides a unique opportunity to achieve the personal and academic goals of students while fulfilling at the same time broader social goals (Eyler, 2002:517). The author specifies seven ways in which service-learning experience contributes to the generation of an engaged citizenship. According to Eyler (2002), the first three of these –engaging the student's interest in community service; the development of student 'positive attitudes towards community involvement'; and the development of a 'sense of personal efficacy and commitment' (Eyler, 2002: 519)— are attainable with the sole experience of extracurricular activities, regardless of the use of any other pedagogical technique (Eyler, 2002: 520).

In turn, the second group of ways in which service-learning contributes to civic engagement and effective citizenship can only be achieved through a 'combination of an active engagement and reflection', exercise which is dealt with by educational institutions in the most effective way (Eyler, 2002:520). This second group of contributions from service-learning comprises the deepening of students' 'understanding of social issues', the development of 'lifelong learning and problem solving skills' (Field, 2005), the development of 'skills for community action and involvement', and the

development of 'post formal reasoning abilities necessary to deal with complex ill structured social problems' (Eyler, 2002:519).

Underlying the identification of these contributions of service-learning is the acknowledgement that effective citizenship is not only about social commitment and interest, but also about the 'ability to analyse problems and engage in action' (Eyler, 2002: 520). Eyler closes by arguing that extracurricular activities provide the opportunity to develop all of these positive attitudes and therefore should be encouraged by educational policy.

Teaching of values and behaviour

Lastly, further arguments and evidence advocating the potential of school involvement in the bolstering of social capital is provided by studies focusing on the values, attitudes and behaviour covered during the secondary years of education (Dijkstra, Veenstra and Peschar, 2004). In effect, in their study on social capital and the role of socialisation conducted in British schools, John et al. (2003) analysed whether certain values and behaviours, which in their view embodied the essence of social capital (social trust and civic and political participation), could be taught and assimilated in school. Controlling for several variables such as socio economic parental status, gender, race, and other parental and background variables, they found a positive and significant influence of citizenship education on student behaviour and political attitudes (John et al., 2003:28).

Conducting a similar experience but with diverse findings still relevant for social capital, Slomczynski and Shabad (1998) concluded that educational initiatives have an impact on attitudes towards democracy, but not in the expected way. In an experiment conducted with two groups of students in Poland, the researchers found that while the teaching of democratic values did not necessarily enhance support for them among students, it

did encourage students to develop a critical attitude towards extreme positions. Students exposed to the experimental democracy course expressed moderate views positioning them along the mean (Slomczynski and Shabad, 1998: 771) on democratic attitudes. These results indicate that responsible citizenship, characterised by the cognitive ability and capacity to 'think critically and in a complex manner' can in effect be reinforced by schools, therefore impacting social capital stocks existing in society (Slomczynski and Shabad, 1998:771).

2.4 The implications of the literature review for the thesis

The potential contribution of education and, more concretely, of secondary schools for the role and generation of social capital has not been sufficiently researched and analysed. Studies within the social capital literature addressing the role of education or schools have concentrated on Coleman's (1988) one way association between educational outcomes and social capital, have focused on the impact and effects of educational attainment levels (Helliwel et al., 1999; Nie et al., 1996), or have been largely context-specific and concentrated on the social capital in children (Stevens et al., 2007; Morrow, 1999, 2000, 2001; etc). In effect, although the role of the state in social capital building, and the possible forms this effort can take via the governance paradigm or the public policy approach has been widely acknowledged and treated, the consideration of the role of educational policy towards the building of social capital and the role of the schools at the core of this form of policy has never been properly addressed. As a consequence, the analysis of the way in which schools can play a role in increasing social capital remain few in number and, more significantly, remain detached from any consideration of a state-led strategy for the building of social capital.

This thesis posits the need to fill this gap in the literature by looking at the consequences of the Spanish government's attempt to fill the social capital

void in Spain through the introduction of a pro-active educational policy aimed at stimulating the creation of social capital in the country's secondary schools. Given the structure of policy making and implementation in Spain, the approach that will be adopted is based on an analysis of the multi-level governance approach to policy analysis that is necessary in the Spanish case. Spain has seventeen autonomous regions that are central actors in the formulation and implementation of national policies in various fields, and educational policy is one of those that requires a close interaction between the national and regional levels for the policy to be implemented. For this purpose, two regions will be selected in carrying out the four comparative case studies in schools at the secondary level. The case studies will make possible the analysis of the role of the schools within the national strategy in order to assess the potentiality of their role in the 'virtuous circle' of social capital building. It will do so on the basis of the analysis of the teaching of civic values and behaviour; involvement in extracurricular activities, participation and community affairs; and socialisation into democratic values and sense of tolerance vis-à-vis others—all of which are the building blocks of social capital.

Chapter 3. Methodology and research design

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### 3.1 The importance of the proposed research design

As formulated in the introductory chapter, the overall aim of this thesis centres on a twofold purpose: on the one hand, it seeks to *advance the study of the constructability of social capital by focusing on the identification of the public policy strategies producing opportunity structures for the building of social capital*; and on the other, it attempts to *empirically investigate the capacity of secondary schools to operate as the institutional social capital builders through the implementation of the National Social Capital Building strategy*. To this end, the methodological choice that the thesis makes brings into play a research design built on the case study approach, but it moves beyond the single case and selects a multiple case research design. Ultimately, the empirical as well as the documentary work carried out by the thesis spans across different regional

and urban cases, and brings together four case studies at the secondary school level in Spain.

The multiple case study approach is best suited to this thesis for three significant reasons. First, it facilitates the exploration of the linkage between local social capital building actors (street-level bureaucrats) and the opportunity strategies afforded to them by the educational system, as well as by the regional variation that the implementation of policy in a multi-level governance setting like Spain implies. Therefore, the multiple case study method *per se* allows for a contextualised analysis of each case, addressing factors that are unique to each one. Second, the multiple case study approach allows for a comparative analysis of cases so that the focus on the variables that are used in the investigation across cases singles out similarities and differences in the possible responses. Third, the multiple case study approach is best suited when, as in this thesis, the empirical literature is very “thin” and the topic investigated—the social capital building capacity of secondary schools through the implementation of a national education reform—is exploratory in nature.

### **3.2 Paradigm, conceptual model, hypothesis, and variables**

In its research orientation the thesis is oriented by the general principles of the phenomenological or constructivist paradigm rather than the positivist or scientific paradigm, whereby its logic is primarily inductive (Mark et al., 2000; Munger, 2000; Scheirer and Griffith, 1990). The thesis is informed, as presented in the introductory chapter, by the social capital *constructability* theory and the problematical nature of policy implementation in Spain’s multi-level governance system.

An expansion and elaboration of Putnam’s theory of social capital generation, is presented in the thesis as a process for change which can be influenced by educational policy and the actions of secondary schools

through iterative cycles of intervention. As shown in Figure 1.2 in chapter 1, the three key points in the process are when school interventions impacting on social capital stocks can take place—that is, encouraging associational behaviour in students, promoting social norms and increasing diffused trust within the student community.

The multi-level governance (MLG) setting of the Spanish educational system, by necessity, focuses the thesis on the hypothesis that the configuration of varying institutional and operational contexts, with territorially differentiated opportunity structures<sup>31</sup> for social capital building, is based on a nationally devised strategy that has a particular public institution at its core—i.e., the secondary schools. Based on the “big” national opportunity structure created by the 2004 bombings, the “little” regional specific social capital building *opportunity structures* (see chapter 4 for their presentation) are represented by the multiple ‘windows of opportunity’ for secondary schools to address the two dimensions of social capital (structural and substantive) and hence prompt the social capital generation process to begin. What this suggests is that at the local level of the schools there are potentially other sets of “little” windows of opportunity that could be exploited by the individual schools and their staff based on past behaviour and leadership opportunities.

Ultimately, the regional opportunity structure, with its ‘windows of opportunity’ for school intervention in the social capital building process is expected to address specific elements of the two dimensions of social capital as described in Table 3.1.

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<sup>31</sup> We use the term “window of opportunity” in a similar manner as does Kingdon (2003: 165) when he refers to: “an opportunity for advocates of proposal to push their pet solutions or to push attention to their special problems” onto the public agenda. In our case the window of opportunity allows school administrators to introduce changes to the curriculum which would not have been possible before. But to Kingdon’s definition we add the distinction between “big”—i.e., national—versus “little” local windows of opportunity as formulated by Exworthy and Powell (2004).

**Table 3.1 . Points of intervention, social capital dimensions and elements addressed by schools as social capital builders**

| Intervention point   | Social capital dimension addressed | Specific social capital elements to be addressed                                                                      |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Associational life   | Structural                         | Team work / Team building;<br>Collective action (horizontal ties);<br>Vertical ties;<br>Network generation in general |
| Social norms         | Substantive                        | Cooperation;<br>Solidarity;<br>Reciprocity;<br>Tolerance;<br>Integration in general                                   |
| Trustful environment | Substantive                        | Trust;<br>Integration in general                                                                                      |

Source: Author's formulation

Given that the thesis constitutes a cross-sectional study concerned with the identification and assessment of the capacity of a new institutional social capital building *actor* and assesses the innovativeness of a social capital building *strategy*, it will not attempt to assess the actual impact of the social capital generation process in the schools. Such an effort would entail the conduct of a longitudinal study carried out according to a panel study research design. Instead, this thesis focuses attention on the role and capacity of secondary schools in implementing the national strategy for the building of social capital.<sup>32</sup> Therefore in making the distinction between policy outputs and policy outcomes, we will be assessing the immediate policy outputs of the NSCB strategy rather than the long-term policy outcomes (i.e., changes in social capital levels among lower secondary students).

Accordingly, the identification of the dependent and independent variables in the study yields the following result: while the *dependent* variable is the *implementation of the schools' social capital building capacity through the operationalization of the NSCB strategy and regional opportunity*

<sup>32</sup> Goggin et al. (1990) in their discussion of the "third generation" approach to the evaluation of programme implementation suggest that a realistic research design for this purpose requires at least a 4-5 year lag between the initiation of a programme and its initial evaluation. For substantial data to be generated for the purpose of the eventual retooling the programme, a 9-10 year gap is more appropriate. In our case, the fieldwork was carried out one year after the programme had been operationalised at the local level.

*structures*, the independent variables (two of them) and the two intervening variables refer to the institutional and operational context within which secondary schools operate, as well as to the resources they bring to bear in achieving the objective. Defining and shaping the institutional and operational context are the independent variables: the *nationally formulated social capital building (NSCB) strategy* and the regionally defined *opportunity structures (ROS)* for social capital building. The third and fourth variables (this time, intervening variables) refer to the schools' *quality of integration into the educational sector's multi-level governance system* and to the *level of leadership* present in the four secondary schools. The focus on the dependent variable—expressed as the assessment of the schools' performance vis-à-vis the opportunities afforded by the context--helps to identify the impact created by the independent and intervening variables that facilitate or hinder the consolidation of the schools' capacity as social capital builders.

***The dependent variable: the capacity of the schools to carry out the role of social capital builders***

As discussed above, the dependent variable of the thesis is the schools' capacity to build social capital. This capacity is understood in terms of the schools' response to an opportunity structure shaped by the regional level policy and based on the national strategy for social capital building. The variable focuses on the schools as both recipients of the educational policy from above as well as the actors responsible for the implementation of the policy from below. The analysis of the dependent variable centres on the extent to which --and the manner in which-- the policy on social capital building has been implemented by the schools in three particular points of intervention. In other words, the activities of the schools represent the manner in which the social capital building strategy is being implemented at the grassroots level.

### ***The independent variables***

For the purpose of this thesis, two independent variables and two intervening variable have been identified for analysis (see Figure 1.4 in Chapter 1):

#### ***a. The National social capital building (NSCB) strategy***

The first independent variable is the initial strategy formulated at the national level within the educational sector, which places secondary schools in a position to become potential builders of social capital. This variable constitutes the first pillar of the institutional and operational context for social capital building in the Spanish secondary schools. It is the basis upon which the regional levels shape opportunity structures with which the secondary schools (see Figure 1.3 in Chapter 1) engage for the policy's final implementation.<sup>33</sup>

#### ***b. The regional opportunity structure (ROS) for social capital building***

The second independent variable --the ROS--reflects the configuration of the opportunity structures--i.e., configuration of the means by which the schools can achieve the goals set out by the NSCB-- that emerges in every region as it translates the national strategy into its specific regional context. The regional reconfiguration of the national strategy constitutes the second pillar of the institutional and operational context within which the secondary schools operate. The ROS' configuration is indeed expected to provide the schools with a number of opportunities--vis-a-vis previous policies-- to build social capital in a *comprehensive* manner. The analysis of this variable in the two selected regions focuses on the extent

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<sup>33</sup> Here there is one programme to take into account at the present time. It would be expected that over time and after preliminary evaluations were conducted the exact configuration of the programme would change and therefore provide us with a set of different data points over time. The NSCB provides the template for the formulation of the regional ROSs. Therefore, there is an inherent policy learning strategy built into the national NSCB strategy which would be expected to evolve over time.

to which both dimensions (structural and substantive) of social capital are addressed by the policy in each region.<sup>34</sup>

**c. *The quality and degree of the school's self-empowerment in responding to the multi-level policy setting: learning from the past***

The first intervening variable in the study is represented by the quality of integration of the secondary schools into the multi-level structure for which the NSCB strategy has been devised and how it has responded to past challenges in formulating its educational curriculum and optional activities. This third variable expresses itself in the degree to which the school is conscious of and accepts its role as a street-level bureaucracy faced with challenges for which there are no clear policy guidelines. It seeks to capture the extent to which the schools go beyond the minimal requirements of the programme –based on their level of self-confidence, sense of empowerment and presence of ‘institutional capital’-- to implement a programme or policy directive in light of the need of their student body and/or staff,<sup>35</sup> and have in the past filled in the gaps in educational policy programmes with their own interpretations of the rules and guidelines for policy implementation. This variable is operationalized in terms of past experimentation with ad hoc educational responses to immediate needs or opportunities to enhance their educational offer.

**d. *The leadership element in secondary schools***

The second intervening variable considered in the study refers to the leadership resources present in the four schools at the time of the implementation of the NSCB and ROS associated with the social capital building strategy. This variable takes into account the importance of the local initiative in any street-level bureaucracy and refers to the presence (or absence) of ‘human capital’ among the staff and leadership present in the schools who with their personal drive ensure a qualitative response to

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<sup>34</sup> In our case there are two different ROSs which have not yet undergone change.

<sup>35</sup> Here we have four data points on the variable representing the four schools.

the ROS—thereby going beyond what is strictly demanded by the NSCB and regional ROS— in so doing increasing the school’s capacity to build social capital as intended by the national/regional strategy. This intervening variable does not constitute a “structural” variable tied to the formal aspects of the educational system but rather to the human capital variable that is present above and beyond what is dictated by the formal context within which the schools operate. In Kingdon’s conception of windows of opportunity in policy making these would constitute the policy ‘entrepreneurs’: “advocates who are willing to invest their resources—time, energy, reputation, money—to promote a position in return for anticipated future gains in the form of material, purposive, or solidarity benefits” (2003: 179). In the case of the Spanish street-level bureaucrats, their ability to go beyond the strict dictates of the policy will be analysed in the context of symbolic returns in the form of professional esteem and the response of the community.<sup>36</sup>

### 3.3 Selection of case studies in Spain

The research has been organised through the conduct of four case studies of secondary schools in two regions of Spain. Three interlinked reasons have led to the choice of the country: first, Spain’s overall low social capital level in comparison with other European countries has created an internal need to enhance this resource; second, the country’s history has bequeathed a significant regional dimension to policy making and implementation, and its thirty years of experience with decentralised multi-level governance setting has indeed enhanced this characteristic over a wide variety of social and economic policies; and third, democratic Spain has taken the explicit decision to raise social capital levels by re-enforcing civic values and social norms through its educational system for the purpose of consolidating its social structure and furthering social integration. For these three reasons, the study of Spain offers a first-ever

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<sup>36</sup> Here too we have four data points representing the schools where the research was conducted..

evaluation<sup>37</sup> of how a national strategy that has been interpreted by the meso-level of governance (Sharpe, 1993)<sup>38</sup>—i.e., by the country's 17 regions or Autonomous Communities as they are known—is able to impact the schools' capacity to build social capital. The empirical work of this thesis has, as mentioned above, been carried out in two different regions.

As is further explored in chapter 4, the comparatively low social capital levels in Spain in relation to other European countries suggest that the country provides an ideal setting for the exploration of the role of new institutional actors and public policy strategies for the building of social capital because the need is great and the new actors are challenged given the lack of substantial stocks of the asset. Moreover, the regional dimension accentuates the relevance of the selection of Spain due to the internally differentiated levels of regional social capital, and the different self-governing traditions in regions which can lead to the emergence of territorially specific social capital building strategies.

It follows, that the choice of the four case studies responds to their characterisation from a spatial and contextual perspective. What follows in the next two sections is the explanation of the selection of the two regions and of the urban centres where the four schools are located.

### **3.3.1 Selection of two regions and their capital cities: Zaragoza in Aragon and Valladolid in Castile Leon**

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<sup>37</sup> The term "evaluation" is used in this thesis according to the meaning attributed to the concept by Pressman and Wildavsky (1984:xv) "Implementation and evaluation are the opposite sides of the same coin, implementation providing the experience that evaluation interrogates and evaluation providing the intelligence to make sense out of what is happening."

<sup>38</sup> It is useful to note that the emergence of Sharpe's meso governments in member states of the European Union has fuelled the implementation of a multi-level system of governance in the management of particular policy areas. The most obvious has been the management of the EU's cohesion policy (Leonardi, 2005), but this thesis demonstrates that the approach is also useful (see Piattoni, 2010) in the analysis of other policies, such as educational policy in a country like Spain where the meso level of government has a significant role in the implementation of an array of important policies.

It is argued in the literature on Spain that the regional dimension and the historic differences characterising Spanish regions are important in understanding what happens in terms of the implementation of public policies at the regional level (Agranoff, 2010; Aja, 2004). Thus, the regional dimension informs the selection of cases for the thesis, so that the binary sample of cases expresses clear regional traits. Accordingly, the argument is that the choice of cases must be informed by a contextual territorial analysis of regions that takes into consideration the governing traditions and cultural and socio-economic factors that differentiate Spanish regions in which the schools are embedded.

Regional differentiation and background have been seen by the Spanish social capital literature as explanatory elements for the strong or weak features of social capital found in the country and its regions. In their accounts of regional governance and regional social capital, Mota and Subirats (Mota, 2005; Subirats and Mota, 2000) highlight how existing differences among the regions coincide with their varied levels of modernisation and socio-economic development. These levels are in turn linked to what has been identified in the same literature as the 'differential facts' between regions (Aja, 2004). At times this refers to 'historic traits' – such as individual languages, differentiated financial regimes, special civil rights (Mota, 2005), and other features-- which emphasise the greater administrative capacity and self-governing traditions of some regions vis-à-vis others. Ultimately, these features allude to historic self-government traditions present in the kingdoms of Aragon, Navarra and the Basque Country and absent in the regions that were part of the Crown of Castile— Castilla Leon, Andalucia, Estremadura, etc. (Mota, 2005).

At the same time, the regional development literature on Spain, identifies and measures significant regional differences in the levels of socio-economic development. While in European comparative terms a majority of the Spanish regions (ten out of seventeen) were Objective 1 or 'underdeveloped' regions at the beginning of the 'cohesion' policy adopted

by the Community in 1989<sup>39</sup>, it is also true that intra-country regional differences are large as well (Carr, 1980). For the purpose of this thesis the choice has been to select regions that are not located at opposite poles of the economic development spectrum because two extreme cases would have been less representative of the range of Spanish regions than two more 'intermediate' regions. Nonetheless, the choice had to be of two regions fairly different in terms of their development assets and economic base as are the two regions selected.

The selection of the two regions of Aragon and Castile Leon, shown in Figure 3.1 below, is framed within this broad regional differentiation. Thus, Aragon exemplifies the Spanish regions *with* a 'differential fact'—i.e., of having a long-standing tradition of self-government and hence of administrative capacity—together with a stronger and differentiated economic base. It is one of several such regions in Spain, including Navarre and Catalonia<sup>40</sup> that have never been fully 'under developed' over the last twenty years. Conversely, the region of Castile Leon, is representative of regions which were once under the Crown of Castile and which therefore had a relatively weaker self-governing tradition. Indeed, while historically Castile Leon represented the country's poorer agricultural areas, it nonetheless represented an important part of the 'core' of Spain's political power, in a relationship that has been deemed 'an inverted centre-periphery pyramid' (Agranoff, 2010: 23). The decline of Castile Leon's agricultural sector during the last twenty years has led to the creation of a differentiated economic base that has emphasised the emergence of services and a significant manufacturing base in the automobile industry.

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<sup>39</sup> Aragon was never an Objective 1 region and Castile Leon emerged from Objective 1 in 2007 due to the sustained development undergone between 1989 and 2006. For the discussion of regional convergence patterns see Leonardi (2005).

<sup>40</sup> While the strong ethnic identification is associated most often with the regions of Catalonia, Basque Country and Galicia, other Autonomous Communities in Spain have a tradition of equidistance or autonomy from the centre because of the self-rule and the status of exemption from crown taxation that they enjoyed for centuries (Herr, 1971).

Figure 3.1 Spanish Regions



Source: [www.ec.europa.eu](http://www.ec.europa.eu). 2007-2013 regional map of Spain.

The two regions vary significantly in size; Castile Leon has nine provinces to Aragon's three, but most importantly Castile Leon has 2,248 municipalities in comparison to Aragon's 727. Castile Leon has 28% of the country's 8,083 municipalities in comparison to 7.4% of the country's population. Aragon, instead, has 8.9% of the country's municipalities and 3.3% of the country's population.

The selection of the two regions' respective capital cities responds to the same logic of similarity in their position within the Spanish educational system. Therefore, these two regions are not too dissimilar and not on the extremes of the GDP per capita spectrum (the region's capital cities of Zaragoza and Valladolid were respectively at 109.1% and 105.5% of the national GDP per capita average in 2005<sup>41</sup>).

<sup>41</sup> See: INE <http://www.ine.es/jaxi/menu.do?type=pcaxis&path=%2Ft35/p010&file=inebase&L=0>

### **3.3.2 Selection at the micro-level: the two secondary schools in each region**

The selection of the schools for the case studies in each of the two regions was performed according to several objectives and contextual factors. In the first instance, compulsory secondary schools were chosen for the study because it is in this phase of education that schools are better positioned to have a greater impact on student attitudes, values and propensity to act. In effect, having a 'captive audience' being prepared to accept personal responsibility within the wider society and to enter the job market, compulsory secondary education in Spain covers students from the ages of 12 to 16 (see chapter 4). Because of their ample mandates, secondary schools are more often the target of new education policies that aim to pursue important social change objectives in society. This focus on secondary schools has been shared by all national governments since the country became a democracy in 1978 for the very purpose of strengthening and sustaining the foundations of the young democracy<sup>42</sup>. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, this has been the case for an entire body of legislation in relevant areas and topics for the configuration by regions of the opportunity structures for social capital building.

The choice of schools in both regions has purposely incorporated factors that highlight internal and external differences. Thus, the geographical location of the schools has been looked at together with the schools' academic history. Once again, care has been taken in choosing schools representing different but not extreme examples in terms of neighbourhood characteristics from where students come and in terms of the socio-economic backgrounds of the student population. In other words, the logic has been to differentiate schools according to their faculty and

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<sup>42</sup> In the latter part of the 36 years of the Franco dictatorship, Spain had undergone a radical social and economic transformation, having become a 'modern consumer and civil society' (Salvado, 1999: 162). In 'the processes of building the Estado de las Autonomias and of democracy,' the consolidation of these new social characteristics of the population became an important priority of subsequent governments (Agranoff, 2010: 56).

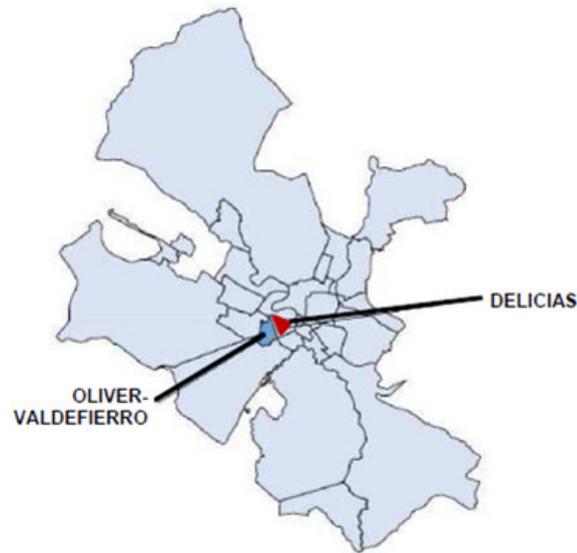
programme offerings, but to contain these differences within one spatial basin and spectrum of the population so as to exclude extreme cases of academically non-performing or extremely high performing schools. Hence, while in the case of the schools in Zaragoza (Aragon) the two schools chosen had similarities in terms of being located in two contiguous neighbourhoods and therefore attracting a student population from the same socio-economic catch basin, the two schools in Valladolid (Castile Leon) were located in two different neighbourhoods but which shared academic profiles.

In the case of Aragon (Zaragoza), the two schools chosen are located in the neighbourhoods of 'Oliver-Valdefierro' and the southern part of the neighbourhood 'Delicias' (see Figure 3.2), which places them in the first peripheral ring of the city, a 'grey'<sup>43</sup> zone of built-up mixed housing holdings (less ownership and more tenancy) that are not in the centre of the city but not far from it. These neighbourhoods are characterised by a middle-to-lower class population that reflect average socio-economic conditions in the city. One of the two, 'Delicias', has a significantly high population density, as is illustrated in Figure 3.2, accounting for around 18% of the population of Zaragoza.

---

<sup>43</sup> The 'grey' zone is the city planning term that refers to the large areas of cities that are composed of lower middle class residents and are located around the city centres and around the upper middle class areas. They tend to experience or to have experienced the brunt of the demographic changes due to the economic transformations of cities in the post-WWII period, particularly since the 1970s.

**Figure 3.2. Catch basin neighbourhoods in Zaragoza:  
'Oliver-Valdefierro' and 'Delicias'**



Source: Zaragoza Town Hall, 'ZGZ Cifras No.10', 2008.

<http://www.zaragoza.es/ciudad/estadistica/zgz10.htm>

The two schools chosen in Zaragoza ('Los Enlaces' and 'Ramon Pignatelli') are located next to each other (see Figure 3.3), and although drawing from the same population base (same neighbourhoods in their catch basin), they differ in the type of students they attract due to the kind of educational training they offer. While 'Los Enlaces' at the time of the study was offering general secondary education and vocational training, the other ('Ramon Pignatelli') was offering general secondary education and baccalaureate degrees. As will be discussed in chapter 5, these educational profiles have a significant impact on the characteristics of the school environment, and indeed of the schools' own sense of identity.

**Figure 3.3. Location of secondary schools ‘Los Enlaces’ and ‘Ramon Pignatelli’, Zaragoza, Aragon**

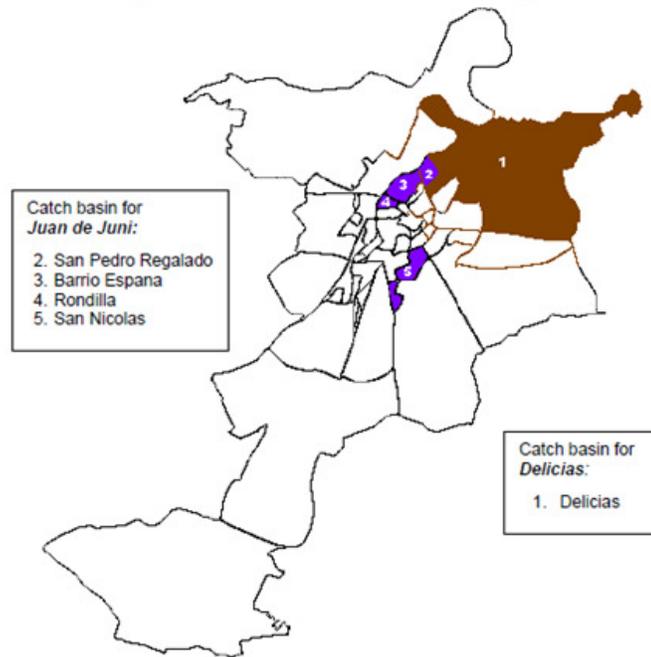


Source: [www.ies-losenlaces.com](http://www.ies-losenlaces.com).

Turning to the two schools selected in the region of Castile Leon, they are located in different neighbourhoods but equally within the first peripheral ring of the regional capital, near the centre of Valladolid. The first one ('Juan de Juni') is situated in the neighbourhood of Rondilla, which caters to students primarily from that area but also from adjacent neighbourhoods such as 'San Nicolas' and 'Barrio España' and even from three rural localities<sup>44</sup>. The second school ('Delicias') is located in a different neighbourhood ('Delicias', the same name as the school) but at the same distance from the city centre as the other school's catch basin areas (see Figure 3.4). Although covering a much larger area than the 'Delicias' school, the 'Juan de Juni' school serves a city population roughly the same size: while the 'Delicias' neighbourhood is home to 9.4% of the city's population, the four neighbourhoods assigned to 'Juan de Juni' together represent 9% of the Valladolid population.

<sup>44</sup> A more detailed explanation is provided in chapter 6.

**Figure 3.4. Main catch basin neighbourhoods of chosen schools in Valladolid: 'San Pedro Regalado', 'Rondilla', 'San Nicolás', 'Barrio España' and 'Delicias'**

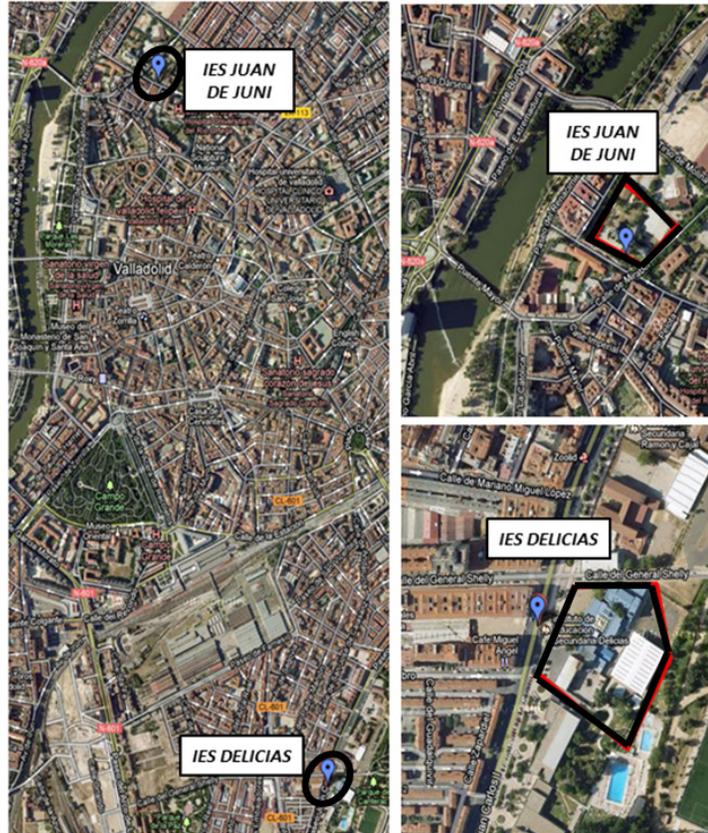


Source: <http://www.valladolidencifras.es/web/ppal.html>

Catering to a combination of urban and rural areas, the 'Juan de Juni' provides an insight into different characteristics in the student population for the study. At the same time, this plurality of catch basins does not significantly alter the socio-economic profile of Juan de Juni's student population due to the fact that the majority of its students come from the neighbourhood of 'Rondilla', which has demographic and economic similarities with the neighbourhood of 'Delicias'. For example, the two neighbourhoods have a similar percentage of the school age population (10 to 19 years of age; 7.2% in 'Rondilla' and 7.5% in 'Delicias') and they share a predominant working class background that has a longstanding tradition, having emerged at the beginning of the industrialisation period of Valladolid, when large automobile factories were set up in the city. In this sense, both schools have seen a similar evolution in terms of change in their student population as well as in relation to the surrounding

community. The maps below locate the two schools within the city of Valladolid.

**Figure 3.5 Juan de Juni and Delicias schools in Valladolid**



Source: Author

### 3.3.3 Selection of secondary students as final recipients of the social capital building strategy

As explained above, secondary schools in Spain serve students between the ages of 12 and 16. The size of the four schools varies, as is the case for Spanish secondary schools. The sampled schools range in size from 311 to 450 students. The choice of these particular bodies of students is relevant to the exploratory study encompassed by the thesis because they are the most suitable and targeted final recipients of the school's performance in its response to the regional opportunity structure (ROS).

The national NSCB and the regional ROS focus on the application of six policy elements relevant to this study in this phase of education, so that the field work centres on the school activity as it addresses these students. As will be analysed and discussed in chapters 5 and 6, the assessment of the dependent variable (the schools' reaction to the policy of building social capital) is performed in the schools with regard to their actions in developing each element of the policy. To this end, the thesis collects and examines information on all of the activities, programmes and projects involving secondary students in each school, and it does so by adopting multiple methods that are detailed in the following section.

### **3.4 Methods of data collection for the analysis**

The fieldwork conducted for the thesis has involved a qualitative approach. Altogether, four categories of methods producing primary data were used: personal interviews, structured group discussions, observations and informal conversations. Accordingly, the instruments that were prepared and used included questionnaires and structured note taking. Primary data were supplemented with secondary data produced through the content analysis of national and regional documents (laws, decrees and plans) as well as the systematic examination of the four schools' relevant internal programming and curricular documents. The subsections below introduce each of the methods, specifying how they were used and for what purpose.

#### **3.4.1 Types of interviews**

Three types of interviews have been conducted: personal interviews were held with regional and local government representatives, as well as with teachers with specific responsibilities relevant to the intent of the national strategy and head teachers for a total of 35 individual interviews; group

discussions were held with 27 teachers; and focus groups were organised with 85 students. The three groups of interviews provided an overall total of 147 respondents and questionnaires that were filled out. In addition, 26 informal interviews (with notes taken after the interactions) were conducted as part of the participant-observer phase of the field work.

***a) Personal interviews***

Face to face, open ended types of personal interviews were held with regional and local government representatives, and in each school with school staff, head teachers and teachers with ad hoc responsibilities associated with the social capital building strategy. While government representatives at the regional level were consulted on a broad base of issues with regard to the ROS, local level representatives from the respective town hall units were interviewed on a specific initiative or programme enhancing one of the elements that was under their responsibility. Concerning key school staff, head teachers and school directors, they were interviewed first of all for contextualisation purposes to learn about the school's educational philosophy and traditions. Importantly, they were also probed to gather detailed information on the processes behind the decisions and actions undertaken by the schools in each policy area. Finally, teachers holding specific responsibilities were interviewed in relation to the role that they played within the school, such as the head of Guidance Department (responsible for tutorial activities) and the school's coexistence or the extracurricular activity coordinators. Table 3.2 below shows the number of respondents that were interviewed on a personal level in the two regions.

**Table 3.2 Individuals interviewed per region**

|                                       | Aragon    | Castile Leon |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| Regional representatives              | 4         | 3            |
| Local representatives                 | 2         | 2            |
| School directors                      | 2         | 2            |
| Head teachers                         | 2         | 2            |
| Teachers with ad hoc responsibilities | 6         | 6            |
| Key school staff                      | 2         | 2            |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                          | <b>18</b> | <b>17</b>    |

Source: Author

**b) Group discussions with teachers**

First and fourth year school teachers participated in small group discussions in which they were consulted on the details of the school's implementation of the policy. Teachers were also asked about the characteristics and profile of the student community under their care. Table 3.3 below summarises the total number of participants in these group discussions per region and per school.

**Table 3.3 Number of participants in group discussions**

|                                          | Aragon                    |                                | Castile Leon               |                        |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
|                                          | School 1<br>(Los Enlaces) | School 2<br>(Ramon Pignatelli) | School 1<br>(Juan de Juni) | School 2<br>(Delicias) |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> year | 3                         | 4                              | 4                          | 3                      |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> and 4 <sup>th</sup> year | 3                         | 3                              | 3                          | 4                      |

Source: Author

**c) Focus groups with students**

In the assessment of the response of the schools to the ROS the views of the students were also collected about the educational trajectory and initiatives of the schools with regard to the strengthening of the elements of social capital. Given the young age of students the most appropriate

method to approach them was as part of a focus group; whereby the discussion was held in a more informal setting, guided to maintain a focus, but at the same time not intimidating as a personal interview would have been. While focus group meetings were advertised around the schools and encouraged by teachers, participation on the part of the students was entirely voluntary in nature. Questionnaires and word games were used during the meetings to keep the discussion on track. Table 3.4 below summarises the number of participants in the study.

**Table 3.4 Total number of student participants in focus groups**

|                                          | Aragon                    |                                | Castile Leon               |                        |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
|                                          | School 1<br>(Los Enlaces) | School 2<br>(Ramon Pignatelli) | School 1<br>(Juan de Juni) | School 2<br>(Delicias) |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> year | 10                        | 14                             | 12                         | 11                     |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> and 4 <sup>th</sup> year | 8                         | 11                             | 12                         | 7                      |

Source: Author

### 3.4.2 Observations and informal conversations

Being an exploratory study, very important insights were gained by the researcher being 'there' and acting as a 'participant observer' over a period of time. Among others, as the methodological literature confirms (Burgess, 1984; Becker, 1957), when the interaction is successful mutual familiarity is built between the researcher and his/her subjects. This rapport can translate into a relationship of trust that in time allows for the adjustment of preliminary observations and concepts on the part of the researcher, so as to reach a more reliable and nuanced set of conclusions.

The role of participant-observer was carried out as part of the field work for the thesis. Thus, 'participant observations' accompanied by additional individual and small group informal conversations took place all along the process; the search for occasions to observe and exchange views

informally involved the school administrative staff, teachers, students outside of the formal interview setting, and also, very importantly, members of the parents' associations. Structured note-taking after the encounters were used to collect and organise the information. Table 3.5 shows the total number of individuals contacted in each school in this manner over the period of the study.

**Table 3.5 Individuals contacted**

|                     |                            |   |
|---------------------|----------------------------|---|
| <b>Aragon</b>       | School 1 (Los Enlaces)     | 6 |
|                     | School 2(Ramon Pignatelli) | 7 |
| <b>Castile Leon</b> | School 1 (Juan de Juni)    | 5 |
|                     | School 2 (Delicias)        | 7 |

Source: Author

### **3.4.3 Content analysis of documents**

Several types of documents were analysed for the thesis to gather secondary data on the dependent and independent variables, as well as to profile the regional and school case studies and their territorial, and institutional contexts. Hence, the content of legislative documents produced by the national, regional and local levels was analysed for the identification and formulation of the national social capital building strategy (NSCB) and the opportunity structure in each region (ROS). Also, school documentation --such as the school project, school curriculum, internal code of practice, memoirs, and internal reports-- were studied in order to flesh out the individual school's response to the independent variables. Finally, contextual documents on the two regions, cities and neighbourhoods were consulted and analysed.

### **3.5 Research questions and their analysis**

Based on the conceptual model presented in section 3.2 of this chapter, the thesis is a study on: how did the four schools implement the role of

*social capital builders as foreseen by the NSCB and ROS strategies?* To this end, as reported in chapter 1, seven research questions are addressed, of which four are of an institutional and operational nature, two make a comparative assessment across the four case studies, and one assesses the significance of the results of this work for the social capital constructability theory and for its contribution to the literature.

### ***The four institutional and operational questions***

The four institutional and operational questions used for the study are:

1. What are the critical elements of the national strategy (NSCB) in Spain to promote secondary schools as social capital builders?
2. How did the two selected regions translate the national strategy into an 'opportunity structure' articulated into six policy areas for social capital building in the secondary schools?
3. What type of response did the secondary schools put into place with regard to the opportunity structure and the six policy areas mandated by the regional legislation?
4. How fully did the schools take advantage of the six policy areas provided by the national and regional legislation?

The first question addresses the national strategy for social capital building (NSCB) by asking for the critical analysis of its elements. Following is the question on the implementation process of the national strategy, which centres on the regional level, asking to assess how the two case study regions translated the national strategy into a regional 'opportunity structure' for social capital building in their secondary schools. The third question begins to focus on the dependent variable (the school's response to the policy of social capital building), and the fourth question asks what did the schools leave behind in implementing the national and regional programmes.

The analysis of the NSCB strategy, draws on the national legislation by examining its goals, internal coherence among its six policy elements, and feasibility of results. Thus, each policy element is assessed and the relevant social capital feature (see Table 3.1) is examined in relation to the methods used to promote it among the students. Subsequently, and in a similar manner, the regional translation of the strategy –the ROS–, is analysed in the two selected regions (Aragon and Castile Leon), by drawing on the regional documents but also on personal interviews conducted with regional officials. Two particular dimensions of analysis are focused upon in this phase: the assessment of the legal development of each ROS by looking at the mandatory component, and the identification of any supplementary actions or initiatives (supplementary component) put into place by the regional (or local level when allowed) authorities that enhanced the scope of the school’s response and facilitated the achievement of the policy goals. In the case of the mandatory component, both the level of detail as well as the degree of compulsion are assessed. In the analysis of supplementary actions undertaken by the region, the nature of such actions in terms of incentives and rewards made available to the schools (see Table 3.6).

**Table 3.6. Components ROS and criteria for their assessment**

| Components of ROS                                                             | Criteria of analysis                                              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Mandatory component<br>(legal development)                                    | Level of specification                                            |
|                                                                               | Level of compulsion                                               |
| Supplementary component<br>(regional or local additional actions/initiatives) | Nature of action<br>(Subsidies; educational materials;<br>Others) |

Source: Author

The third and fourth institutional and operational questions address the schools’ *responses* to the policy. The analysis performed to answer these questions draws from the range of interviews, observations and content

analysis of the schools' programming and curricular documents in each of the four schools. It involves two main assessments: an analysis of the *scope* of the response, and on the other, an analysis of the *internal coherence* of the response in relation to the policy objectives.

Concerning the *scope* of the school response (Table 3.7) the assessment focuses on the schools' level of activity regarding each component of the policy expressed in terms of two dimensions: the adoption of formal documents supporting the promotion of social capital by the schools (formalisation dimension), and the qualitative (creativity) and quantitative (volume of actions) features of the school's actions (*scale* dimension).

**Table 3.7. Dimensions of analysis in assessment of scope**

| Dimension of analysis | Description                                                       |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Formalisation         | Production of internal documents formalising the school's actions |
| Scale                 | Quality (creativity) and volume of response                       |

Source: Author

The assessment of the school response to the ROS in terms of *internal coherence* centres on verifying the degree to which the implementation by the schools results in a balanced approach to enhancing social capital's dual dimensionality in terms of substantive and structural characteristics. The analysis is, hence, concerned with determining if one dimension of social capital was addressed more so by the schools rather than the other. In other words, it seeks to assess whether the school's use of a window effectively brought about school activities specifically linked to the promotion of the particular social capital feature(s) identified as relevant in the NSCB strategy.

### ***Two comparative assessment questions***

The thesis will also look at the questions of what is common in the responses mobilised by the schools and what is different. Thus, the following questions will be addressed:

5. What explains variations in social capital building capacity across schools? (i.e., differences in comparative assessment), and
6. Conversely, what is common in their response? (i.e., similarities in comparative assessment)

### ***One social capital significant question***

Finally, the thesis will allow to pose the question of:

7. Are secondary schools in Spain capable of operating as social capital builders according to the dictates of the national policy and the way that it has been structured by different regions? What is the significance of the Spanish case studies for the constructability theory of social capital building in a broader context?

The final and main research question that drives the entire study and addresses its overall purpose draws from the comparative analysis, the findings of the four case studies and from the social capital literature. It calls for the assessment of the significance of the case studies in terms of the capacity of secondary schools in Spain to perform the role of social capital builders, and, as a consequence, in terms of the implications for the constructability theory of social capital. Does Spain provide a typical example of how social capital can and is built or are there differences in the Spanish model that one would not find in other countries?

The analysis will also provide an insight into the implementation process in Spain's multi-level governance system. Can the MLG system respond to initial policy objectives or does the need to filter the programmes through different layers of government, inevitably require a compromise in the original objectives and intentions of the policy? Expressed in the language of Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) the questions to be answered in the thesis can be phrased as: "how great expectations in Madrid are dashed in Zaragoza and Valladolid or why is it amazing that national programmes work at all in Castile Leon and Aragon?"

### **3.6 Conclusions: the triangulation of results**

The strength of the multiple case study design and of the multi-method approach for this research lies in the logic of the triangulation of results. The possibility of utilising in a coordinated manner the results from the use of several research methods will enhance the validity of the findings that are reached and the power of the conclusions that are to be drawn. The thesis builds on a triple layer of institutional levels—i.e., national, regional and local—but it heavily emphasizes the role of the school level where the traditions of the four schools and their administrative staff are highlighted and are analysed as the two intervening variables capable of taking into account what exactly happened within the four schools in implementing the national NSCB programme.

This thesis represents a first step in the systemisation of an experimental approach to the study of social capital building by an important social institution—the schools—which has in our case been emphasized by the Zapatero government but which has also been referred to over time by other European governments in order to stabilize and re-enforce the transition to the full rooting of democratic values and procedures.

Considerable emphasis will be placed in the thesis on the concept of implementation and how it has been treated from a theoretical as well as empirical point of view in past research. Past research (Barrett, 2004; Scheirer and Griffith, 1990; Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984); has highlighted the fact that implementation is not a linear process; it is full of ups and downs with no guarantee that what comes out of the black box of government (Palumbo and Calista, 1990) is in any way related to the original intentions of the policy makers. In our case we have four examples of different results from the implementation of one national programme and two regional interpretations of the programme. The point that is raised by the implementation literature is: what is the standard that should be used to judge if a programme has been successful or not? The answer has not always been clear and in our case the evidence is the result of one year of implementation. With the case studies we are able to identify the important factors leading to concrete results and those that explain a less productive outcome. In either case the results are important for both the social capital literature as well as the literature on policy implementation.

## Chapter 4. The Spanish territorial and institutional context

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In the first three chapters, the overall aim and the main objectives of the thesis were defined, the literature they drew upon was explored, and the methodological approach that the thesis has adopted was presented. The overall aim of the thesis is that of exploring the role of schools as social capital builders when specifically called for by national and regional legislation. The literature reviewed has highlighted how social capital levels across territorial communities have often been explained through a path dependent logic. At the same time, more recent multidisciplinary studies have espoused the thesis that social capital can be created in the pursuit of development goals. Furthermore, a few studies have empirically demonstrated how youth socialisation processes are vital for the shaping of political behaviour, network formation, attitudes of adults, and that positive interpersonal traits facilitate civic engagement and promote the generation of democratic values.

This chapter introduces the multi-level territorial context within which the empirical work of the thesis has taken place: the country of Spain and two of its regions. Specifically, the chapter first discusses the evidence of the empirical measurements that have been taken of the differing endowments of social capital at the national and regional levels and proceeds to profile the Spanish educational system and the principles that inform it. Then, importantly, the chapter focuses on the analysis of the strategic change that the 2006 national legislation has produced in the country's educational system by setting the goals and asking the regional governments to create the opportunities for social capital generation by secondary schools. Thus, this chapter answers the first research question of the thesis: 'what are the critical elements of the national strategy in Spain that have been devised to promote secondary schools as social capital builders?'

To this end, the chapter is organised into two sections. The first covers the level of Spain's social capital endowments through the analysis of their features across different regions as well as their evolution overtime according to a few but very important empirical studies that are available. The second section turns to the study of the country's educational system as a channel through which national institutional initiatives have been designed to promote social capital creation. In this context, the characteristics of the system, in terms of its principles and multi-level structure, are discussed and the recently designed national strategy for social capital enhancement is analysed.

4.1 Social capital in Spain: strong bonding and insufficient bridging

Since Spain's transition to democracy in the late 1970s, concern for the evolution and stability of Spanish democracy has raised several questions

about the country's political and social trajectory and future (Agranoff, 2010; Salvado, 1999; Torcal and Montero, 1999). Prominent among them, have been questions regarding political culture and political attitudes, associational behaviour, sentiments of shared trust, and in general civic behaviour that are in a position to translate the Spanish sense of rights and duties into support of democratic institutions. Even before the transition process formally began after the death of Franco in 1975, interest in these issues had been pursued by Spanish scholars by tracing the societal transformations that had taken place during the 1960s, the decade during which today's *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas*⁴⁵ (CIS) was created. It was then that the first opinion polls and surveys on these issues were carried out across the country. Today, CIS continues to provide the most complete set of longitudinal data on civic values and behaviour from which the majority of data for the social capital studies of the last decade are derived. But not all studies relating to social capital rely on survey based data, so that other approaches have also been used to map the evolution of social capital in Spanish society.

Most frequently Spanish studies have focused on the national level, analysing three social capital elements: sentiments of trust, political attitudes together with political participation, and associational life (Mota, 2005; Perez Diaz, 2000 [36b] and 2000 [39a]; Torcal and Montero, 1999). At the regional level studies of social capital have been few and far between. The most comprehensive study analysing comparatively all of the Spanish regions (Mota, 2005; Subirats and Mota, 2000) fails to include measures of social trust due to the lack of available data for certain regions. However, regional social capital in Spain has been analysed using measures of associational behaviour and associational networks as well as political engagement. In addition, a social capital index has been constructed according to which regions have been ranked as having high,

⁴⁵ Today this is known as CIS (Sociological Research Centre); but it was formerly known as the Instituto de la Opinión Pública–OIP- (Public Opinion Institute). Created in 1963, it changed its name in 1977 and is currently an autonomous entity, attached to the Ministry of the Presidency. Cfr.. Translations are by the author.

medium or low social capital levels. Overall, regions show significant differences in terms of political engagement⁴⁶, low but differentiated percentages of associational membership and smaller differences in terms of associational networks (number of associations per 10,000 inhabitants).

The national level studies largely agree on highlighting the existence of very low levels of *bridging* social capital in Spain, with some authors emphasising what they see as the counterbalancing element in the levels of high *bonding* social capital (Mota, 2005; Subirats and Mota, 2000; Perez-Diaz, 2000 [39a]; Torcal and Montero, 1999). Using this latter interpretation, in his studies of the Spanish *social fabric* Perez Diaz (2000 [36b]) has drawn attention to the crucial and too often overlooked role of bonding social capital represented by intra-family ties, family networks, neighbourhood associations, and 'ad hoc communities' that are, for example, established around a local *fiesta*, networks of friends and other informal networks. All of which, in his view, not only compensate for the weak presence of bridging social capital but significantly constitute the basis of the strength of social cohesion in Spain. Diaz maintains that this is evident in the successful management of the three 'structural strains' that have been faced by the country during the last 35 years: very high levels of unemployment, political scandals concerning corruption, and the fragility of the new democracy (Perez Diaz, 2000 [36b]:16, 19-23). He concludes that without strategies of internal negotiation and compromise achieved by these informal networks of the bonding type of social capital, disruption and even destruction of the social fabric would have been inevitable.

While the acknowledgement of the strength of bonding social capital in Spanish society is important, nonetheless it is the bridging and linking types of social capital which generally underpin collective behaviour,

⁴⁶ Using for its measurement the reported interest in regional politics, proportion of the population reading daily newspapers, and the degree of political knowledge about the regional government. Cfr. Subirats & Mota, 2000; Mota, 2005

improved institutional performance, and democracy. Bridging and linking social capital involve attitudes of trust, levels of associational life (in absolute and comparative terms) and the characteristics of political engagement, and these are the elements that are important to the current Spanish political context.

4.1.1 Sentiments of trust: interpersonal and social trust

The analysis in the academic literature on national social capital in Spain that focuses on levels of interpersonal and social (diffused) trust views the country as being characterised by persistently low levels, although in terms of social trust Spain fares better in comparative terms than in the case of associational behaviour. Staying above the EU average according to the 2002-03 European Social Survey (ESS) (with scores of 4.9 and 4.7 on a 10 point scale)⁴⁷, Spain is 2.1 points behind the highest social trust level registered in Denmark and 1.3 points above the lowest score reported by Greece (3.6). In a group of 11 European countries that were measured from 1981 to 2006 by the European Values Survey (EVS) and the World Value Survey (WVS), Spanish levels of 'distrust' also fall into the middle range, with an average level of distrust at around 60% of the population. In this sense Spain, presents lower levels of distrust than other Mediterranean countries and even some central and northern European countries such as France and Belgium, as shown in Table 4.1.

⁴⁷ The question used in the survey was 'do you consider you can trust the majority of the people, or you can never be too careful?' Cfr. Medina, 2005

Table 4.1. Distrust measured in 11 European countries 1981-2006

	1981	1990	1999	2002	2004	2006
Belgium	63	61	66.3	59.8	60.3	57.6
Denmark	44	40	32.3	25.5	28	22.8
France	71	72	74.9	71.7	70.7	70.9
Germany	58	51	63.8	65.7	62.1	62.2
Greece	-	-	-	78.8	76.9	-
Ireland	56	52	63.1	48.9	-	52.2
Italy	72	62	65.6	67.5	-	
Netherlands	49	44	39.9	41.8	37.1	38.6
Portugal	-	76	87.9	75.2	78.2	73.3
Spain	61	62	57.9	58.5	60.5	58.7
Great Britain	54	55	67.4	57.5	57.2	53

Source: Data for 1981 from European Values Survey (EVS) and 1990 from the WVS, both in Torcal & Montero, 1999:174; Data for 1999 from the WVS; Data for 2002, 2004 and 2006 is from the ESS. Data has been weighted.

National surveys conducted by the CIS for the years 2006 to 2008 (see Table 4.2), although with some differences vis-a-vis the international measures⁴⁸, corroborate the existence of a level of distrust around 50-60% of responses –meaning that a minority of the population in Spain trust others.

Table 4.2. Trust and distrust in others, Spain 2006-2008

	2006	2007	2008
One can normally trust others	41.3	42.9	41.4
One should always be careful with others	57.1	55.4	57.3

Source: Data from CIS Barometer surveys 2633, 2700 and 2749 carried out in 2006, 2007 and 2008 respectively.

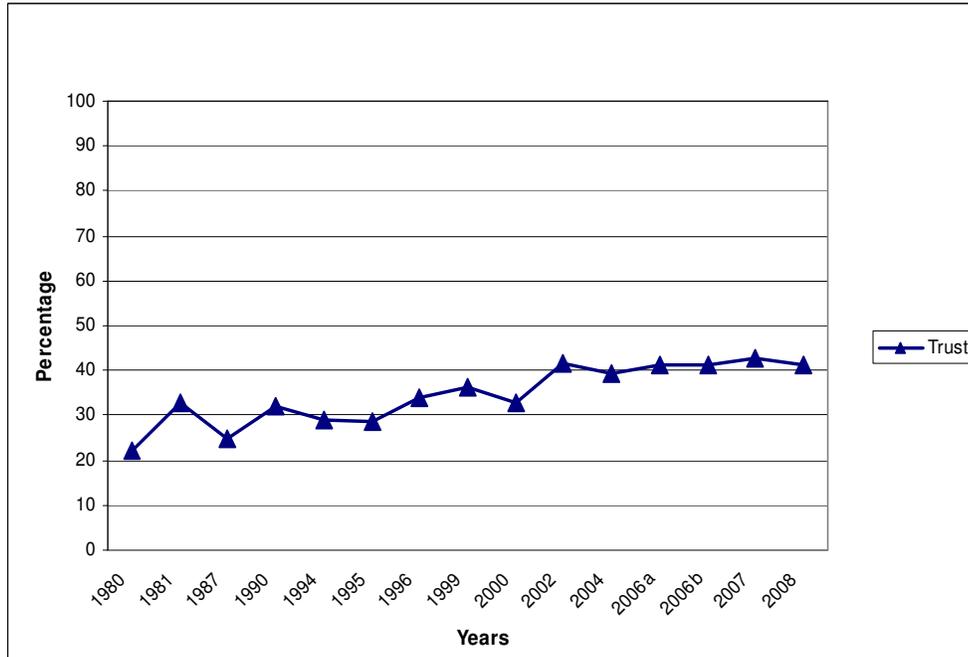
Altogether, there has been a decrease in the level of distrust⁴⁹, social and interpersonal levels of trust in Spain remain below 50%. Combined data from the WVS, ESS and CIS once again corroborate this finding, even though they show that the levels of trust in Spain have doubled over the

⁴⁸ The differences might relate to variations in question formulation; while international surveys (ESS and WVS) incorporate a scale in their options of responses, CIS surveys do not.

⁴⁹ Cfr. Table 8.4 in Torcal and Montero, 1999:174, where figures for six years between 1980 and 1996 are between a high of 74% of mistrust in 1981 and a low of 61% reported in 1981 and 1996.

period 1980-2008 (Figure 4.1). This figure points to the fact that in transition democracies what is important is not the absolute level of trust but what is the trend over time (Torcal and Montero, 1999).

Figure 4.1. Trust in others – Trend 1980-2008



Source: Data for 1980, 1981, 1987, 1990, 1994, 1996 is from Torcal & Montero, 1999; Data for 1995, 1999, 2000 is from the WVS; Data for 2002, 2004 and 2006a is from the ESS; Data for 2006b, 2007 2008 is from CIS Barometer surveys 2633, 2700 and 2749 carried out in 2006, 2007 and 2008 respectively. Data has been weighted.

Torcal and Montero (1999) suggest that in terms of interpersonal levels of trust⁵⁰, Spanish society portrays a case of *low-intensity equilibrium*, whereby even after the decisive boost given to associational life in the 1960s when the Franco regime relented on its societal constraints on forming associations, levels of trust have not kept the same pace, as Figure 4.2 will later show for the years 1966-1976.

In essence, Spain is typical of Mediterranean countries with comparative low levels of interpersonal trust. However, it stands out in this group of countries because of the upward trend it experienced after the end of the

⁵⁰ These authors refer to interpersonal trust in a general manner without making the distinction between social, diffused, generalised trust and interpersonal trust *strictu sensu*. Cfr. Medina, 2005

dictatorship and also because it has ranked above the rest of these countries over the past 25 years.

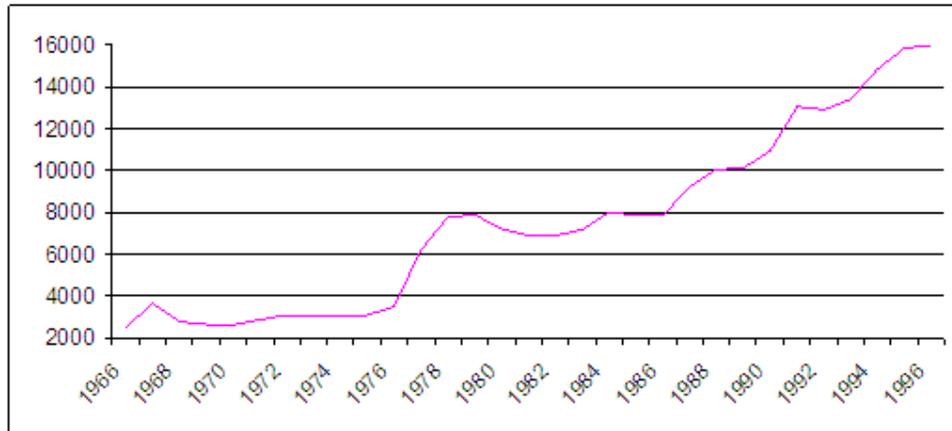
4.1.2 Associational life

Spanish society experienced an important boost in associational life with the end of the Francoist dictatorship and the transition to democracy. But even before the transition process began during the second half of the 1970s, the economic boom of the 1960s and the period of liberalisation during those years encouraged the gradual re-assertion of the freedom of association for a wide sector of society which had been largely curtailed during the years of authoritarianism. With the 1964 Law of Associations (Mota, 2005; Torcal et al., 2005; Perez-Diaz, 2000), associational life, which until then had been limited to those organisations linked to the Church and the regime (*movimiento falangista*), became a real possibility for the rest of society. As a consequence, before and during the transition years, groups outside of the establishment started to organise themselves around shared interests, among them, student and trade union organisations and professional associations (Balfour and Quirosa, 2007; Balfour, 2005; Perez Diaz, 2000 [39a]:15; 1999 and 1993; Ramon, 1985).

The national registry of associations reveals a constant rise in the number of new associations since the 1960s until well into the democratic phase (see Figure 4.2). Altogether, in the thirty year period of 1996-2006 Spain saw an eight-fold increase in the number of associations. This indicator of the number of associations reveals important annual increases, therefore suggesting a prevalent desire and motivation for the exercise of the right of association among the general population (Torcal & Montero, 1999). Nonetheless, it has proved unreliable according to Mota (2005) as a source for monitoring associational life in the country because it fails to reflect the level of membership or of activities undertaken by the associations. In effect, when analysing these last measures and

comparing them with other European countries, the weakness of Spanish associational life becomes evident.

Figure 4.2 .Number of associations in Spain from 1966 to 1996



Source: National Registry of Associations. Ministry of Interior. Mota, 1999:48

Membership in organisations and associations as well as their activity levels are largely monitored in Spain through survey data, using as a reference both national surveys—mainly by the CIS—, as well as international surveys (such as the ESS and WVS). Analyses have revealed that during the first half of the democratic period (1980-1995), very high percentages of Spaniards (on average 70%) were not involved in any type of association and their proportion tended to remain constant throughout the period (Torcal & Montero, 1999)⁵¹. A similar result has been registered in the 2002-2003 ESS whereby 64% of Spanish respondents report *not being* members of any association (Torcal et al., 2005]). In contrast, recent CIS surveys carried out during the last few years disclose an increasing trend in membership across different types of associations. As Table 4.3 shows, membership in almost all types of associations included in the survey increased between 2003 and 2006 and

⁵¹ These authors report the following percentages of non-membership: 69% in 1981, 66% in 1990, 68% in 1994. Cfr. Torcal & Montero, 1999:171. In addition, they make reference to a survey carried out in 1993, reported by Gunther & Montero (1996:26), where the proportion was of 76%.

it has remained fairly stable up to 2008, with the exception of student or youth associations which register decreasing levels of membership.

Table 4.3 . Membership in associations in Spain (% of respondents)

	1981*	1990*	1994*	1996*	2002-2003**	2006***	2007***	2008***
Political Parties	3	1	2	2	3	3.8	3.9	3.4
Trade Unions	11	5	6	5	6	10	11	11.7
Sport groups & associations	-	5	9	10	12	12.4	12.5	12
Cultural & free-time groups	5	4	7	8	11	13.8	13	13.3
Human rights - social support organisation	1	1	2	-	4	7.7	7.4	6.7
Student or youth association	3	1	2	4	7 ⁺	3.2	3	2.4
Parish or other religious associations	15	6	7	6	6	8.7	7.8	7.5
Other voluntary associations	-	-	-	-	3 ⁺⁺	6.4	7.2	7.6

Notes: * In the European Social Survey (ESS), this category also included women's associations, social clubs, elderly, etc.

** In the ESS, many other types of associations were included in the question as separate categories, therefore explaining the low levels when compared to results of surveys carried out by the CIS for the last 3 years.

Sources: * Data from Torcal & Montero, 1999:173. ** Data from Torcal et al., 2005:239-240. *** Data from CIS Barometer surveys 2633, 2700 and 2749 from 2006, 2007 and 2008 respectively.

These survey results do not support the position that there has been a decline in Spanish bridging social capital and a 'return to the private sphere' by the majority of the population. In fact, studies have shown that associational behaviour in Spain has been slightly increasing in the '80s and '90s (Morales, 2003), even though remaining low in comparative terms (Table 4.4). While in 1990 a very low level of associational membership was reported in Spain, which occupied the last place with proportions lower than in Portugal and Italy, this has not always been the case. Back in the 1981 WVS, and later in the 1998 Eurobarometer and the 2002-2003 ESS, Spain out performed these two Mediterranean countries. Overall, Spanish associational membership has slightly increased in absolute terms between 1981 and 2002-03.

Table 4.4 . Voluntary organisational membership in Western Democracies

1980-2002

Countries	Membership*			
	1981**	1990**	1998***	2002-03****
Iceland	-	89	-	-
Holland	62	83	79	84
United States	-	69	-	-
West Germany	50	65	56	71
Belgium	42	56	48	71
Austria	-	52	53	75
Great Britain	52	50	53	70
Ireland	66	48	51	68
Denmark	62	46	84	92
France	27	36	40	-
Italy	26	33	34	35
Portugal	-	32	26	24
Greece	-	-	24	25
Spain	31	20	28	36

Notes: * Percentage of people belonging to at least one organisation.

Sources: ** World Values Surveys (WVS), 1981-1982 and 1990-1991. In Torcal and Montero, 1999:172. *** Eurobarometer 50.1 in Morales, 2003:5. **** ESS (2002-2003), in Torcal et al., 2005:242. Table partially in Mota, 2006:6.

Furthermore, the analysis of the degree of activity and involvement of members in associations has demonstrated in recent surveys to be slightly on the increase in relation to political parties, trade union, human rights groups, parish and other religious organisations (see Table 4.5). These findings are in line with the trend found in the ESS 2002-03 survey findings in which 55% of Spaniards reported being active in associations. This placed Spain at a higher level than several other countries, but still below the EU average of 57% (Torcal et al., 2005:249).

Table 4.5. Percentage of members *not actively engaged* in associational activities, Spain

	2006	2007	2008
Political Parties	50.0	38.5	44.1
Trade Unions	63.0	63.6	62.4
Sport groups and associations	36.3	32.0	41.7
Cultural and free-time groups	32.6	32.3	35.3
Human rights - social support organisation	42.9	41.9	38.8
Student or youth association	34.4	46.7	41.7
Parrish or other religious associations	43.7	48.7	42.7
Other voluntary associations	31.3	40.3	42.1
(N)	(2,484)	(2,455)	(2,477)

Source: Data from CIS Barometer surveys 2633, 2700 and 2749 carried out in 2006, 2007 and 2008 respectively.

In sum, the Spanish context shows weak but moderately increasing levels of associational behaviour since the establishment of a fully democratic system after 1980.

4.1.3 Political engagement

A third aspect in analysing Spanish social capital is that of political participation and political attitudes. Together with trust in institutions and trust in the political system, these indicators relate to the *linking* type of social capital, by which a vertical relationship between public institutions as decision makers and *bridging* forms of social capital –representative of society’s capacity to express itself through associations--is established. While the *linking* type of social capital is not the focus of this thesis, the coverage of Spain’s social capital profile calls for the discussion of its *linking* element as well, as portrayed in the empirical literature. Moreover, the *bridging* forms of social capital make *linking* relationships possible. Because an important aspect of this thesis is the focus on *bridging* social capital in schools that promotes eventual *linking* relationships, the

coverage of this additional aspect of Spain's social capital profile is warranted.

As observed in the section on associational life, membership in political parties engages less than 5% of Spain's population, without presenting any significant variation throughout almost 30 years of measurement⁵². Within the European context, Spain is positioned in the lowest tier with the highest proportions of non-membership along with France. In the 25 years of measurement illustrated in Table 4.6, Spain shows on average, the second lowest level of party affiliation after France. However, it should be noted that, even though a marked generalised trend of very high proportions of non-membership can be observed across countries, the range of differences among those analysed is relatively modest. Membership is in general never higher than 8.5%

Table 4.6. Non membership in political parties 1981-2006, 10 EU countries

	1981	1990	1999	2002	2004	2006
Belgium	97.2	94.2	93	92.9	93.2	93.1
Denmark	92.8	93.5	93.4	94.1	93.7	92.9
France	97.5	97.3	98	97.6	98.1	97.9
Germany West	91.8	92.6	97.3	96.4	97	95.8
Greece	-	-	-	95.2	92.4	-
Italy	93.7	94.8	96	96.1	-	-
Netherlands	91.4	90.2	90.7	95.2	94.4	94.7
Portugal	-	95.3	99.1	95.2	96.6	96.4
Spain	97.2	98.6	98	96.8	95.9	97.5
United Kingdom	95.4	94.4	97.5	97.3	97.6	97.4

Source: Data for 1981, 1990, 1999 is from the WVS; Data for 2002, 2004 and 2006a is from the ESS; Data has been weighted.

⁵² Cfr. Table 4.1 in this chapter.

In terms of trust in institutions, national surveys on levels of confidence in nine different institutions from 1996 to 2006, show a tendency in Spain— not surprisingly in light of the centralising and authoritarian history of the country-- to attribute higher levels of trust in regional institutions rather than in central government institutions (see Table 4.7).⁵³ Furthermore, municipal authorities benefit from slightly higher levels of trust from citizens than is the case for regional authorities. In turn, the Monarchy is the recipient of the highest level of trust from citizens, although this institution shows the highest standard deviations of any during each year surveyed. These results reflect the view of many Spaniards that the Monarchy was and is the ‘guarantor’ institution of the transition to democracy. Overall, however, the intensity of trust in all institutions falls into the middle range in the four surveys. But, the lowest levels of trust are always reported in relation to the administration of justice, which remains regularly below the mid-point in the scale.

Table 4.7. Trust in institutions 1996-2006, Spain

	1996		1998		2000		2006	
	Median	S.D.	Median	S.D.	Median	S.D.	Median	S.D.
The Monarchy	6.67	2.88	6.72	2.92	-	-	5.19	2.92
Parliament	5.34	2.46	5.5	2.48	5.9	2.6	4.52 ⁺	2.26
Central Government	4.71	2.63	4.96	2.63	5.9	2.7	4.6	2.42
Justice Administration	3.67	2.53	3.91	2.39	-	-	4.31	2.41
Regional Government	5.15	2.52	5.34	2.43	6	2.5	4.96	2.42
Regional Parliament	5.05	2.42	5.24	2.33	5.9	2.5	4.9	2.31
Constitutional Courts	4.93	2.61	5.11	2.37	-	-	5.01	2.34
Ombudsman	5.62	2.68	5.68	2.49	-	-	5.13	2.46
Town Hall	5.39	2.83	5.62	2.67	6.1	2.7	5.11	2.66

Notes: Figures show medians in a scale from 0 to 10, in which 0 represents 'no confidence at all' and 10 represents 'total confidence'. Cfr. www.cis.es

⁺ In the 2006 survey, the two chambers of the parliament were separated in the

⁵³ Data only available at the national level.

questionnaire; the figure in this table corresponds to trust reported in the lower chamber (*Congreso de los Diputados*)

Sources: Data for 2000 is from *Datos de Opinión* 25, CIS (2000). Data for the years 1996, 1998 and 2006 are from CIS Barometers 2231, 2278 and 2657 respectively.

Spain's level of trust in institutions can be compared to other countries through the last three waves of the ESS. As with other indicators, trust in Parliament reported by Spanish citizens presents no significant variation, remaining always at a medium to low level just between 35 and 43%. When comparing these results to other countries (see Table 4.8), Denmark's wide difference with the rest pulls the average upwards, positioning Spain among the countries reporting levels of trust below the average (45.5% in 2002, 41.5 in 2004 and 44.5% in 2006). However, when excluding Denmark (outlier), Spain occupies a better position ranking above the group's average during the last two years surveyed (31.3% in 2004 and 37.5% in 2006). On the whole, the analysis and comparison of Spain to other European countries demonstrates that in spite of constantly reporting less than 50% of the citizens trusting their national Parliaments, Spain is nevertheless above the average levels of trust in the majority of other European countries.

Table 4.8. Trust in national Parliament in 10 EU countries 2002-2006

	2002	2004	2006
Belgium	43.5	36.6	42
Denmark	62.2	63.7	67
France	28.7	26.4	27.2
Germany	31.7	28.5	28.1
Greece	39.7	36.1	-
Italy	39.9	-	-
Netherlands	49.7	38.6	53
Portugal	29.6	19.3	22
<i>Spain</i>	37.7	43.2	41.8
United Kingdom	36.2	29.2	28.2

Source: European Social Survey. Data has been weighted.

Finally, linking social capital expressed by political engagement and participation measured in voter turnout shows Spain to occupy a moderate to low position, a persistent trend displayed in both general and local elections. Data from the Ministry of the Interior presented in Table 4.9 reveal an abstention rate which since 1986 has oscillated between 23 and 33% of the population in the case of general elections for Parliament. In local elections, the abstention rate has not been dissimilar, but a bit worse ranging from 31 and 37% of the voting population. Perez Diaz (2000 [39a]) interprets these abstention rates as not too large, taking into account the voluntary character of the ballot in Spain and its alignment with other European countries.

Table 4.9. Voting turnout for national and local elections 1986-2007, Spain

	1986	1987	1989	1991	1993	1995	1996	1999	2000	2003	2004	2007
Lower chamber*	70,49	-	69,74	-	76,44	-	77,38	-	68,71	-	75,66	-
Senate (Senado)	70,32	-	69,87	-	76,77	-	77,33	-	68,83	-	75,75	-
Local elections	-	69,42	-	62,78	-	69,87	-	63,99	-	67,67	-	63,27

* Lower chamber is the Congreso de diputados in Spain.

Source: Historic Database of electoral results. Ministry of the Interior
<http://www.elecciones.mir.es/MIR/jsp/resultados/index.htm>

Even though they represent a different type of measurement, the comparative results obtained from self-reported voting percentages via the ESS surveys in the years 2002 to 2006 (see Table 4.10 below), confirm the lower tendency to report participation in elections by Spanish citizens vis-à-vis other European countries. In both 2002 and 2006 ESS surveys, the self-reported proportion of voters positioned Spain among the three countries with the lowest turnout rates (together with Portugal and the United Kingdom in 2002 and France and the United Kingdom in 2006). What remains constant in the three surveys is the lowest position registered by the UK and the highest one reported in Denmark.

Table 4.10. Self-reported voting in ESS surveys 2002-2006

	ESS Wave 2002	ESS Wave 2004	ESS Wave 2006
Belgium	79.4	84.6	80.7
Denmark	88.7	85.1	92.6
France	74.6	68.4	65.5
Germany	78.1	72.5	73.7
Greece	83.6	85.1	-
Italy	85.1	-	-
Netherlands	81.1	77.1	78
Portugal	69	65	72.7
<i>Spain</i>	<i>72.2</i>	<i>77.1</i>	<i>71.9</i>
United Kingdom	67.3	62.4	66.9

Source: European Social Survey. Data has been weighted.

In essence, political engagement of Spanish citizens is relatively low in general terms, in presenting turnout rates and self-reported voting behaviour that are not that far from other European countries. Other indicators measuring engagement in the Spanish context, such as party affiliation and trust in institutions also indicate a lower level of involvement.

4.1.4 Social capital in the Spanish regions

With most empirical work directed at measuring aspects of social capital at the national level, the studies conducted by Mota (2005) and Herreros (2004) offer significant views on the differentiation of social capital levels and social characteristics at the regional level in Spain. While the study by Herreros (2004) explores the reasons behind social capital differences across geographical space, Mota's analysis remains to date the most comprehensive and detailed study which in its measurement instruments follows Putnam's (1993) social capital investigation and applies its methodological approach to the Spanish case, for example arriving at the creation of a social capital index applied to the Spanish regions.

Adopting a territorial analysis perspective, in her account of governance and social capital in the seventeen “autonomous communities” or regions of Spain, Mota (2005) uses proxies to construct a social capital index based on three measurements: level of citizen engagement; level of membership in associations oriented toward the creation of public and private goods (per 10,000 inhabitants); and membership in twelve types of associations that have more general social aims. The first measurement attempts to capture each region’s civic attitudes and behaviour by tapping its citizens’ active participation in public affairs. To do so, three indicators were used: proportion of citizens with high interest in regional politics as measured by mass surveys; the percentage of daily press readers in each region; and, the proportion of citizens knowledgeable about their regional government’s activities. The latter was also captured via a survey (Mota, 2006:11). As a result, Mota constructed an index of citizen engagement across regions in which four clear groups emerged. The high scorers on the index were: the Basque country, Navarra, La Rioja and Catalonia. The medium-high regions were Madrid, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. The medium-low regions emerged as Aragon, Galicia, Andalusia, Canary Islands, Asturias and Castile Leon while the lowest scorers on the scale proved to be the regions of Extremadura, Murcia and Castile La Mancha (Mota, 2006:12-13).

The second and third measurements used by Mota sought to assess, respectively, the associational *structure* and *participation* in each region. In the first of these two measurements, the focus was on the level of membership in *economic and professional* associations –representing groups involved specifically in the creation of private goods which entail *coordination*--, as well as on the rates of participation in *philanthropic* and *charity* associations as examples of associations producing public goods which require *cooperation*. As Mota explains, while this measurement is used to capture the *purpose* of the association as an essential aspect of the social structure --which categorises it as social capital and civic network--, the analysis of the group participation as the third measurement

serves to gauge the *vitality* of that participation. In effect, by taking into account participation in twelve different types of associations, Mota arrives at an assessment of the density of associational life in each region. Using these three measurements Mota creates a social capital index for Spain's seventeen autonomous regions, whose scores are presented in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11. The social capital of the Autonomous Communities (1998)

Autonomous Communities	Index of social capital (factor score)
Extremadura	-1.40
Cantabria	-1.07
Galicia	-0.83
CastileLa Mancha	-0.82
Murcia	-0.78
Asturias	-0.72
Castile Leon	-0.69
Andalusia	-0.55
Canarias	-0.35
Valencia	-0.005
Balearic islands	0.14
La Rioja	0.25
Aragon	0.65
Catalonia	0.69
Madrid	1.22
Navarra	1.47
Basque country	1.80

Source: Table in Mota, 2006:21.

Mota's findings identify the eight high social capital regions as: Basque country, Navarra, Madrid, Catalonia, Aragon, La Rioja, Balearic Islands and Valencia. The remaining nine (Andalusia, Castile Leon, Asturias, Murcia, Castile La Mancha, Galicia, Cantabria and Extremadura) had lower scores, with Cantabria and Extremadura displaying the lowest level of social capital. In the case of the two regions selected for the thesis, one region (Aragon) represents the region with the fifth highest score on the social capital index while the other (Castile Leon) is tenth on the list. Thus, the thesis' two regions are not taken from either the top or bottom outliers in the index.

Mota herself points out a shortcoming of her work, that is the inability to include regional measures of trust due to the lack of regionalised data. Nevertheless, from partial data found in previous studies⁵⁴, she finds higher levels of trust in three regions (Basque country, Navarra and Catalonia) that mirror the ranking reached by these and other regions on her index (Mota, 2006). The results obtained by her study led her to investigate the possible relation between the regions with higher social capital and those with the highest level of economic development⁵⁵. Not being able to establish or prove causality between the two measurements, Mota concludes by suggesting that the causes for the differentiated levels of social capital across regions are rooted in the historic traits of each community. Hence, the variation among social capital levels is discussed as a by-product of the existence of 'differential facts' or historical traditions of autonomy across regions, that in the literature have been associated with different approaches to supporting cooperative and associational behaviour. For example, in his study of social capital formation, Herreros (2004) identifies the existence of different historical traditions as the reason for different levels of social capital stocks across communities and regions. Thus, he stresses how the "state"—i.e., public institutions--plays a crucial role in the generation and perpetuation of the virtuous circle of social capital generation. In his view, the state has a number of tools at its disposal to nurture the emergence of social trust as a by-product of people's participation in associational life (Herreros, 2004:86, 101).

4.2 Spain's educational system and the strategy for social capital building by secondary schools

Moving from the analysis of the characteristics of social capital in Spain this second part of the chapter reconnects with the hypothesis of the

⁵⁴ Mota makes reference to the studies conducted by Andres Orizo & Sanchez (1991) and Elzo (1996). (Mota, 2006)

⁵⁵ Three indicators are used: disposable family income per capita (1991 statistics INE), unemployment rate (1996 EPA), and proportion of population with secondary and higher education (1991 INE). (Mota, 2006).

thesis which maintains that the characteristics of Spain's educational system and the opportunities afforded for change largely determine the capacity of secondary schools to build social capital. To this end, first the Spanish educational system is presented, and then the national social capital building (NSCB) strategy built into the national law is analysed.

4.2.1 Characteristics, principles and multi-level structure of the Spanish educational system⁵⁶

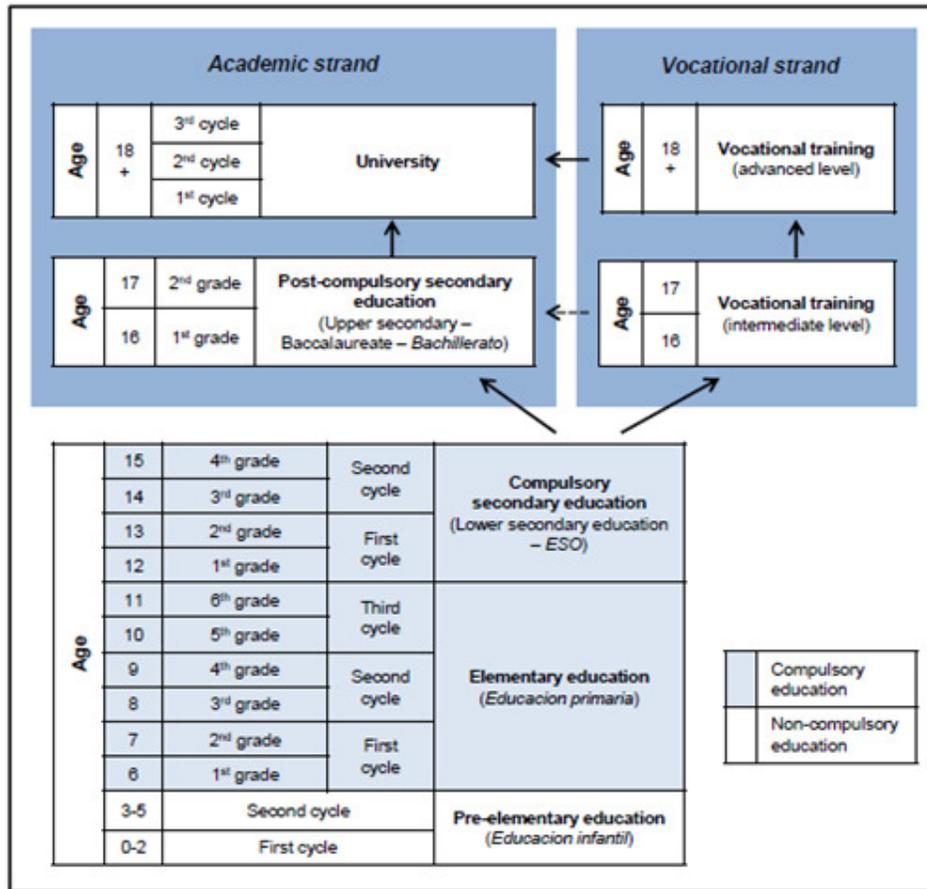
Characteristics

The Spanish general educational system⁵⁷, as profiled in Figure 4.3 below is broadly divided into the two categories of compulsory (also referred to as *basic education*) and non-compulsory education. Within each of these two categories, diverse phases, cycles and courses can be distinguished. The compulsory category of education comprises the elementary education phase (referred to as *primaria*) and the lower secondary education phase (known as *ESO*), while the non-compulsory category includes several phases, specifically: pre-elementary school education (*educacion infantil*), post-compulsory secondary education (upper secondary), higher education (university) and other vocational training paths. Overall, within the non-compulsory category of education, two strands (each comprising phases and cycles) are identifiable: an academic strand which includes baccalaureate and higher education, and a vocational strand comprising two cycles (intermediate and advanced), each with specific modules in various technical fields.

⁵⁶ At the time of the fieldwork, Spain's educational system was undergoing a major transition due to the changes in the legal framework. The 2006 Organic law 2 of Education (LOE) modified the educational system, by redefining the education phases and reforming the minimum contents of and basic skills to be imparted by the national curriculum. The implementation of the new law was, however, gradual in nature and as a consequence, two national legal frameworks were relevant for the fieldwork and are frequently mentioned in the next sections

⁵⁷ Within the Spanish education system, there is also a 'specialised regime' which includes the special qualification paths of language education, artistic education (with strands in music, dance, plastic arts and design and drama) and sports education. These special qualifications run in parallel to the post compulsory phases of vocational training and academic education.

Figure 4.3 The Spanish educational system (general regime)



Source: MEC, 2002. Adaptation made by the author.

As established by the national legislation, education in Spain is compulsory until 16 years of age.⁵⁸ Compulsory education begins with the elementary educational phase for children aged 6 to 12 and ends after the compulsory secondary phase which is attended by students between 12 and 16 years of age, for a total of 10 years of education, of which 6 years in elementary and 4 years in *compulsory* secondary education (ESO).

Structurally, the ESO phase of education is itself divided into two cycles each comprising two academic years. As explained in the official documentation of the Ministry of Education, secondary education aims at imparting basic education and cultural elements to the students, as well as

⁵⁸ Lower secondary comprises four years for children between 12 and 16 years of age.

instructing them on their rights and duties as citizens. In parallel to these objectives, the ESO years are a preparatory phase (in terms of forming study and work habits) for the future choice on the part of the students to either take an academic oriented path or exercise the option of joining the labour market immediately or taking the vocational education track to specialised training.

As is the case with other levels of education within the system, compulsory secondary education in Spain is guided by two nationally established principles-- social participation and school autonomy-- and is embedded within a multi-level institutional structure. Both of these systemic aspects are analysed in the sections below.

Principles: social participation and school autonomy

Established in the 1978 Constitution, the first of these two national principles for the Spanish educational system, 'social participation', refers to the presence of the broadly defined 'educational community' in the programming of education. As a constitutional principle it must be adhered to by all public administrations responsible for education. The principle of 'school autonomy' defines the scope of competences and margins of authority exercised by the schools in Spain via ad hoc bodies such as the school councils and the teacher assemblies.

The spirit of the principle of social participation –which implies the collaboration between the public administration and the social and economic sectors of the territorial community involved in the educational process-- aims to ensure a higher quality of education and at the same time that adequate attention is paid to relevant social needs of the student body (MEC, 2002). Hence, channels for participation by social actors have been established by the system's legislative framework at different

territorial levels.⁵⁹ The ‘school councils’ are the resulting participatory bodies, created to ensure contributions from all actors involved in education, actors that the law refers to as the ‘educational community’.⁶⁰

At the national level, this participatory body, the School Council, is composed of representatives from several different sectors such as teachers, parents, pupils, employers’ associations, service and administrative staff, as well as representatives of the educational administration, religious and secular institutions dedicated to education, and universities. The state school council fulfils the mandate of ensuring societal participation in the overall programming of education and serves as an advisory body for the administration on bills and on the formulation of the law based on article 27 of the constitution. The regional and territorial school councils have similar functions within their own territorial boundaries and within the scope of their territorial competences in education. At the school level, the school council facilitates the participation of parents and students in school affairs through their own associations, and constitutes the most formal channel of participation at this level. It is composed of representatives of social groups drawn from the neighbouring community that makes up the ‘catch basin’ –i.e., area from which the pupils attending the school are drawn--of the school. Thus, pupils, teachers, parents, and service and administrative staff are represented in the school council. The school council is the main governing body of the schools and exercises the “right of autonomy”.

Concerning the principle of school autonomy the legally established and safeguarded autonomy awarded to schools involves their control over three main areas: resources and economic management of the school,

⁵⁹ According to the LODE (acronym for the Ley Organica del Derecho a la Educacion –Organic Act on the Right to Education), regional, provincial, municipal and other sub-regional (comarcas) school council levels can be created. However, not every Autonomous Community has created such sub-regional councils. Cfr. Arts.30, 34 and 35, LODE.

⁶⁰ Equivalent participatory bodies for other phases of education are the Universities’ Council and the General Council for Vocational Training, which deal with post-compulsory levels of education which are beyond the scope of this study.

human resources management, and curriculum adaptation (MEC, 2002). Autonomy over resources and economic management is exercised by schools via their school councils and according to the delegation of specific functions from territorially competent upper level authorities. Schools can then decide on the purchase of supplies, and on the contracting of services and labour. In terms of, human resource management, schools autonomously decide on the allocation of teachers within the school and on the selection of the school's Director. The law sets boundaries for school autonomy; so, for example, while each school must formulate and approve an annual management proposal, including a budget with the estimated income and expenditures for the year, the law specifies the terms on which these decisions can be made (LOE, art.23). Also, autonomy in human resource selection is limited, particularly in terms of the professional qualifications of staff (MEC, 2002).

The third sphere of school autonomy--that of curricular adjustment and curricular specification--is the most significant for educational institutions because it is where they can operate more innovatively. Providing schools with the opportunity to differentiate their educational offer from others by using the generous margins of action allowed by national and regional regulations, the principle of curricular autonomy constitutes a powerful tool at the disposal of Spanish schools. This autonomy allows them to custom fit to a significant degree their resources and programmes to the needs of the territorial community which they serve.

Four stages of curricular development have been identified in the Spanish educational system: 1. the development framework formulated by the national Ministry; 2. its specification when it is adopted by the regional authorities; 3. possible further revisions by sub-regional levels (provincial or local) of government as authorised by the regional level; and 4. The process of adaptation at the school level. The latter takes place in two steps: a formal adoption of the school's curriculum by the school council based on proposals from the teachers' assembly, and the very last

adjustment performed by individual teachers when preparing their courses for specific groups of students (MEC, 2002). The teachers' assembly exercises the most discretion in terms of curriculum development because it is the technical body that can effectively adapt and shape the curriculum proposals formulated by the central and regional authorities.

The four step process that characterises the multi-level governance of curriculum specification and adaptation in Spain begins with the "minimum contents" of the curriculum that is determined by the national Ministry and must be included by schools across the country. The minimum contents are defined as the combination of objectives, basic skills, subjects and evaluation criteria set out by the national Ministry for every phase of education in Spain. According to the law, this combination must represent at least 65% of the final curriculum adopted by the Autonomous Communities (the percentage drops to 55% for the Autonomous Communities (A..A.C.C.) with a co-official language, such as Basque, Catalan or Galician).⁶¹ At the regional level, the process of developing the 35% or 45% of curriculum sees the participation in the programming phase of sub-regional school councils, resulting in the adaptation of the curriculum within the limits established by the regional authorities. The involvement by sub-regional authorities (local or provincial councils), takes the form of proposing additional initiatives and programmes for the curriculum to complement or enhance the main educational experience of students, or attend to particular needs of the community.⁶² The final phase of definition of the curriculum takes place at the school level, with the formulation of the general annual programme (*programación general anual*), the annual curriculum (*proyecto curricular*) and its translation into specific course programmes drafted by the teachers.

⁶¹ Cfr. Art.6.3, Organic Law 2/2006, LOE. These percentages refer to the amount of hours in the school year devoted to each subject. National legislation establishing the 'minimum contents' of the curriculum also includes an indication of hours for each subject in the school year. Cfr. Annex III, Organic law 2/2006, LOE.

⁶² Interview with a representative from the Academic Unit of the Ministry of Education, ME. April, 2008.

An important expression of the school autonomy principle is ultimately reflected in the adoption by schools of their 'educational project' and the freedom to integrate in its offer any specific initiative suggested by the regional authorities on a voluntary basis which is considered relevant and useful in line with its educational priorities. The school's 'educational project' is the document in which the objectives, priorities, organisational principles and particular features of the school's programme are embodied. In this document, the channels for the participation of the wider community in the school's affairs and the relationship of the school with other institutions or schools are explained. Other documents expressing the school autonomy principle are the school's 'organisational plan' detailing the school calendar, projects and programmes undertaken, and the 'rules' governing its internal functioning. Therefore, there is considerable leeway for schools to tailor their educational offer in relation to the needs of their local community.

The educational system's multi-level setting

The 1978 Spanish Constitution began the devolution process in the educational field to the 17 newly created regions (or Autonomous Communities as stated in articles 148 and 149 of the Spanish Constitution). By the year 2000, all of the 17 regions in Spain had, in turn, completed the implementation of the devolution process to the sub-regional governmental levels⁶³. Today, responsibilities and competences in education in Spain exist within the implemented constitutional framework which establishes a multi-level governance system in this policy area that penetrates down to the level of the individual school.

At the national level, the Ministry of Education (ME, previously known as the Ministry of Education and Sciences –MEC), retains overall

⁶³ Preamble, Organic law of Education 2, of 3 May 2006 –known as LOE, published in the Official Bulletin –BOE- No.106, pg. 17161.

responsibility over issues such as insuring quality in the delivery of educational services across the country and the exercise of fundamental rights for all Spaniards as established in the Constitution. Crucially, to this end, the central state maintains control over: the validation of academic and professional qualifications, including their attainment, issuance and approval as well as their utilisation in the labour market; the evaluation of the educational system through inspections, setting of standards and minimum requirements for schools, such as for example, specification of qualifications for teachers, and general rules in the carrying out of educational activities. The latter refers to the specification of the length of time for compulsory education, the determination of levels, grades and requirements for advancement from one level to the other, as well as the establishment of the minimum educational requirements and basic areas for the preparation of end-of-the-year school reports (Tiana, Murillo and Lucio-Villegas de la Cuedra, 1996). Other specific national competences refer to aspects, such as the administration and ownership of state schools abroad, international co-operation agreements in education, the overall planning of investment of resources in education, and regulations of foreign schools operating in Spain.

At the regional level, the 'departments of education' (*Consejerías de Educación*) within the regional government, regulate and manage all aspects, levels and grades of education not attributed to the central state (ME) in the Constitution or in any later regulation developing constitutional mandates. The regional departments of education have the normative power to further develop national legislation and regulate non-basic aspects or contents of education while administratively they manage and control the educational system within their borders. Thus, educational authorities at the regional and sub-regional levels⁶⁴, can —and often do— introduce additional programmes, incentives and even subsidies that complement the nationally defined legislative framework for education.

⁶⁴ Regional and local school councils.

The role of the regional educational authorities is to create the additional spaces and tools for the re-enforcement of aspects of the national educational curriculum at the school level. Examples of these types of regionally promoted actions involve the organisation of seminars that enhance and complement school actions on topics such as road safety, environmental, consumer and sports education.

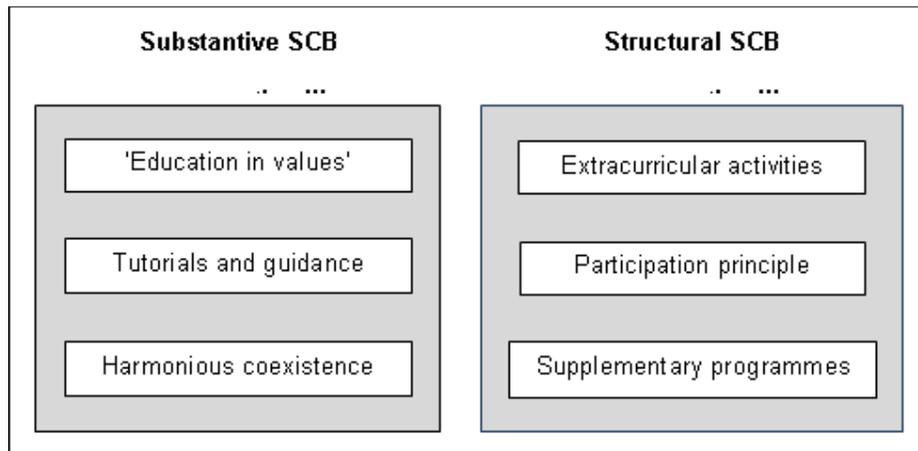
At the sub-regional territorial level, in addition to specific tasks delegated by the central or regional levels, the municipal administration cooperates with educational authorities in the 'creation, construction and maintenance of state schools' and in 'ensuring compulsory schooling is implemented' (Tiana, Murillo and Lucio-Villegas de la Cuedra, 1996:19).

Summing up, national laws and regulations in the Spanish educational field are a first step in the final definition of the framework within which educational institutions operate. While strategic elements of education are defined at the national level, regional authorities exert a significant degree of discretion over the way in which the centrally mandated elements are to be ultimately defined and implemented within their territory. Exercising their legislative and administrative competences, regions control the degree of expansion and articulation within their regional educational frameworks of opportunities for the enhancement of the mandated elements in the national legislation. As a result, in Spain, the 'regional opportunity structures' (ROS) or educational policy and plan—which complete the institutional and operational context for secondary schools—are defined by the regions across the entire country. While the features of the national legislation for education that created in Spain a *national programme and overall strategy for social capital building* is discussed in the remainder of this chapter, the two regional opportunity structures (ROS) on social capital in the case study regions are analysed in the subsequent empirical chapters of this thesis.

4.2.2 The National Social Capital Building (NSCB) Programme: part of an innovative institutional and operational context for social capital building

The identification of a national social capital building strategy in Spain (see Figure 4.4) emerges as a result of the convergence of six programmatic pillars, five of which are present in the innovative educational legislative initiatives taken by the country between 2005 and 2007, and one appears in an earlier law that is congruent with the strategy. The 'integrated model of school coexistence' pursued by the 2006 national legislation is the basis of the strategy to enhance the substantive components of social capital, as it groups three ad hoc policy elements. At the same time, the structural component of network formation for social capital is addressed by the strategy, when it clusters together three other programmatic elements. The strategy and its policy elements are analysed in the subsections that follow.

Figure 4.4 The Spanish National Social Capital Building (NSCB) Programme



Source: Author extracted from national legislation

The NSCB' substantive social capital pillars

The prospects for substantive social capital building in the Spanish educational system found normative support in the constitutionally mandated principles of social participation and school autonomy, but they were greatly enhanced by the post-2004 upgrade of legislation that recognised the need to boost an 'education for peace'⁶⁵. This redirection of national goals for education has impacted on Spain's overall education framework. First, it has resulted in the inclusion of one new nationally mandated educational programmatic pillar--that is, the 'pursuit of a harmonious coexistence in schools'. Secondly, it has called for the strengthening of two other pillars, respectively the 'education in values' and the schools' 'tutorial and guidance activities'. Together, the 'pursuit of a harmonious coexistence in schools', 'education in values' and 'tutorial and guidance activities' constitute the new programmatic elements of the NSCB strategy for the building of the substantive dimension of social capital.

These three programmatic pillars appeared high on the national educational agenda during the debate surrounding the innovative legislation that was approved in Spain between 2005 and 2007. The passage of this legislation created a new framework for Spanish education through which the national level took decisive steps to ensure that social norms would be strengthened in schools (substantive dimension of social capital) and that they would remain at the core of the educational agenda. These were to be the first three pillars of a social capital building strategy in the country's secondary schools.

⁶⁵ Cfr. Law 27/2005. The use of the term "education for peace" reflects the goal of building up a system of values and behaviour consonant with social cohesion and community solidarity in what has become an increasingly diversified social and cultural setting in many Spanish regions (Richards, 2011). There is also the argument (Encarnacion, 2011) that the radical redefinition of the educational system undertaken by Zapatero's PSOE government was also the product of the need to redefine the party by "rebranding socialism and incorporating new constituencies".

As is documented in the State School Council's report for 2005-2006, the Organic Law of 2006 regulating education (LOE) took it upon itself to bring together into one overhauled design or programme changes that had been contributed piecemeal by recent legislation as part of the government's overall policy on social capital and social cohesion. The LOE did so when it formally established an 'integrated model for school coexistence' which delineated the careful articulation of actions within the new national framework for mandated initiatives by the schools in the area of coexistence. The 'integrated model', as mentioned, contains two programmatic elements and touches upon a third which addresses the substantive features of social capital: 'education in values' which develops cross-cutting themes for the students crucial for social cohesion; the tutorial and guidance activities implemented within the school which focus on strengthening integration and socialisation; and the formulation and implementation of a 'coexistence plan' that is included in the school's 'educational project' to make the schools a place for harmonious coexistence.⁶⁶

'Education in values'

The first element contained in the integrated model -'education in values'- had been initially promoted and incrementally incorporated into the Spanish system since 1994 but after 2005 it received a major boost as a result of the overall change in government policy. From the beginning the education in values objective emphasised 'cross-cutting themes'—i.e., initiatives meant to achieve the educational objectives of education in values (*educación en valores*) throughout the school curriculum. The law foresaw the inclusion of these objectives in the school's educational project –PEC⁶⁷--to the outside authorities at the regional and national

⁶⁶ State School Council Report on the state and situation of the Educational System. Course 2005-2006.

⁶⁷ PEC stands in Spanish for Proyecto Educativo de Centro(the school's educational project). This project is one of the three formal documents schools must have, where essential information on the school's identity, philosophy, priorities, methodologies, aims and purposes, channels of

levels. Eight themes of education in values were incorporated into the school curricula and covered the following subjects: 1. moral and civic education; 2. “peace education” and social norms on cooperation and solidarity; 3. equal opportunities between the sexes; 4. environmental education; 5. sex education; 6. health education; 7. consumer education; and 8. road and safety education.⁶⁸ For the purpose of this thesis the first three cross-cutting themes of ‘education in values’ have been identified as being directly relevant to the objective of fostering substantive social capital while the rest are more involved with general social attitudes in a modern society.

All of cross-cutting themes are expected to be enforced by schools and teachers across all areas of the curriculum and need to be reflected in the formal school documents, such as internal regulation manuals, teaching programmes and the schools’ annual educational programme (*proyecto educativo de centro - PEC*). Exercising their autonomy through the latter document, schools provide the details of how they specifically integrate the themes, thus increasing or decreasing the relative emphasis that they place on each. This is because schools may have diverse teaching traditions, together with a different perception of how to project themselves externally and, consequently, a varying sense of how they want to be identified in terms of their educational mission.

While in the first decade (Perez and Llopis Blasco, 2003) the treatment of these ‘cross-cutting themes’ and the transmission of the values contained in each of them, had been carried out in Spanish schools primarily outside of the curricular realm of activities, at the time of the field work (and after 2006) schools were mandated to mainstream the themes within the basic curriculum and achieve a school environment in which students could

participation, and coordination mechanisms with other schools is established (MEC, 2002). See earlier sections in this chapter.

⁶⁸ Cfr. Resolution of 7 September 1994.

acquire the normative values and understand the importance to becoming engaged members of society.

Tutorial and Guidance activities

A second programmatic element of the integrated model of coexistence comprised the tutorial and guidance activities in the school to insure the integration of marginal students and strengthen their socialisation skills. This element is thus concerned with the attention to be given to diversity and special education⁶⁹. Aiming to develop positive student attitudes toward disadvantaged groups, this element deals with the need for strengthening social norms of tolerance, therefore representing a crucial area of action for promoting internal cohesion within the schools and within society. This policy element was not exclusively aimed at compulsory secondary education but is given special attention at this level based on the age of the students and the prospect that many may not continue their formal education after they leave the lower secondary level. The activities provided strive to give all students, and especially students “at risk”, support throughout their compulsory secondary training as well as special guidance when they approach the end of this phase of schooling and face the choice between continuing with upper secondary education or choosing to go into vocational training or the workforce.

In compliance with the law and as part of the educational project (PEC), in each secondary school the Tutoring and Guidance Department is now called upon to formulate an annual Tutorial Action Plan (TAP) as an additional channel to reinforce social norms across the student community. Tutoring and Guidance is embodied into a structure which operates at different levels and both within and outside of the schools. At the local level, an advisory body on guidance and counselling oversees the activities of schools, and within the schools there are ‘guidance departments’ with tutors responsible for ‘guidance and counselling’

⁶⁹ In Spanish it is Orientación educativa, atención a la diversidad y educación especial.

activities at the classroom level (MEC, 2002). It is in the TAP that the mechanisms and measures for guidance and attention to diversity are established.⁷⁰ In designing this plan, school guidance departments can find support and advice from the district level guidance body. In turn, teachers acting as tutors are responsible for implementing and executing the plan, and ultimately for achieving the desired respect for norms in the classroom environment.

Counselling and advice to students with difficulties⁷¹ is this policy element's main objective, and it is complemented by the additional objective to strengthen social norms based on trust as a way of improving internal school coexistence and student integration through socialisation activities that contribute to a positive classroom environment. All in all, as part of the structural component of the NSCB strategy, this second component focuses on diffused trust and social integration as the main social capital elements addressed in secondary schools.

The pursuit of 'harmonious coexistence'

The third pillar of the programme's substantive social capital components reflects the coexistence model's fundamental concern with "generating a harmonious environment in the schools". The English word 'coexistence' that is used in this thesis to translate the Spanish concept of 'convivencia' loses part of its meaning in the translation. While coexistence refers to the capacity to tolerate and interact with others without necessarily achieving integration, the term 'convivencia' means a harmonious living together of different people, denoting more than mere tolerance and capacity to peacefully share a space; rather, it entails a degree of sharing of values and a positive climate of interaction in which social norms are acted upon by all and thus are strengthened. Within the schools this objective is to be

⁷⁰ Art.121, Organic Law 2/2006, LOE.

⁷¹ Mainly referred to members of a minority group or children with psychological or psycho pedagogical disabilities. Here again we have a confirmation of the greater awareness of problems associated with immigrant children and disaffected groups in society after the 2004 bombings.

reached through the simultaneous reinforcement of social norms and the provision of high quality education for all children (Pérez Pérez, 1997). Before the 2004 bombings and 2005 legislative reform these objectives were not high on Spain's list of educational priorities. The hierarchy of objectives changed radically as a result of the new policy.

As discussed above, in 2005 Spain passed a law to promote through its educational system a 'culture of peace' in the country.⁷² This law was formally inspired by the content of the 1998 United Nations Development Programme(UNDP) in which seven causes leading to an imperative 'culture of violence'⁷³ were identified, as well as by the initiatives launched for the 'International Decade for a Culture of Peace' declared by the United Nations in 2001. But in the 2005 and 2006 legislation the "culture of peace" initiative was given a boost by the trauma of the 2004 bombings and the PSOE attempt to redefine the content of Spanish socialism. In 2005 the PSOE government announced its commitment to promote '*at every educational level, the instruction of subjects in the spirit of the values characteristic of a culture of peace, and the creation of specialised subjects on issues related to an education for peace and democratic values*'.⁷⁴ On this basis, the law established the mandate for governmental and educational authorities to include 'peace values' throughout the educational system, including in school textbooks, curricula, and contents for adult education, including language courses for new immigrants.

Operationally, the attempt to create a 'culture of peace' through the schools involved the creation of a new specialised consultative body --the 'State Observatory of School Coexistence'⁷⁵—together with the revision and strengthening of regulations incorporated into the two laws (LODE and LOE). As a consultative body, the State Observatory informs the

⁷² Cfr. Law 27/2005.

⁷³ The characteristics of the causes leading to societal violence and inspiring and informing the content of the law are

⁷⁴ Art.2.1, Law 27/2005. Translation by the author.

⁷⁵ In Spanish called Observatorio Estatal de Convivencia Escolar. Translation is by the author.

educational authorities on progress made on the status of “coexistence” in the schools across the country, through reports and studies that it undertakes and formulates proposals for the inclusion in state policies of measures to improve the schools’ performance on coexistence indicators. It is also in charge of promoting pro-active initiatives on coexistence on the part of schools by singling out and rewarding best practices and disseminating the results across the country.

Overall, the three substantive pillars of the NSCB programme, comprising the integrated model for school coexistence promoted by the Spanish educational system, provided a policy space within which regional and sub-regional territorial levels could intervene to increase the capacity of secondary schools to operate as social capital builders.

The structural pillars of the NSCB programme

The NSCB strategy is less specific in providing a national framework when it addresses the structural elements of social capital. Unlike the case of social norm reinforcement (substantive social capital) covered above, the encouragement of network generation in Spanish schools has been given less prescriptive attention in the national strategy due to the fact that they largely depend on initiatives taken by other levels in the educational system. The result is that because the three related pillars are only outlined in the national strategy, they are left to the lower institutional levels—including the schools-- to develop by adding further elements. The implication is that the content and quality of the response on the ground may well be more differentiated from one school to another and from one region to another.

The strengthening of interactions among students is encouraged by the national strategy through activities often organised outside of the regular curriculum, and the promotion of networks is viewed as a secondary

objective with other educational goals designated as primary aims. Notwithstanding the lower emphasis, the NSCB programme strategy encompasses three pillars which provide platforms for the building or strengthening of networks among the students. The first is found in the extracurricular activities, while the other two are based respectively in the school's application of the participation principle ('involvement of students in school affairs')⁷⁶ and in the school's partaking of specific external programmes (national, regional, local or communal) in support of network formation.

Extracurricular activities for network formation

Activities outside of the regular curricular hours constitute the first of three policy elements for network promotion in secondary schools. Through these initiatives, students are offered the opportunity for engaging in cultural and sport education to complement their main educational development and enhance their bonds with fellow students. While *network formation* per se is only mentioned by the law as an objective of these activities, participation by students, particularly in those encouraging team work, cooperation and increased interaction with others, is fostered to augment the likelihood of creating new ties (horizontal connections) with peers based on common interests and goals.

Within their sphere of autonomy, secondary schools can decide on their offer of extracurricular activities, on any other optional subjects, as well as on the adoption of specific programmes congruent with the characteristics of the neighbourhood context in which they operate.⁷⁷ As defined by the State School Council⁷⁸, extracurricular activities should seek to provide students with the opportunity to widen their cultural horizons, prepare them for an engaged life in society and help them use their free time in a

⁷⁶ Cfr. Section 4.2.1 earlier in this chapter.

⁷⁷ Art. 15, Organic law 8/1985 LODE. For discussion of such aspects of education as implemented in secondary schools, see chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis.

⁷⁸ Cfr. State School council reports on the state and situation of the Educational System, courses 2004-2005.

socially constructive manner. By definition, these activities are organised outside of the curricular hours and are not mandatory for the students, thus they are basically voluntary in nature.

In pursuing these development objectives, secondary schools usually group the activities they offer into four categories: sports, ICT, languages and arts.⁷⁹ The educational indicators developed by the Spanish Evaluation Institute (IE)⁸⁰, have singled out those relating to sports as the most popular extracurricular activities among students (73% of participation in primary education and 62% in compulsory secondary education), with languages coming in second (29% in primary education and 28% in compulsory secondary education).⁸¹ The organisation of the extracurricular activities within the secondary schools or institutes implies the need to create a specific unit to coordinate them alongside with the school's "complementary" activities. The latter take place *during* curricular hours and represent additional channels for imparting curricular contents via alternative methods and resources; some of these examples are educational visits to museums and other public institutions.⁸²

The application of the participation principle

The second pillar of the NSCB programme to enhance network formation in schools is the channel provided for students to formally participate in the management of the school. The implementation of the participation principle, concerns in the first instance the right of students to participate

⁷⁹ State School Council Report on the state and situation of the Educational System. Course 2004-2005. <http://www.mec.es/cesces/texto-informes.htm> accessed in March 2008.

⁸⁰ Previously known as the National Institute for the Evaluation and Quality of the Education System –INECSE-, its name was changed to Evaluation Institute –IE- by the LOE in 2006. This Institute has developed several indicators relating to context, resources, schooling rates and others, educational processes and educational results for the whole of the education system at the national level.

⁸¹ Cfr. Sistema Estatal de Indicadores de la Educación 2006, P7 – Actividades fuera del horario escolar (State System of Educational Indicators 2006, P7 – Activities outside the school elective hours). http://www.institutodeevaluacion.mec.es/contenidos/pdfs/p7_2_2006.pdf accessed in March, 2008. Percentages calculated with data from 2003 for primary education and 2000 for compulsory secondary education.

⁸² State School Council Report on the state and situation of the Educational System. Course 2004-2005. <http://www.mec.es/cesces/texto-informes.htm> accessed in March 2008.

in deliberations and take part in the school council, one of the schools' governing bodies and through which members of the 'educational community' express their contribution to the programming phase of education.⁸³ Crucially, this opportunity for student participation goes hand in hand with the guarantee of their freedom of assembly and the right of students to form associations through which their participation in the school council —and in other school activities-- can be organised.⁸⁴

The importance for network promotion provided by this pillar is two-fold. First, students have the opportunity to interact vertically with the school authorities in formal settings where they experience and become familiar with the asymmetrical relations similar to those between citizens and public authorities; here, for example, formal discussions take place and the capacity to present views is important. Secondly, the school council helps students to participate in an organised fashion via associations and informal groups for student consultation, therefore crucially promoting horizontal network formation in the pursuit of common goals.

School participation in external and supplementary programmes for network formation

The third pillar for the enhancement of structural social capital that is found in the national programme is the leveraging of opportunities that are created outside the schools and of supplementary programmes within the schools. Local, regional and community initiatives open up new opportunities for schools to encourage network formation among their students. Of the three pillars this is the most likely to vary in significance across territories and down to the level of the schools there is an intrinsic aspect of uncertainty because it depends largely on the decision making of others (for example, municipal actions sponsoring initiatives involving neighbourhood groups and schools). There is likely to be greater

⁸³ Articles 6, 19, 29, 41 and 43 Organic Law 8/1985 on the right to education, LODE.

⁸⁴ Articles 6, 7 and 8 Organic Law 8/1985 on the right to education, LODE.

differentiation, both in terms of the very presence of such external initiatives as well as the impact that they may have on the students.

Depending on the way in which regions develop their own strategy or opportunity structure (ROS), the emphasis on and indeed the *existence of* some initiatives of this type is likely to vary from region to region. At the same time, schools are autonomous in their decisions to adopt these externally-driven initiatives. As a consequence, the level of uncertainty regarding this pillar is maximised.

One of the most prominent examples of such initiatives is the school programme for the assistance, counselling, guidance and support of students (PROA). This programme was conceived as a co-operation project between the Ministry of Education and the regional governments for the purpose of contributing to the objective of quality education for all. Paying special attention to children in disadvantaged circumstances due to personal or contextual reasons⁸⁵ PROA is an out-reach programme that offers economic resources to schools, and encourages actions to combat exclusion and discrimination. It focuses on the improvement of the socio-cultural environment as well on promoting the active community involvement in the children's education.

The PROA is organised into three sub-sections focusing on: academic and personal support in primary education; academic and personal support in secondary education; and the sections for academic reinforcement and support in secondary education. While the first two pursue the improvement of academic prospects for disadvantaged children in their last years of primary education and the first years of secondary education respectively, the latter places more emphasis on the importance of ensuring the principles of *quality* and *fairness* of the educational system:

⁸⁵ See Overview of Spanish education system, programmes and projects, by the Organisation of Ibero-american States –OEI–, consulted in <http://www.oei.es/quipu/espana/index.html#pro> on January 2008.

quality in terms of the ‘achievement of the best individual and social results from education’⁸⁶, and *fairness* in terms of guaranteeing equal opportunities for all —meaning the creation of a level playing field compensating for initial disadvantages. In complying with such objectives, the sections for academic reinforcement and support in secondary education sponsors the implementation of actions addressing diversity issues, promoting coordination among teachers to improve students’ academic integration, and fostering linkages between the school and the families. In addition to the PROA and on the heels of the NSCB programme, at the regional, local and school levels, other programmes are being offered by schools that go beyond the general framework for education and encourage network formation among secondary school students.

4.3 Conclusions

In this chapter, the multi level territorial context within which educational policy is made and implemented in Spain and within which the empirical work for this thesis is carried out, have been investigated. Evidence has been presented on the differing levels of social capital to be found in Spain and its regions. The nature of the Spanish educational system and the principles that inform it have also been discussed within the context of the Spanish multi-level system of governance applied to educational policy. But the main focus of the chapter has been the analysis of the strategic change that has taken place at the national level in terms of the country’s educational system in the setting of goals and asking the regional governments to create opportunities for social capital generation on the part of secondary schools. This change in emphasis that took place once the PSOE government of Zapatero came to power in 2004 is linked to the search for a more cohesive and just balance in society among increasingly different groups in terms of class, culture and religion. Thus, the pursuit of

⁸⁶ Cfr. <http://www.mec.es/educa/proa/files/actividades-extraescolares.pdf> accessed February 2008.

a strategy to use the lower secondary schools to help build greater stocks of social capital did not happen by chance but was driven by the events of 2004 and the need to redefine the new values and approaches championed by the left in Spanish politics and policy⁸⁷.

Thus, the way the national strategy (NSCB) placed greater emphasis on the social norm reinforcement and less on the network generation element of social capital has been discussed. This relative imbalance in the approach to social capital building in the national framework affords the regional level the potential to intervene in a more compelling and distinctive manner when it specifies in its own ROS the elements of the strategy encouraging the schools to apply the policy for building social capital. Furthermore, given that the grassroots responsibility for the implementation of the social capital building strategy ultimately lies with the individual secondary schools, this rather flexible policy setting is likely to open up differentiated degrees of choice for schools. In effect, the national strategy represents the starting point for the definition of the final framework within which the educational institutions operate.

In the two chapters that follow, the analysis of the institutional and operational outcomes of the two regional opportunity structures (ROS) for social capital building emerging from the implementation of the national strategy in the regions of Aragon and Castile Leon is carried out and the findings presented and discussed.

⁸⁷ In Kingdon's (2003: 168) words "...a window opens because of changes in the political stream (e.g., a change of administration, a shift in the partisan or ideological distribution of seats in Congress, or a shift in national mood), or it opens because a new problem captures the attention of government officials". In the case of Spain all three elements became prominent after the 2004 elections.

Chapter 5. The regional opportunity structure in Aragon and the response of the Institutes Los Enlaces and Ramon Pignatelli

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This chapter centres on the region of Aragon and has a dual purpose. First, it introduces and discusses the specifics of how the region has translated the national strategy of building social capital in the region's secondary Institutes, thereby addressing the second research question: How did the region translate the national programme into a regional 'opportunity structure' (ROS) articulated into the six pillars or 'windows of opportunity' for social capital building in secondary schools.<sup>89</sup>

In addition, the chapter assesses the *status* of the dependent variable – that is, the capacity to build social capital-- in two schools (henceforth referred to as 'secondary Institutes')<sup>90</sup> in Aragon: the Institute 'Los Enlaces' (LE) and the Institute 'Ramón Pignatelli' (RP). In doing so, research questions 3 and 4 will be addressed. Research question 3 addresses the topic of 'what type of response did secondary schools have to the strategy and the six pillars made available to them by the regional legislation?' Question 4, instead, looks at 'how fully did the schools take advantage of the opportunities for social capital building provided by the strategy?'

The chapter unfolds over four main sections on, respectively: the regional opportunity structure (ROS), the Institutes' educational profiles and characteristics of the student's enrolled, the analysis of the Institutes' response to the regional strategy, and overall conclusions concerning the two cases in Aragon.

## **5.1 The strategy for social capital building in compulsory secondary education: the regional opportunity structure (ROS) in Aragon**

The formulation of the regional strategy in Aragon to strengthen social capital among students at the lower secondary level was divided into six policy pillars as provided by the national legislation: three deal with the

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<sup>89</sup> See Chapter 3, p. 78.

<sup>90</sup> Secondary schools are denominated 'secondary Institutes' in Spain.

“substantive” elements of social capital promotion and three with the “structural” components of social capital promotion. Research question 2 asks: how did the two selected regions translate the national strategy into an effective opportunity to re-enforce social capital articulated into six policy initiatives to build social capital in secondary schools? The assessment of this question is informed on the one hand by the criteria of the levels of specification and on the other of the obligatory nature of the mandatory component of the regional strategy, and of the incentives built into its supplemental components.

### **5.1.1 The three policy pillars for ‘substantive’ social capital promotion**

Aragon’s translation of the national strategy has focused more on the normative or ‘substantive’ (see Figure 4.4 in the previous chapter) dimension of social capital and less on its ‘structural’ components. Of the three policy pillars addressing the re-enforcement of the substantive dimension of social capital, ‘*education in values*’ and ‘*school coexistence*’ are the best developed parts of the regional strategy. Both pillars have been highlighted in Aragon’s regional legislation by elaborate prescriptive definitions of the concepts (mandatory component), while they have also been supported by a well-structured scheme (supplementary component) comprising programmes and actions for schools that encourage secondary Institutes to actively engage in the promotion of social norms. In contrast, in the case of the third substantive policy pillar – ‘*tutorial actions*’-, the Aragon’s legislation is less comprehensive and well structured. It has also been less creative and leaves the schools in a position to find their own solutions in fulfilling this part of the strategy.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> The lack of comprehensiveness and structure in Aragon’s third pillar allows greater leeway for the intervening variables to play a role in determining the educational outputs as will be illustrated in this chapter in relation to tutorials and the structural elements of the social capital strategy.

The implementation of the structural policy elements and pillars—i.e., extracurricular activities, participatory principle and supplementary programmes-- in Spain's national legislation for network social capital promotion in secondary Institutes is less strong. This was due to the fact that these structural policy elements have more to do with activities taking place outside of the formal educational function. Therefore, the structural policy element left a lot of room for individual school's to improvise and develop their own approaches.

Concerning the first of the substantive policy pillar—i.e. '*education in values*' --Aragon's regional specification of the 2006 national LOE aims to incorporate these national cross cutting themes by making them regional priorities, whereby they are purposefully included as primary objectives of secondary education in the region.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, complementing this legal development, Aragon promoted innovation in this area by encouraging the Institutes to use their autonomy to devise their own initiatives that addressed the educational values mandated by the policy pillar. Aragon also organised educational events and provided Institutes with incentives such as handbooks designed to support their initiatives. Ultimately, though, secondary Institutes in Aragon were expected to respond to the regional translation of the national programme and incorporated this cross-cutting theme into their curriculum.

Similarly, concerning the second substantive policy pillar --'*school coexistence*'--the approach in Aragon was straightforward in its legally mandatory aspect, and very elaborate in terms of supplementary initiatives that encouraged the Institutes to embrace this element. Regarding the mandatory component of the regional policy pillar, while the legally compulsory requirement for Institutes to take action came into force just

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<sup>92</sup> See Legal Act of March 9, 2007, Department of Education, Culture and Sports, Government of Aragon, that implemented the requirements of the 2006 LOE.

before the fieldwork took place<sup>93</sup>, in 2005 Aragon was already issuing regional strategic documents on coexistence of a strong indicative character, which provided secondary Institutes with clear objectives and guidelines on its implementation<sup>94</sup>. Therefore, this has meant that secondary Institutes in Aragon have been directed to incorporate the pillar into their activities a year before the formal requirement came into force. The region's focused concern with coexistence is evident in the level of detail in the guidance documents that are comprehensive in their coverage of the theme, including the mandate that Institutes address the reinforcement of social skills and social norms such as in the field of tolerance and non-discrimination.

To further strengthen this policy pillar, Aragon has created supplementary initiatives designed to facilitate the Institutes' response. To this end, it has established a unit within the regional government for the provision of services (counselling, legal advice and technical assistance) for Institute staff, teachers and even students concerning their engagement with coexistence issues; it has published ad hoc materials and research documents on related topics which have been made available to Institutes; it has organised 'best practice' competitions on coexistence initiatives; and it has also provided permanent training for Institute staff on coexistence objectives and how to achieve them.

The pillar of *tutorial actions* is the least developed of the three "substantive" pillars in Aragon. The tutorial actions pillar has certainly been the subject of legal specifications by the region but in a minimalist fashion in comparison with the other two policy pillars. Thus, the potential of tutorial actions as an element for social norm enhancement in secondary Institutes is less developed. Indeed, the regional legal framework has defined the space for tutorial action in terms of its principal

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<sup>93</sup> See Legal Act of November 11, 2008, and Legal Act of October 14, 2009, both of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports, Government of Aragon. Here, Aragon further elaborated on what educational institutions should do to fully implement the 2007 Act.

<sup>94</sup> See <http://convivencia.educa.aragon.es/ini.php?iditem=1&iz=6&sub=97>.

objective that has largely been focused on the academic support and specialised attention provided to students with learning disabilities.<sup>95</sup> The lesser attention paid in Aragon to the other objective of the pillar-- that of pro-actively addressing social norms of integration and coexistence as defined by the national legislation--affects the impact and perception of the pillar as a social norm promoting component. Consequently, the lower profile of tutorial actions for substantive social capital building is also discernible in the lack of supplementary regional initiatives for the purpose of prompting Institutes to emphasise the opportunities provided by the third pillar. In the case of tutorial actions, the added support offered to Institutes by regional and local initiatives is almost entirely targeted toward students with special needs rather than the broader need to re-enforce the social capital building components of the other two substantive pillars.

In sum, the three programmatic pillars identified in the national framework as suitable for social norm enhancement in Aragon display levels of legal mandate and incentives that translate into an overall rather well developed 'substantive regional strategy and opportunity to enhance social capital building in the region's schools'. This is particularly so for the pillars of education in values and school coexistence, highlighting the attention paid by Aragon to the importance of social norms in secondary education. The strategy to reinforce social norms is well defined via high levels of legal specification (mandatory components) complemented by the regional and local incentives. The region has given, however, a less prominent role to the pillar of tutorial actions and its potential for social norm reinforcement. In Aragon it is mainly left to the Institutes the use of this pillar as a platform for social norm enhancement. Table 5.1 below, summarises the analysis of Aragon's regional approach to the ROS.

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<sup>95</sup> See Legal Act of March 9, 2007.

**Table 5.1 Aragon's 'substantive' ROS strategy<sup>96</sup>**

|                         | Legal development      |                     | Supplementary actions |                     |                 |
|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
|                         | Level of specification | Level of compulsion | Incentives            | Scholastic Material | Other resources |
| Education in values     | ++                     | ++                  | +                     | --                  | ++              |
| Tutorial actions        | +/-                    | +                   | --                    | +/-                 | +/-             |
| Approach to coexistence | +                      | +/-                 | ++                    | ++                  | ++              |

Scale used: ++ very high; + high; +/- mixed; - low; -- very low.

Source: Author's conclusion from content analysis of regional legislation.

### 5.1.2 The three policy pillars for 'structural' social capital promotion

Aragon's translation of the structural policy elements and pillars in Spain's national legislation for network social capital promotion in secondary Institutes is less strong. The reason is in large part due to the greater challenge of mandating that educational institutions step outside of their traditional teaching boundaries that include societal values, into the new realm of affecting the students' change in behaviour and actions to be undertaken. The national legislation helps regions in this regard, because two of the pillars that encourage network formation in schools — *extracurricular activities* and *implementation of the participation principle*— are specified by the national legal framework, allowing limited further action by the region, while the third pillar on *special programmes* is narrowed down to the offer of a single national programme operating in Aragon —the PROA or programme for the assistance, counselling, guidance and support of students.<sup>97</sup>

Concentrating on the first two pillars and the potential for action that arise from them —extracurricular activities and implementation of the

<sup>96</sup> For a more detailed table see Annex.

<sup>97</sup> See for the details of the pillar in chapter 4(p. 144).

participation principle--, their treatment in the regional context is characterised by medium to low levels of detail in their legal specification and a highly differentiated situation in terms of the existence of complementary initiatives from the sub-regional levels of government supporting and enhancing the legally defined provisions.

Within these tighter boundaries set by the national legislation, in the case of *extracurricular activities*, Aragon has created a very effective approach. Even though the regional legal development of the pillar is not particularly explicit regarding extracurricular activities --a fact that confirms the national precept of it residing within the Institutes' scope of autonomy<sup>98</sup>-- the incentives nonetheless promote the formulation of a well-structured initiative run by local government and supported by the regional level. Through the initiative for the integration of school campuses --PIEE<sup>99</sup>-- the use of this element on the part of secondary Institutes is remarkably enhanced because the initiative provides personnel and financial resources to facilitate student participation in extracurricular activities<sup>100</sup>. As confirmed by a regional official during a personal interview, 28 of 32 secondary Institutes in the city of Zaragoza were taking advantage of the initiative.

Turning to the *participation principle*, this being a crucial component of the national educational strategy, its separate development by the regional government was constrained. The analysis of the regional translation of the national legislation in this regard shows that the regional framework in Aragon refrained from developing the principle of participation beyond the precepts contained in the national legislation, and only made reference to it in the section of the law dealing with student rights<sup>101</sup>. At the same time, the analysis of supplementary regional initiatives to expand this pillar shows that organised support services and educational programmes

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<sup>98</sup> See Legal Act of March 9, 2007.

<sup>99</sup> In Spanish Programa de Integración de Espacios Escolares --PIEE--.

<sup>100</sup> See [http://www.zaragoza.es/ciudad/sectores/jovenes/piee\\_ok.htm](http://www.zaragoza.es/ciudad/sectores/jovenes/piee_ok.htm).

<sup>101</sup> See Legal Act of March 9, 2007.

addressing student participation and student associations<sup>102</sup> exist, but that they do not target the Institutes as direct recipients. Rather, all of these actions are addressed directly at the students and by-pass the educational institution which could have benefitted from student participation. In effect, calling into play directly the students, the region lost the opportunity to go beyond the dictates of the national legislation. Given the missing institutional link between regional supplementary initiatives to increase students' participation and the Institutes, the region's actions were less sustainable, as will become evident later in this chapter.

The third pillar for structural social capital building is the one legislated by Aragon on *special programmes* to be targeted for the Institutes. This initiative refers to the existence of a regional programme to support a variety of projects within the Institutes. In the case of Aragon, the PROA programme creates the opportunity for network promotion. With no other particular regional programmes to provide Institutes with an alternative space for the promotion of network formation, the PROA represents the only clear option being implemented in secondary Institutes and primary schools in Aragon.

All in all, Aragon's strategy for structural social capital construction is less developed than for social norm enhancement. While two of its three pillars (participation principle and implementation of supplementary programmes) are relatively undeveloped, it is the pillar of extracurricular activities that stands out and is supported by the regional legislation as an innovative initiative for secondary Institutes in promoting network formation involving their students. This third pillar benefits from the comprehensive approach adopted for it in the regional translation of the national strategy for social capital building whereby the mandatory component is combined with a wide ranging supplementary component of regional incentives to promote

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<sup>102</sup> See <http://www.zaragoza.es/ciudad/sectores/jovenes/asociacionismo/asociacionismo.htm> and <http://www.educaragon.org/arboles/arbol.asp?strseccion=FA756&guiaeducativa=3&sepRuta=Programas+y+proyectos%2F>.

its use by secondary Institutes. This is illustrated in the summarised Table 5.2 below.

**Table 5.2 Aragon’s structural provisions for the ROS strategy<sup>103</sup>**

|                             | Legal development      |                     | Supplementary actions |                     |                 |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
|                             | Level of specification | Level of compulsion | Incentives            | Scholastic Material | Other resources |
| Extra-Curricular activities | -                      | --                  | ++                    | --                  | ++              |
| Participation principle     | --                     | +/-                 | --                    | --                  | +               |
| Supplementary Programmes    | +/-                    | +/-                 | +                     | --                  | --              |

Scale used: ++ very high; + high; +/- mixed; - low; -- very low.

Source: Author’s conclusions based on content analysis of regional legislation.

The analysis of the six substantive and structural provisions of the Aragon approach for the implementation of the 2006 LOE on the building of social capital shows that certain components of the strategy—supplementary programmes, education in values and harmonious coexistence—were better developed than others—e.g., tutorials and guidance, extracurricular activities and participation—in that the regional legislation went beyond the ordinary dictates of the national legal provision. In this manner, Aragon was able to supplement the national provisions with its own initiatives where it felt that further action was necessary. On the other hand, this mix of taking further initiatives or sticking with the national provisions leaves open to the individual schools and local authorities the opportunity to supplement the provisions inserted by the two levels in the social capital building policy. We now turn to look at two specific schools in Zaragoza and what they did to implement the policy.

## **5.2 The two case studies in Aragon: compulsory secondary institutes ‘Los Enlaces’ (LE) and ‘Ramón Pignatelli’ (RP)**

The two cases selected in the region of Aragon are the compulsory secondary institutes ‘Los Enlaces’ (LE) and ‘Ramón Pignatelli’ (RP), both

<sup>103</sup> For a more detailed version of the table see Annex.

located in the regional capital city of Zaragoza. Below, the two Institutes are profiled according to the main characteristics of their staff and student bodies and discussed in terms of their respective institutional history and educational tradition.

### 5.2.1 The Institute 'Los Enlaces' (LE). 'The challenge of coexistence'

**Figure 5.1 Compulsory Secondary Institute 'Los Enlaces' (LE), Zaragoza (Aragon), Spain**



Source: Head of Studies, Compulsory Secondary Institute 'Los Enlaces'

The secondary Institute LE has been at the receiving end of significant mandated changes in the Spanish educational system. LE is an educational institution which over the past two decades has had to undertake important adjustments to its educational programme that have first challenged and then strengthened its sense of identity. This particular journey of self-definition has left its imprint on several aspects of the Institute's educational mission and defined the characteristics of the Institute's environment as a community. The LE Institute was originally

conceived in the mid-1980s as a centre for vocational training<sup>104</sup>, that is, as an institution focused solely on offering post-compulsory secondary education of a technical character. Over its first ten years of existence, the LE Institute consolidated its ‘technical’ identity, successfully by differentiating itself from other educational centres in Zaragoza and particularly from the academically oriented --and traditionally highly regarded-- Institute located just across the road from it--the Ramon Pignatelli<sup>105</sup>. By the mid-1990s, LE was widely recognised for the quality of its post-compulsory degrees and the variety of both regular and specialised vocational training courses it offered, thus having succeeded in emerging as a respected educational institution through its own efforts. This characterisation however, was bound to change with the implementation of the LOGSE<sup>106</sup> (the 1990 educational framework law). In complying with the new legal framework, the LE Institute had to modify its educational offer by widening it at both ends to include the compulsory secondary education (to younger students) and baccalaureate<sup>107</sup> (upper secondary education) levels. With this major adjustment, LE effectively became a comprehensive institution offering both an academic *and* technical career path choice for students.

The significant transformation that the LE was forced to undertake in appearance defied --but in reality strengthened-- the Institute’s own sense of identity as a vocational training centre. That is, the adaptive reaction of the LE’s leadership, teachers and staff to the mandated changes has been to fiercely focus on the Institute’s traditional mission as a vocational training centre. Interviews and observations from the fieldwork strongly corroborate this interpretation. Therefore, in the face of the mandated

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<sup>104</sup> In Spanish, ‘Centro de Formación Profesional’. This level of education comprises intermediate level vocational training courses and advanced level vocational training. As explained in chapter 4, while the first of these strands leads to a ‘technical’ degree, the second leads to an ‘advanced technical’ degree.

<sup>105</sup> The Ramón Pignatelli Institute will be the focus of the study in the second part of this chapter.

<sup>106</sup> LOGSE stands for ‘Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo’, in English Organic Law on the General Arrangement of the Education System. For details, see chapter 4 on the Spanish educational system and its evolution.

<sup>107</sup> In Spanish ‘Bachillerato’, consists of 2 post-compulsory secondary years upon which students are ready for university. See Chapter 4 on the Spanish education system.

adjustments, during the last 15 years the LE has ‘adapted to but not simply adopted’ the required changes. Rather, it has responded by preserving its sense of identity, carefully and successfully nurturing its reputation in offering quality technical education. In doing so it has, in effect, carved out a niche profile that continues to distinguish it from other Institutes. This *adaptive* strategy has paid off with good results. As enrolment figures show, the Institute’s offer in vocational training courses continues to attract a larger number of students than was the case for other levels.

The successful maintenance and consolidation of the Institute’s character and identity has taken place both in terms of its projection outwards to the general public but also and uppermost internally. Among the LE Institute staff there is a feeling of pride in what many regard as the unique quality of their technical offer. It is a palpable and openly expressed satisfaction—“this is what we are”— that is translated by staff and teachers into a greater commitment to vocational training courses and students in comparison to other levels within the Institute. This orientation and level of effort are strongly shared and supported by the Institute’s leadership, who underline the Institute’s achievements in technical training as a model form of education. The preferential choice made in the educational mission has significantly influenced the Institute’s management environment in the direction of actively accepting challenges.

The school’s particular environment has produced a continuous drive for innovation and experimentation on the part of the staff working on the technical educational courses that has permeated the other areas of teaching and ultimately has come to characterise LE as an innovator in education. Parents and students were the first to express themselves in these terms. The effect of being open to innovation is tangible with regard to the Institute’s overall environment; another aspect of the Institute’s openness is expressed in its determined pursuit of the policy to create the foundations for a sense of tolerance and coexistence among the students.

As explained by most teachers interviewed, the rationale for the endorsement of this challenge on the part of LE rests with the very profile of the student body and the dedication of the teachers to create successful outcomes for the students. Given the nature of the student profile which is heavy with a minority that is “conflict-prone” and disengaged, the LE Institute has taken upon itself to focus on such behaviour and attempts to change it. Unable for economic reasons to choose an academic route or not interested in it-- thus opting for a technical career path-- most LE students come from a medium to low income family background. As staff members report, it is not unusual for these students to experience less family support at home for their studies than their counterparts in the academic track, and a small minority of the students come from dysfunctional family backgrounds. In turn, the disruptive behaviour of this minority affects their own overall performance thus making it more challenging to maintain a quality level of education for all to which the Institute is committed.

A minority’s conflict-prone attitudes also potentially impacts on the Institute’s environment as a community by creating a fear of social tension and internal potential for violence. Episodes of misconduct and aggressive behaviour on the part of students across age groups have been reported as a common weekly occurrence. It is the challenge of reversing this trend that has been embraced by the Institute’s leadership, teachers and staff who are confident that a pro-active approach informed by the systematic application of innovative measures will lead to an environment of greater harmony and coexistence. A first recognition of success in this endeavour is underlined by the national prize for ‘best practices in coexistence’ that the LE Institute was awarded in 2007.

Overall, the LE Institute can be characterised as a forward looking institution with a distinctive sense of pride in its educational mission, a strong drive for innovation in teaching, and the commitment to its diverse

student body. Building its track record on its orientation and identity as a technical institution, the LE autonomously and successfully incorporated the requested adjustments into its educational offer. It has willingly applied the same approach to the newer aspects of its curriculum, including the strengthening of social capital initiatives among its students for which it has already been recognised at the national level.

### 5.2.2 The Ramón Pignatelli Institute (RP). ‘The struggle for identity’

Figure 5.2 . Compulsory Secondary Institute ‘Ramón Pignatelli’ (RP), Zaragoza (Aragon), Spain



Source: [www.iespignatelli.es](http://www.iespignatelli.es)

Founded in the 1970s as a high standard academic institution, the RP Institute has been the recipient of overwhelming changes in its surrounding environment and its educational offer that have adversely impacted the teachers and staff in their ability to adapt and carry out their teaching mission. RP's history is one of a deeply divisive internal identity struggle caused by several converging factors. Shortly after its creation, this academically reputable institution was the subject of legal

developments, demographic changes, a break-up in its structure, and significant internal conflicts that have continued over time to leave it with a palpably diluted sense of identity.

The original RP Institute was one of the first educational institutions to be created in the context of the 1970 General Education Law<sup>108</sup> in the city of Zaragoza. The very clear intention was to expand the city's quality educational offer in the academic track, which at the time could only count on two other educational institutions that were not in a position to keep pace with the fast growing population of the city and its environs<sup>109</sup>.

Teachers recalled that almost from the start, the challenge for the Institute was how to meet two conflicting expectations: to be academically sound while at the same time accepting to be, in the words of a teacher, an 'expanding centre'. The true meaning of this coded term is that the RP had to begin to admit students from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds rather than from an elite stratum of the population due to the rapid socioeconomic changes in its catch basin. It was not in a position to use a more restricted recruitment process due to the 'mass-entrance' approach that was being adopted at the national level with the introduction of democracy. As a consequence, RP grew very quickly and soon after the decision was made to divide it into two schools.<sup>110</sup>

The current RP Institute continued to operate as an upper secondary institution but it did so at a new location alongside a new vocational Institute (the LE discussed earlier) and a primary school. Both new institutions were made independent from RP. Thus, the RP went from being an elite educational institution to the basis for the creation of three

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<sup>108</sup> See chapter 4.

<sup>109</sup> For a discussion of the neighbourhood environment of the two Institutes, see chapter 3.

<sup>110</sup> It could be argued that RP was a victim of the transition from fascism to democracy and the economic consequences of this transition that helped to change the socioeconomic composition of its catch basin. But during the early years of the separation from the LE it was able to maintain its elite status.

new educational entities: an upper secondary institute (RP), a vocational school (LE) and a primary school.

According to most of the teachers interviewed, during the first years of existence at the new location, the RP Institute developed a strong sense of pride rooted in its academic profile that distinguished it from LE and in the socio-economic characteristics of the students it attracted. Partly as a result of a differentiating process from the previous RP Institute which had catered to a more socio-economically mixed student population, the new RP found it congenial to be located in a developing area of Zaragoza where middle class and professional families were starting to settle.

As was pointed out by a teacher, the Institute's student population was representative of a social 'elite' and an 'ideal community', with low numbers of students from less "endangered" families. Hardly any of the students came from dysfunctional homes, and a large proportion from families who supported the educational process through active participation. In turn, being involved in upper secondary education, the RP Institute's student population was 'filtered' and highly focused on preparing themselves for university education, while the nearby vocational Institute (the LE) catered to students with a non-academic profile. By the early 1990s, the RP counted on a student population of close to 800 students and enjoyed a well-established academic reputation in Zaragoza.

However, the Institute's educational trajectory and self-image began to change and its self-confidence to falter during the decade of the 1990s. During that period the legally mandated changes entered into conflict with the pre-established academic mission of RP and undermined its teachers and staff's capacity to adapt.

The reconstruction of events and the impact that they produced emerges from the interviews conducted at the RP Institute with staff. To borrow in reverse the sentence of the LE's teacher quoted earlier, the RP Institute

‘adopted but did not adapt’ to the legally mandated changes. In other words, the RP Institute had to incorporate the changes but could not adapt to their consequences. As a result, today’s RP leadership, teachers and staff express strong views about having been forced into a transformation which they did not want and which, framed by a combination of externally determined and converging factors, has left them struggling with a sense of lost identity and wounded pride. Indeed, in numerous cases, the sentiments expressed were those of irrelevance and betrayal, particularly by an important part of the RP’s conservatively oriented senior teaching staff.

The compulsory changes imposed by the LOGSE legal framework in the early 1990s, of course, represented the same demands for change addressed by the LE Institute. But because of the academically oriented nature of the RP they were considered to be more disruptive for its educational mission. The mandated changes meant that the RP Institute was compelled to expand its educational offer, open four new levels of compulsory secondary education parallel to their traditional upper secondary offer, and lower the age of its youngest students. This meant that RP needed to start catering to children between 12 and 15 years of age who in the views of many of the RP teachers --almost by definition— “were not committed to their studies and were prone to leaving the educational system upon completion of the compulsory phase”. Thus, most teachers argued, even in the short run, the implication of the change was a significant lowering of the quality of the educational offer and dilution of the social make-up of the student body.

The consequences of the change were aggravated by additional factors. The legislation<sup>111</sup> that in Spain increased the presence of private schools throughout the system and allowed these schools to select their students was perceived by the RP teaching staff as having put them in direct

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<sup>111</sup> Cfr. LODE or ‘Ley Organica del Derecho a la Educación’ or Organic Act on the Right to Education.

competition with public secondary institutes, such as RP, that could no longer select their students and had to accept all those who applied on an equal basis. This was happening at the same time as the solid middle class neighbourhood make-up that used to live around the RP was moving toward more lower-middle and lower class families. In the span of a generation, the established neighbourhood had significantly expanded and its well-to-do resident population had aged and declined in overall numbers.

This demographic process brought to the Institute a new cohort of students characterised by greater socio-economic and cultural diversity. The rapid demographic changes in the area added pressure to the ongoing transformation of the institute's student profile and to the implementation of the LODE<sup>112</sup>--that is, the 1985 legal framework which increased competition among educational centres by creating new types of schools. As the RP Institute directors stressed with conviction--the establishment of the entity known as 'concerted' centres as an intermediate type of educational institution of private origin but partially funded by the state--had a negative impact on the Institute. The law increased the Institute's difficulty in maintaining a student population with what they defined as a 'good educational profile and potential'. Indeed, according to the RP staff and directors, the creation of this new entity acted as a magnet to draw middle class students out of public schools--thereby impacting negatively all public schools. In their view, these 'concerted' centres drained away public funds while instituting highly selective processes for admitting students. This process inevitably left ordinary public schools to deal with a more difficult and less stable student population.

On the whole, the RP Institute is currently an institution in the midst of a deeply unsettling internal debate that is characterised by internal divisions

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<sup>112</sup> LODE stands for 'Ley Organica del Derecho a la Educación' or Organic Act on the Right to Education. See Chapter 4.

among the teaching staff, a diminishing and changing student population, and an overall climate of anxiety--all of which negatively affect the Institute's sense of identity and reputation. The tensions between teachers resisting change and others with a more progressive attitude are only at times due to generational differences. They are palpable in the way the Institute approaches and assesses its student population. Today, RP is struggling with the need to redefine itself in a consensual manner and regain its sense of identity and overall mission.

### **5.3 The two Institutes' response to the regional opportunity structure (ROS)**

Aragon's strategy for social capital enhancement described earlier in section 5.1 is empirically analysed in this part of the chapter in terms of the responses formulated by the Institutes in the two case studies. In this manner the following research questions are addressed: 3. what type of response did secondary schools have to the national/regional strategy and the six policy pillars operationalised by the strategy? 4. how fully (formally and qualitatively innovative) did the schools take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the national and regional strategies for social capital building?

Informed by the two dimensions of social capital, this section first devotes attention to the capacity of the Institutes to use the windows of opportunity for social norm enhancement (substantive dimension) and then focuses on the spaces where network generation or the structural dimension of social capital is addressed. The assessment of the Institutes' response is twofold. First, it focuses on the *scope* of the response--that is, expressed by the degree of formalisation, creativity and scale of each Institute's actions. The assessment also focuses on the *internal coherence* of the Institute's actions by verifying the balance or lack of balance between substantive and structural social capital promotion.

### **5.3.1 Leveraging the Aragon strategy for social norm enhancement**

The analysis in this section is structured around the three pillars in which the two secondary Institutes in Aragon have addressed the social norm reinforcement in their students represented by 'education in values', the 'tutorial action plan' and the approach to 'coexistence'.

#### **5.3.1.1 Compulsory Secondary Institute 'Los Enlaces' (LE): a 'pushing the envelope' approach**

Reacting to the opportunity structure for social norm enhancement, the LE Institute has adopted a highly integrated approach, comprising wide ranging and innovative actions that have made ample use of the three opportunities for social norm re-enforcement. LE's multi-dimensional and incremental path to the achievement of the three goals has entailed the use of ad hoc but well-coordinated lines of action.

#### ***'Education in values'***

As seen in chapter 4, the expression 'education in values' in the Spanish educational context, refers to a set of 'transversal themes'<sup>113</sup>, which by law had to be included in the Institute's mandated curriculum. Before the 2006 LOE<sup>114</sup>, and Aragon's 2007 ROS, the transversal themes (e.g. health and sex education, solidarity, moral and civic education, etc.) had been introduced into the LE's curriculum on an individual basis and autonomously by teachers in the annual planning of the courses under their responsibility for the academic year. This was so, because the previous legal framework had an indicative character which did not entail a mandate for Institutes to programme specific actions nor did it foresee accountability in terms of the monitoring and reporting of results. The

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<sup>113</sup> See chapter 4 for this discussion.

<sup>114</sup> The LOE is the most recent educational legal framework adopted in 2006. The acronym in Spanish stands for 'Ley Orgánica de la Educación', or Organic Act on Education. See chapter 4.

anticipation by the LE curriculum of subject matters that were to be introduced by the operationalisation of Spain's 2006 NSCB strategy provided the institute with a clear advantage in making the most of the new legislative obligations.

The approach adopted by the legal framework of LOE governing education in Spain established the replacement of these transversal themes with a new approach based on the teaching of and attainment by students of 'basic competences'<sup>115</sup>. This more prescriptive mandate, incorporated subsequently into Aragon's ROS, afforded the opportunity for the 'transversal themes' not merely to continue to exist but to be focused upon and pursued as institutionalised actions or programmes. Hence, for example, addressing purposefully the transversal themes of 'health education' and 'solidarity' the LE Institute has included among its annual activities a campaign of blood donation carried out twice during the academic year that is supported by a set of talks involving students and addressing health issues and the essence and importance of donating blood for the community. While this particular action is only for students from upper secondary and formative cycles<sup>116</sup>, the Institute has parallel actions addressing 'education in values' involving lower secondary students. An example is the innovative approach to health issues, such as the prevention of drug addiction. That topic is dealt with through the 'cinema and health' programme showing movies and documentaries relevant to the debate that follows with younger students on drug addiction and related issues. Teachers who created the programme explained how it has been mainstreamed by being taught within the timeframe allocated for both the natural sciences as well as tutorial classes. Therefore, the ability to anticipate legislative changes through ad hoc experimentation has provided LE with a distinct advantage in keeping up with the innovations introduced into the curriculum in 2006 and 2007.

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<sup>115</sup> Cfr. Chapter 4.

<sup>116</sup> This limit is due to the fact that they are old enough to give their consent and therefore participate in this activity.

The above also highlights the interconnectedness of the themes of 'education in values' and 'tutorial actions' in the LE and reflects the degree to which the Institute is taking advantage of the Aragon ROS in a programmatic fashion. The teachers from LE talked about how the principles and topics relevant for substantive social capital —such as cooperation and solidarity-- form part of the Institutes' ethos and continue to be systematically addressed in different slots, most of all via tutorial classes. While similar experiences are observed in other Institutes, officials interviewed at the regional level underscored that the LE Institute had taken its response a step further, by pro-actively and formally pursuing the strengthening of an 'education in values' in their curriculum as part of its commitment to the goal of harmonious and peaceful coexistence. Thus, LE was able to fill the relative gap left by the tutorial pillar in the regional legislation through its emphasis on the Tutorial Action Plan (TAP).

To this end, the LE has formulated a 'Plan for Education in Values' (PEV), an internal operational document that is not mandated but allowed by the ROS and autonomously decided by the LE. The leadership of the Institute stressed the strong support it has had from the teachers. The Institute's PEV is based on the conviction that education does not only involve the imparting of knowledge but also the shaping of character, the teaching of how to interact in society, how to deal with authority, and how to live in a community as responsible members —that is, the importance of and respect for social conventions and social norms. The LE document identifies three basic axes for action: i) *the construction of the self*, dealing with self-esteem, the concept of one-self and self-regulation; ii) *coexistence*, dealing with the construction of social knowledge, social skills such as cooperative and solidarity behaviour, and the development of moral feelings; and iii) *the socio-moral debate*, which addresses the analysis of controversial situations that are both real and hypothetical. In

the LE's highly integrated approach, the three axes are implemented via the Tutorial Action Plan.

### ***The Tutorial Action Plan (TAP)***

In LE the TAP represents the operationalisation of the second pillar in the substantive social capital building strategy foreseen by Aragon's ROS for social norm enhancement. In the case of LE the TAP exceeds the standard called for by Aragon's ROS. The uniqueness of the LE's approach was underscored in the interviews at the regional level. It is based on two factors. On the one hand, the LE's TAP is remarkably well-developed and displays a specific focus on the integration of students and the nurturing of social and personal skills that underpin their ability to co-exist peacefully and develop successfully within an educational and, more broadly, social environment. On the other hand, the Institute's innovative approach has led to the acquisition of new professionals--such as a child psychologist and social worker--to address the goals of building trust and going beyond the narrow fulfilment of the legal requirements.

The LE's approach begins by complying with the legal requirement of formulating the TAP document in which the Institute outlines the priorities and approach it is taking to fulfil the principle of the one-on-one attention to be paid to students with regard to both their academic and personal activities. Drafted by the Counselling and Guidance Department, a non-academic unit within the Institute's structure, this annual plan defines a number of standardised actions (directives) that tutors and other Institute staff need to implement during the academic year within the tutorial weekly sessions for every course. Stemming from this document, a first set of planned activities is carried out within the weekly tutorial hour in each grade. The students receive a combination of guidance and information on a number of topics related to their self-development and interaction with others, thereby working towards the reinforcement of the Institute's level of internal harmony. This weekly hour also represents a moment for students

to receive support in their academic training. Hence, while some of the weekly hours are used as extra-study time for students (to catch-up on homework or study for a particular exam), the observations conducted at LE show that more frequently, the hour is used to hold debates, talks and discussions on normative topics such as conflict resolution. Moreover, LE's TAP includes workshops and talks by invited guests during the year, in which the students are made aware of the importance of non-violent solutions and social integration while being prompted to actively participate in these discussions. Through these workshops and weekly hours, the Institute also carries out its 'Plan for Education in Values', as discussed above.

A second set of 'tutorial' actions at the LE is implemented directly by tutors outside of class hours and by the extracurricular activities instructor. In both cases, the aim is to foster trust via their personal relationship with students. The support provided in the tutorial strategy by the extracurricular activity instructor, exemplifies the LE Institute's resourcefulness in the maximisation of available opportunities and its keen interest in creating a positive educational and social environment. Indeed, in the area of extracurricular activities that is geared primarily to network formation the LE has nevertheless managed to use it also for tutorial purposes by closely coordinating the monitoring activities of the PIEE instructor<sup>117</sup> with the Counselling and Guidance department.

Concerning tutors, the LE has also introduced new activities to enhance the support already offered to students. Next to the commonly present *class* tutor<sup>118</sup> the Institute has introduced a second *personal* tutor. The purpose of this new figure is to give students more individualised attention on the part of a tutor who has the responsibility of monitoring no more than

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<sup>117</sup> The PIEE is the Programa de Integración de Espacios Escolares or program for the integration of school campuses. Extracurricular activities in the LE—as will be seen later in this chapter—are carried out via this program run by the local authorities. See section 5.3.2.1 for more information.

<sup>118</sup> The head teacher of a class group is responsible for the close monitoring and is the first port of call between the Institute structure and his/her students.

three students. Personal tutors are responsible for following-up on their tutees by discussing particular problems they might be facing in specific subjects and/or with teachers. They are also meant to establish a supportive, trustful relationship with their tutees and become a point of reference for their personal development and academic advancement. At the time of the fieldwork the figure of the personal tutor had been in operation at the LE for three years with significant levels of teacher participation on an annual and voluntary basis; the interviews with the administrative staff show that for the 2008-09 academic year, an estimated one-third of the compulsory secondary teachers were participating in the scheme. The observations conducted indicate the existence of a climate of informality and almost camaraderie on the part of teachers and involvement and enjoyment on the part of the students.

### ***The approach to coexistence***

The LE Institute is keenly focused on enhancing the harmonious coexistence among its students, teachers and staff, by preventing bullying and discriminatory behaviour. To this end, LE has unreservedly embraced the opportunities offered by Aragon's ROS and has created a very comprehensive and integrated strategy in which the Coexistence Plan (CP) that won the national Good Practice award in 2007 is the central building block. The Institute's current Plan is guided by seven principles of action, and includes three types of measures (preventive, corrective and supportive-assistance actions); but looking ahead and committing to the sustainability of its effort, the Plan also outlines the ten key elements of the planning process, deemed 'constant elements', that are to inform its updating in the future<sup>119</sup>. As interviews with teachers confirm, the role of

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<sup>119</sup> These key elements are: the human resources team, proper identification of the specific needs, prioritisation of actions, adherence to a framework of principles, formulation of a set of proposed solutions, definition of objectives, training of the teachers, implementation of actions for raising awareness, and the exchange of experiences with other secondary Institutes. Cfr. I.E.S. Los Enlaces, Plan de Convivencia, document presented for the 'Good Practices in Coexistence' National Contest, 2007.

the LE leadership was what initially drove the whole initiative that in itself was a first, and then brought into the process teachers and staff.

In support of its Coexistence Plan, and to further enhance its focus on coexistence the Institute has formulated other actions and initiatives outside the plan as 'Resources for Coexistence'. They provide the Institute with additional platforms from which to work for the achievement of a harmonious institutional environment. There are five different types of such resources: i) for the control or monitoring of coexistence programmes; ii) for the management of coexistence programmes; iii) resources for a programme that 'relies on people' initiatives; iv) resources for an external projection (dissemination) programme; and v) resources for collaboration (with other Institutes) programme. While these resources have been useful in support of the CP, giving it an external projection, two in particular --resources for monitoring and resources relying on people-- have been assessed by teachers as representing a significant opportunity to impact and reinforce social norms at the LE Institute.<sup>120</sup>

The LE Institute leadership and teachers have worked a lot on the '*resources that rely on people*' initiative around which five related actions (projects) have been constructed: 1) the 'Plan to pay attention to diversity' (PAD)<sup>121</sup>; 2) behavioural improvement workshops; 3) the Mediation programme; 4) training for teachers; and 5) the social skills workshops. Each of the five constitutes moments and opportunities to emphasise the importance of social norms of tolerance, reciprocity, respect, cooperation and solidarity in contributing to the improvement of the level of cohesiveness among members of the Institute's

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<sup>120</sup> Resources for control or monitoring refer to periodic evaluations of the work performed, a measuring system and related data collection instruments (surveys). Resources for management refer to the existence of a database which records per student, group and grade, the number of conflicts, type of conflicts, and more (this database was unavailable to this researcher). Resources for an external projection refer to the production of disseminating material and participation in events to present and publicise the work carried out by the Institute to the outside world. Finally, resources for collaboration refer to the establishment of networks of Institutes for sharing ideas and experiences.

<sup>121</sup> In Spanish 'Plan de Atención a la Diversidad', PAD. This is a common program implemented throughout Institutes in Spain, and very small differences can be found between Institutes.

community. Save for the programme addressing the training of teachers, all of the others entail the involvement of both teachers and students in the search for concrete support for positive social behaviour and responses to the challenges of life within the greater society.

The PAD is primarily aimed at two groups of students: new arrivals (new students) of different ethnic or national backgrounds, who often join the Institute in the middle of the academic year and who have no command of Spanish and show educational gaps and any other students with particular educational needs (such as learning difficulties). The PAD addresses different circumstances, and as such foresees several types of actions, ranging from academic reinforcement to language lessons and even personalised efforts to integrate students into the Institute's life and activities. Innovative PAD actions at LE, conceived and implemented by the Guidance and Counselling Department, are the new roles and figures of the *welcoming tutor* and the *student helpers*.<sup>122</sup> While the *welcoming tutor* is responsible for establishing a personalised relationship with the parents of the new student and assessing the child's specific needs and/or academic gaps, the figure of the *helping student* actively engages a student so that the former becomes responsible for the social integration of the new student into the class and helps the student to participate in the Institute's activities. Observations of how these roles are operationalised show that the student helper's role takes the lead from the welcoming tutor's role.

A second group of innovative initiatives *relying on the role of students* involves the running of workshops. Some of the workshops pursue the 'improvement of extreme behaviour' among students prone to engage in "conflictual" (anti-social) behaviour in the Institute, and others focus on the development of social skills within the whole student body. By involving

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<sup>122</sup> It should be noted that a larger proportion of actions within the PAD refer to the special academic attention (via specific actions) offered to these groups of students, including language lessons.

families in the behavioural workshops which are held twice a week by an expert in racial discrimination and conflictive behaviour, the LE Institute attempts to engage with the causes of bullying and discrimination in providing sustainable solutions. The behavioural workshops lack the extensive coverage of the social skills workshops because they focus on tolerance and respect in enhancing the disruptive students' understanding of basic social skills for positive social interaction. But, to avoid creating marginal groups of disruptive students, at the LE the students participate in the social skills workshops that are held in tandem with the weekly tutorial sessions and participation is mandatory for all students. For each academic year, the Guidance and Counselling Department determines which skills to focus on and plans the special workshops with the help of the students. An example is the workshops organised during the 2006-2007 academic year, which centred on tolerant and respectful intercommunication; the respect and defence of basic human rights; assertive behaviour; one's own and others' rights; and conflict resolution.

But it is the 'Mediation' programme that constitutes the LE Institute's 'flagship' initiative, demonstrating creativity in its pursuit of a harmonious coexistence. The views of teachers and staff are quite clear in this regard, and pride in stimulating student interest is widely expressed. This programme envisions the active participation of students, firstly by way of their training to become 'mediators' in any conflict that may arise among students or between students and teachers, and secondly, by actively acting as mediators when their training is completed. The scheme, which is of a voluntary nature, provides a unique opportunity to reinforce crucial concepts in participating and non-participating students alike. Through the understanding of the need to negotiate, to sort out problems in a collaborative manner, to recognise each other's limitations and rights--students are given the opportunity to further develop and strengthen their sense of belonging to a community and their need to co-exist in a peaceful manner. It is reported by participating students that unspoken social norms become the main focus of their attention in the mediation process,

so that it is easier for them to engage each other informally and recognise that they are part of one community.

### **5.3.1.2 Compulsory Secondary Institute ‘Ramón Pignatelli’ (RP): a minimalist approach**

In responding to the Aragon ROS with regard to the substantive social norm enhancement process, the RP Institute adopted a minimalist approach in which actions were constructed in close adherence to the basic mandate of the ROS and were geared mainly to the establishment of rules, discipline and sanctions. The RP’s response was formal in scope and limited in the use of the three pillars. The main thrust of their response was focused on the control of potential conflict among the students. The RP’s approach was represented by separate, distinct actions and placed less emphasis on the encouragement of positive actions. The emphasis was placed on the first pillar in the promotion of social norms.

#### ***‘Education in values’***

In the RP Institute the treatment of the cross-cutting themes that were established by the previous legal framework (LOGSE), such as ‘peace education’<sup>123</sup>, was performed in a highly subjective manner by individual teachers. The teachers interpreted the indicative mandate of the framework not only as voluntary but also as something that might interfere with their teaching of academic subjects. The RP leadership did not try to contrast this approach because they basically shared it. When the more prescriptive approach adopted by the new legal framework of LOE governing education in Spain established the replacement of transversal themes with a new approach based on the teaching and attainment by students of ‘basic competences’<sup>124</sup> and incorporated it into Aragon’s ROS,

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<sup>123</sup> Cfr. Chapter 4.

<sup>124</sup> Cfr. Chapter 4.

the RP did not change its own approach, and its minimalist response became quite evident.

Regarding the 'education in values' objective the assessment of the extent to which the Institute has used this component is problematic. The examination of course contents and class material shows that the majority of the issues included in the cross-cutting themes at best have been nominally subsumed into the RP's regular curriculum but with no reference made to their importance. There were sporadic references on the part of the teachers when addressing specific topics within their classes. Given the RP's lack of capacity to monitor the delivery of such objectives by individual teachers, the assessment of the Institute's limited approach to education in values is based on the analysis of course contents and on the relative low level of importance that teachers have attributed to this theme in the interviews. In terms of the latter, the high performance in academic subjects and good discipline on the part of the students were the main objectives underlined by teachers at the RP Institute as essential components of their teaching mission.

Accordingly, only three cross-cutting themes were taught at the RP within an independent time slot allocation: 'sexual and emotional education', 'road safety education' and 'drug use prevention'. Even these remaining specific themes were not offered from the perspective of underscoring their relevance to social norms that promoted the Institute's internal harmony and coexistence. Rather, the examination of the educational materials provided to the students shows that their coverage was limited to technical presentations on the part of topic experts organised and offered by local authorities (city hall). In the end, the poverty of the RP Institute's approach to social norm reinforcement via what were the technical contents of cross-cutting themes and sporadic treatment in the classroom meant that this component provided by the Aragon ROS was not being adequately exploited for the purpose of bolstering substantive social capital.

### ***The Tutorial Action Plan (TAP)***

Turning to the analysis of its Tutorial Action Plan, from the perspective of social norm enhancement, the assessment of RP is one of continued emphasis on a limited approach. This tool was conceived and used as one part of the Institute's approach to coexistence<sup>125</sup>. In the views of the Institute's Guidance and Counselling Department staff, the TAP plays a 'preventive' role while the Coexistence Plan represents the disciplinary and sanction-oriented aspect in trying to achieve a harmonious coexistence within the Institute. However, the examination of the content of the TAP does not fully support the views of the staff regarding its purposefulness as the main instrument in preventing marginalisation and internal conflict. The RP's TAP does not focus on social norms to promote trust among students and their integration, but it rather only pays nominal attention to both as it focuses on academic achievement.

The RP's TAP, involving both personalised support to students as well as professional and career guidance for the final year among lower secondary students, has been conceptually structured around three main axes: the teaching of study techniques and study support, an adequate or 'good' use of free time, and the improvement of social relations and self-assertion. The weekly tutorial hours in each grade are used by tutors for working on these three axes, emphasising in the case of third and fourth graders their professional and career guidance and counselling. Even though well-structured and clearly defined, the overwhelming majority of the activities in the tutorial plan still addressed study techniques while others suggested the use of free time in prepared educational modules provided by the local and regional authorities. These specific sessions dealt in a technical manner with cross-cutting themes such as sexual and emotional education, drug use prevention, road safety education, which in

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<sup>125</sup> See next section.

some cases generated trips for the fourth graders to visit small enterprises and local authorities.

Concerning the activities in the Plan which did centre on social skills, social interaction and the promotion of a harmonious coexistence, the TAP included either a limited time allocated to their implementation, or displayed uncertainty about their implementation, which left the tutor the decision of its final form. As an example, relative to the 2008-2009 academic year, the activities on strengthening social norms (trust and respect) that were implemented in tutorial sessions at the RP Institute, only comprised eight sessions for first year secondary students, six sessions for second graders, and five sessions in the case of final year students. The reactions that were garnered from students concerning these sessions was the perception that they were 'not important' but just something that had to be done once in a while.

Overall, the RP Institute's approach to social norm reinforcement via the TAP was minimal in nature, it was aimed at adhering to the basic requirements of Aragon's ROS, and in the RP translation it was unrelated to the academic topics that formed the backbone of the curriculum. Altogether, the RP organised a rather modest use of this pillar for the promotion of substantive social capital.

### ***The approach to coexistence***

The RP leadership explained that the approach to the pillar of improving harmony and coexistence in the Institute relied on the TAP and the internal code of conduct (RRI)<sup>126</sup>. Similarly, while teachers viewed the RP strategy for coexistence as being built upon two closely associated activities --prevention and sanctions--, the analysis of the content of the documents and course materials indicate that the preventive actions concerned with social norm enhancement has been absorbed by 'tutorial

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<sup>126</sup> RRI is the acronym for

actions' that are mostly technical in nature. Additionally, outside the tutorial actions, the coexistence strategy of the Institute has been stripped of any preventive measures and reduced to the implementation of the Institute's 'code of conduct' that strongly sanctions bullying but fails to emphasize tolerance and respect as important social norms.

The views of teachers and staff are largely in support of this choice that is seen as the most effective. Although the Institute's 'Coexistence Plan' had been in place for a short period--having been formally issued in September, 2008--, the Institute's leadership and staff confirmed the teachers' views and stressed that the RP had already been working on coexistence issues by informally adopting the sanctioning approach before the national law and Aragon's ROS mandated them. Traditionally having had as part of their pedagogy and as a main point of reference the internal code of conduct (RRI), the approach to coexistence that the RP Institute has chosen and continues to have is strongly influenced by a disciplinary tone. Indeed, the Institute's 'Coexistence Plan' is strongly geared towards behavioural norms and sanctions, so that while comprising a section for preventive actions, it places greater attention on discipline by explicitly identifying thirteen norms of conduct that must be observed by students, including attendance and punctuality. The Plan also identifies three types of infringements and their subsequent respective sanctions.

The preventive component in the coexistence strategy at the RP is very much constrained because it is not considered to be effective by the teachers or the administration. However, the Coexistence Plan contains some activities that address issues at the core of the conflictual behaviour theme, such as the development of communication and social skills. The contents of the Plan have clear preventive objectives and deal with social norm enhancement. At the same time, the Plan indicates that these actions are the responsibility of tutors and fall within their discretion to be included within the planned weekly tutoring sessions. This approach of shared and seemingly interchangeable responsibilities between the tutorial

and the coexistence plans has generated a grey area in which ‘tutorial actions’ and coexistence actions may well overlap but have certainly been blurred. By referring to actions that tutors are already carrying out in compliance with the TAP and failing to include additional independent activities of a social norm reinforcement nature which would counterbalance the disciplinary content of the plan, the RP Institute’s approach to coexistence appears to be uncertain in its delivery and, above all, represent a minimalist approach in its content.

To sum up, the RP approach to coexistence from a social norm enhancement perspective is heavily reliant on the TAP and does not add very much else. The Institute’s coexistence strategy is mainly concerned with the monitoring of conflictual behaviour among the students and their observance of the rules of behaviour. Alongside with the imposition of sanctions for student mis-behaviour, the Institute has placed emphasis on class attendance, punctuality and classroom tidiness among the rules contained in the internal code of conduct (RRI). The RP’s reactive approach and thus lack of positive action on such topics as tolerance and respect in attempting to achieve a harmonious coexistence constitutes a lost opportunity in terms of social norm reinforcement and the bolstering of substantive social capital.

The RP’s minimalist approach to the substantive social capital section of the Aragon ROS highlights the fact that it has remained within the letter of the law but that it has not gone any further in enhancing the opportunities of pro-actively building on the opportunities provided by the national and regional legislation. Nor had RP preceded these provisions in response to the 11<sup>th</sup> of March 2004 events by previously experimenting with innovative programmes in the area of social norm enhancement and emphasizing actions promoting social inclusion of its increasingly diversified student population. Therefore, RP was caught relatively unprepared to make full use of the opportunities for the enhancement of social capital norms

among its students presented by the 2006 and 2007 national and regional provisions in the field of education.

### **5.3.2 Leveraging the structural components of social capital network promotion**

The analysis in this section focuses on the ways in which the two secondary Institutes in Aragon have taken advantage of the three pillars for network promotion—i.e., structural social capital enhancement--within their respective student bodies: ‘extracurricular activities’, the ‘implementation of the participation principle’ and the ‘implementation of specific programmes’.

#### **5.3.2.1 Compulsory Secondary Institute ‘Los Enlaces’ (LE): synergies with extracurricular activities**

Presented with the three windows of opportunity for network promotion, the LE Institute has made a clear choice of responding to them by giving preferential treatment to its extracurricular activities. In so doing, the LE has adopted an approach which is not fully consistent with its integrated response to the opportunity structure for social norm enhancement, because it does not leverage to the same extent the principle of student participation in Institute affairs or the chance to partake of suitable public programmes. Nonetheless, in pursuing extracurricular activities for network promotion the LE builds on one of its own strengths--that is, the capacity and orientation of its leadership, teachers and staff to seek and devise innovative educational experiences for the students.

#### ***Extracurricular activities***

The use by the LE of the opportunity structure for the promotion of team working skills at the core of network formation is fully exploited in the case of extracurricular activities. This is because the Institute systematically

participates in the programme financed and promoted by local authorities (PIEE)<sup>127</sup>, but it is also pro-active in this regard and links the activities of PIEE with its own educational structure. From both perspectives, the LE presents a case of responsible and far-reaching use of the specific opportunity structure at hand.

For almost twenty years, the LE Institute has continuously participated in the scheme labelled 'Programme for the Integration of Institute Spaces' (PIEE). Funded by the Youth Services Centre of the local authorities<sup>128</sup>, the programme finances the presence on campus of a person responsible (PIEE instructor) for the organisation and monitoring of a series of after-class activities carried out within the Institute's facilities. The activities offered by the PIEE in each secondary Institute may vary according to student demands and an assessment of feasibility by the Institute's PIEE instructor and consultation with teachers.<sup>129</sup> In the case of LE, the activities offered in this programme range from sports and physical activities, to others that are more cultural in nature. But LE has decided that the majority of the activities should emphasise the development of team working skills. The PIEE classifies the activities that they offer into 'stable activities' (referring to those with a duration of between three months and the whole academic year) and 'mass and/or short duration activities'. The former group is comprised of courses or workshops, sports and activity groups. The latter includes fieldtrips, inter-Institute activities,

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<sup>127</sup> PIEE stands for: '*Programa de Integración de Espacios Escolares*'. This programme, run by the local authorities, has as its main objective that of providing Institute-age children with healthy and safe activities during their free time. It is therefore centred on the use of Institute facilities for the conduct of after-class lessons, sports or other activities. Not being an activity directly carried out by the Institute, the person responsible is hired directly by the local authority and not by the Institute. Another characteristic is that even though it uses the Institute's facilities, children from all of the community can register for the activities, independently of whether they attend classes there. Approximately twenty-five secondary Institutes in the city of Zaragoza participate in the scheme (plus six other elementary schools).  
[http://www.zaragoza.es/ciudad/sectores/jovenes/intervencion/piee\\_sec\\_red.htm](http://www.zaragoza.es/ciudad/sectores/jovenes/intervencion/piee_sec_red.htm).

<sup>128</sup> The Youth Service Centre is a unit within the City Hall in Zaragoza which for the last 25 years has run the PIEE program and other programs to promote the positive use of free time among young people.

<sup>129</sup> It should be noted that PIEE activities tend to follow similar patterns in Institutes throughout the city due to the fact that reflecting the children's wishes, most of the time they respond to fashions of the moment or particular influences on the children (e.g. a popular TV series featuring a type of dance or a type of sport). In this regard, LE's choice of a majority of team developing activities is even more significant.

and participation in cultural events both inside and outside of the Institute such as neighbourhood and Christmas festivals and the celebration of specific days like Peace Day, Day of Non-Violence and Women's Day among others.

According to the teachers and parents interviewed, the high rates of participation of students in the extracurricular activities at the LE Institute are produced because of the voluntary involvement in supervisory capacity of teachers and parents, and of the support they receive from the publicity that is given to them during regular classroom time. Data from the annual report presented by the PIEE instructor to the Youth Services for the academic year 2008-2009, show that approximately 41% of all secondary students --both lower and upper secondary years-- in the LE participated in the courses or workshops associated with the group of 'stable activities' and an overwhelming 87% participated in the sports activities on offer for that year.

The inclusion of activities that are particularly focused on network promotion, such as solidarity groups and solidarity workshops, highlight once again the importance that the LE assigns to its participation in the programme and the significance that is given to it. In carrying out these two activities, participating students are not only provided with the opportunity to generate networks among their peers and whose aims are congruent with the education in values that the LE Institutes focuses upon, but crucially it offers the possibility of creating links with non-profit organisations and other types of voluntary associations outside of the school. These features contribute to the development of structural social capital at the LE, while at the same time social norms are also promoted and enhanced through the participation in solidarity activities which stress the importance of norms of cooperation, tolerance and respect. Ultimately, these activities point out the rich range of possibilities that Aragon's ROS makes possible in the field of extracurricular activities and that the LE benefits from because it has made a clear choice to do so.

A similar assessment is reached concerning mass/short-term activities being offered at the LE. Although the rate of participation in these activities is more difficult to measure precisely, it is in large numbers and their inclusion within the total offer of alternative extracurricular activities presented to the LE students underscores that the decision to participate in the programme is important for the Institute and adds significantly to the opportunities provided. Events included in this type of activity are often open to the voluntary participation of not only secondary students but also of students from other programmes and even children from outside the Institute. Neighbourhood events represent a significant proportion of these activities and imply that the organisation, rehearsal and presentation at festivals of theatre and dance activities by the children is considered to be an important addition to the Institute's offer. In other cases, such as the 'cultural days' celebrated within the Institute (such as Peace Day and Day of Non-Violence), the participation of students is formally at 100%, but that is because the entire Institute is involved in the activities. Through the PLEE, the observations conducted show that groups of LE students sign up as 'helpers' or volunteers during these days and contribute their time to the organisation of the events, so that the activities are the result of a regular practice of cooperation between internal students, teachers, staff and external participants and promoters.

Overall, network promotion carried out via extracurricular activities in the LE Institute constitutes the most important aspect of the Institute's activity in this regard. The very fact that network promotion at the LE is linked to a local government initiative (PLEE) is *per se* important because it connects the educational and the institutional actors in the effort of enhancing social capital in children, thus creating synergies in their mutual activities. The high rates of participation by students in activities encouraging team effort (as in the case of team sports) and in other activities supporting and promoting social behaviour and civic engagement (as in the case of the

solidarity groups and the solidarity workshops), indicate that these activities at the LE are effective and consistent in network promotion.

### ***Internal application of the participation principle***

Conversely, the analysis of the LE Institute's activities supporting network promotion through the long standing support of formal student participation in Institute affairs—that is, participation in the Institute's council and student council<sup>130</sup>—shows that the LE has been rather passive in its approach. Teachers discussed how the existence of the student council has been discontinued because it has been considered a lower priority in the face of curricular changes. Thus, for example, the role of the student delegate or group representative has been vaguely defined and given responsibilities limited to acting as an intermediary between the students and teachers in specific moments of the school's life, such as at the time of the organisation of the exam schedule. The discontinuous existence of the student council and the restricted interpretation of participation in its activities underscore the lack of prioritization and consequential initiative on the part of the Institute's leadership, in both ensuring its continuity as well as educating students in its potential and the significance of participation. This means that at the LE these elements for network promotion provided by Aragon's ROS--such as the emphasis on the value of choosing well ones' representatives and the establishment of vertical links to the Institute's teaching body--have not been fully exploited. The opportunity to engage students in Institute affairs and, at the same time, teach them a valuable lesson in participation as candidates and leaders who articulate ideas and proposals for others have not been adequately exploited.

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<sup>130</sup> The student council is commonly referred to in Spanish Institutes as the 'Junta de Delegados' which literally translates into 'Delegates' Council'.

Concerning participation in the Institute council<sup>131</sup>, a total of three students represent all of the Institute's students. This venue of participation is more formal and established so that student representatives do attend the meetings where they meet teachers, the Institute's leadership, parents, and a representative from City Hall. However, when interviewed the students related that their participation has not been translated into proposals; rather, it remains that of observers of the discussions that take place at the school level and with external representatives. They admit to the lack of involvement, but they also speak of the formality of the environment in the Council that tends not to include them and of the lack of mentoring in order to effectively participate. The distance in the vertical relationship between students and teachers and Institute leaders is wide, unlike in other venues present in LE.

At the same time, there are innovative features involving student participation in the LE Institute that have been highlighted earlier—such as the monitoring system of the Institute's coexistence strategy<sup>132</sup> in which students are periodically consulted on their opinions and views, as well as the creation of the figures of the 'mediator' and the 'student helpers'<sup>133</sup>. They constitute additional forms of student participation and interaction with teachers and the Institute's leadership, an assessment that emerges from most of the interviews and is supported by personal observations. But these venues at LE are aimed at norm reinforcement and do not address directly the behaviour of collective action so they fall short of representing a comprehensive use of the 'participation' window for network promotion as such, even though they clearly contribute to it. Altogether, the LE Institute's actions geared to the implementation of the participation principle are present but do not compare with extracurricular

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<sup>131</sup> The Institute council, is the governing collegiate body of the Institute formed by representatives from the different groups in the 'educational community': students, teachers, Institute administrative staff, parents and local and regional authorities. See chapter 4.

<sup>132</sup> See earlier section on actions promoting coexistence in this same chapter.

<sup>133</sup> See section on coexistence strategy in this chapter.

activities in their impact on the promotion of network generation among students.

### ***Involvement in supplementary programmes or initiatives***

The PROA (i.e., the regional programme for the assistance, counselling, guidance and support of students) is the most prominent programme with the potential at the LE Institute of leveraging effectively the third pillar of the structural social capital section. However, the programme<sup>134</sup> has not been fully exploited as an opportunity for network formation. The first observation is that over several years, PROA has been carried out intermittently. Teachers confirm that its lack of continuous implementation is due to the fact that the Institute places more importance—and therefore relies more heavily-- on the innovative initiatives undertaken by its own Guidance and Counselling Department, than on this particular programme that is spearheaded by the regional authorities.

Hence, figures and roles that strengthen links between the Institute leadership and students—such as the ‘mediators’ and the ‘student helpers’-- have become the defining feature of the Institute. Even when it has been implemented, the PROA at the LE has been primarily concerned with the provision of *academic* support for students, and not with ways of strengthening ties with families, preventing student social exclusion and widening existing networks. As has been seen, most of these tasks have been clearly addressed by the actions carried out to improve coexistence or social interaction within the Institute.

Altogether, the LE Institute’s actions are geared toward the implementation of the participation principle through public programmes present at the Institute. Instead, other programmes, such as the PROA, have been discontinued and limited in their potential impact on the

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<sup>134</sup> The PROA stands for the Program for the Assistance, Counselling and Guidance Support. See chapter 4 for more information.

promotion of network generation among students. The Institute clearly prefers programmes that are internal to the Institute and that can be fully managed by the Institute's staff. Therefore, in relation to the three pillars of the structural approach to social capital building, the LE has emphasized the extracurricular portion rather than the participation or supplementary components.

### **5.3.2.2 Compulsory Secondary Institute 'Ramón Pignatelli' (RP): reliance on extracurricular activities**

Of the three opportunities for network promotion in Aragon's ROS the assessment of the RP Institute reveals that it uses almost exclusively the extracurricular activities, and it does so in a rather effective manner. Its involvement with the other two pillars of the structural approach to social capital building (i.e., network promotion) has been allocated a much lower priority and has proven to be rather ineffective.

#### ***Extracurricular activities***

The treatment and offer of extracurricular activities at the RP is framed within the local authorities' PíEE programme which has been running in the Institute for the past eight years. The implementation of PíEE is in association with the RP's 'Open centre programme'<sup>135</sup>, a combination that in fact takes advantage of a broader platform of actions from which to strengthen network promotion via the encouragement of team work in extracurricular activities.

The RP Institute counts on the presence of a PíEE supervisor on its campus who is subsidised by the local government and who is responsible for organising, planning and coordinating what is necessary for student participation in extracurricular activities. Although almost all extracurricular

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<sup>135</sup> In Spanish, the name of the program is 'Programa Apertura de Centro'. The translation is the author's.

activities at RP are exclusively dependent on the PíEE programme, some of them are further supported through another public programme called the 'Open Centre Programme', whose objective is to use the Institute's campus during after-class hours for the organisation of events. But it is the PíEE programme that is the cornerstone of the Institute's action in the building of structural social capital (as well as contributing to normative social capital), because in its philosophy and operational objectives it identifies the significant role that extracurricular activities play in creating social links among students, in promoting social participatory behaviour, in encouraging values of solidarity and tolerance, and in increasing levels of trust.

Using this pillar extensively, the RP offers its students a wide range of activities by classifying them into two groups as 'stable' types of activities and 'mass participation' and/or short duration activities. With regard to the former group comprising courses and workshops, as well as group activities and sports, during the academic year 2007-08 a total of 192 students from the entire secondary Institute (including both lower and upper secondary) signed up, of which 172 actually participated. This represented approximately 55% of registered students at the time--that is a high participation rate in one or more activities. During the interview, the PíEE supervisor underscored that these levels of participation are fairly stable from year to year, so that the assessment of the RP Institute is of one with a significant level of extracurricular activities.

Further analysis of the 'stable' activities for the 2007-08 academic year shows that the rate of participation in sports relative to other 'stable' activities was particularly significant: with 53.65% of the student population participating in extracurricular sport activities. Seven different 'activity groups' were formed that year at RP, including a solidarity group, which more than others reflected the work being carried out by the Institute in the area of network generation. Through this group activity, the importance of networks and cooperative types of work was addressed with students, but

also actual links between the students and external civil society and voluntary organisations were established.

The “short duration activities” at the RP represent inter-Institute activities such as sports and joint presentations in theatre and dance, workshops, fieldtrips, exhibitions, and the so called ‘inter-associational activities.’<sup>136</sup> The inter-associational activities deserve particular mention, for their main objective is the promotion of student engagement with their social surrounding and the enhancement of their sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. To this end, these activities also pursue the creation of linkages between the Institute and neighbourhood organizations so that the Institute is further embedded in its surrounding neighbourhood context. Inter-associational activities carried out during the 2007-2008 academic year included dance events organised in conjunction with other Institutes in the neighbourhood and performed at one of the campuses for public view; a public musical concert; a day event called ‘*Endless fun*’<sup>137</sup> pursuing the connection of RP students with children attending other neighbourhood Institutes, and a table tennis tournament with students from all participating Institutes in the neighbourhood. The feedback from teachers on the impact on students of these activities is that while individually they are too short lived and differentiated to create permanent groups their contribution is that in the aggregate they have changed the outlook of many students by opening up interaction with other students in and outside of RP.

The analysis of the RP’s approach to the promotion of network generation via extracurricular activities shows a case in which the opportunity provided by Aragon’s ROS is used to a great extent by the Institute. The Institute has focused on extracurricular activities in two different programmes to ensure a wider offer of options and spur a greater

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<sup>136</sup> Cfr. 2007-2008 Memoirs, PIEE Program RPS Institute.

<sup>137</sup> The translation to English is the author’s.

participation of students in increasing the impact on the potential of generating social capital.

### ***Internal application of the participation principle in RP***

Conversely, in terms of the application of the participation principle, the RP Institute represents a negative setting. It demonstrates a pattern of generalised student disengagement in combination with the Institute's lack of any approach to address the importance of collective action represented by student participation in Institute affairs. The analysis of student participation in both the student council and the Institute council at the representative level, as well as in the form of engagement via student associations, was close to non-existent.

Failing to be a channel of participation in Institute affairs for their fellow classmates, the figures of both the delegate and sub-delegate<sup>138</sup> at the RP have lost the essence of student representation that they were meant to symbolise. In the interviews and focus group meetings students could not even single out the coordination of the exams schedule as the responsibility of class delegates, while they acknowledged the insignificance of these figures in the Institute's exam policy which is of great interest to the students. Indeed, the opinion shared by both Institute directors and students is, at best, of very limited or passive participation at the RP, with no real interaction or meaningful consultation of the students' representatives taking place within the Institute. The students, when probed on the reasons why they are not more pro-active, assert that they were not helped by teachers and staff who felt that these activities interfered with academic performance.

The students' passive approach to participation in the two councils is reflected in the absence of any sort of student association in this lower secondary Institute. In the view of the Institute's director, 'the only time

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<sup>138</sup> They are the class representatives to the student council or 'Junta de Delegados'.

students from the lower secondary years get involved and interested in any upper secondary student association is when they organise and convene for a strike or walk out'. In effect, these events are usually organised by higher education students and involve younger students in a rather instrumental way, that is, after the decision is taken. Overall, RP staff members speak of secondary students as being 'disengaged and uninterested in Institute affairs'. However, in their assessment, rooted in part in a generalisation that is a common trait in Spain<sup>139</sup>, they do not point out that the Institute's own passive role in the implementation of the participation principle may be responsible for the lack of action. The RP is more interested in formal education rather than encouraging its students to take part in school governance or collective action.

The Institute's approach in this area was found to be unsystematic and minimalist in nature, failing to take advantage of the opportunity to create or strengthen links between the students and the Institute and promote the value of collective action for network generation. The lack of a strategy on the part of the Institute to engage students and make them aware of the importance of participation even via the formal student and Institute councils—or the creation of associations--has left the RP with only isolated efforts by individual teachers and members of staff to raise awareness and promote participation. All in all, the assessment of the RP in terms of the implementation of the participation principle shows a disinterested approach to network promotion, and as a consequence, an inadequate use of the window of opportunity.

### ***Participation in supplementary programmes or initiatives***

In terms of leveraging programmes for network promotion, the RP Institute is currently only using one, the PROA, which has been implemented at the RP since 2005, but has not been used for the purposes of network promotion. In its approach to PROA the RP Institute has restricted itself to

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<sup>139</sup> See chapter 4.

the offer of academic help for students<sup>140</sup> and the provision of economic support for the improvement of the Institute's infrastructure and extracurricular facilities, choices that have constrained its use as a platform for network generation. With no other specific programme being implemented, this third window provided by Aragon's ROS for network promotion is currently not being exploited by the RP according to the principles expressed in the 2006 LOE and 2007 ROS legislation.

#### **5.4 Conclusions: the state of the dependent variable in Aragon**

The empirical findings on the dependent variable in the region--that is, the capacity of the two secondary Institutes to respond to Aragon's ROS, and in so doing promote substantive and structural social capital among their students--show that not all of the opportunities provided by the legislation have been fully exploited. The context within which the two schools were operating is that Aragon's translation of the national strategy for bolstering social capital has focused more on the normative or substantive dimension of social capital among students and less on its associational dimension. Therefore, there was an explicit emphasis on the education in values and the coexistence pillars in terms of legal development and supplementary actions and less so on tutorial actions with regard to the substantive social capital section. Instead, with regard to structural social capital activities there was a great reliance on pre-existing 'supplementary' and 'extracurricular' activities and little in terms of promoting participation within the educational institutions. What the region provided in terms of the PROA was put to different use by the two institutes.

Faced with very different student populations, educational missions and course offerings, and sense of identity--the analysis of the approaches endorsed by the two Institutes to social capital building reveals significant

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<sup>140</sup> This support is provided by way of subsidies that the Institute uses for covering the costs of tutors and additional teaching staff's hours.

differences. While the LE responded with a rather well integrated and innovative programmatic approach to a large part of the ROS, the RP Institute displayed a mixed and non-systematic response, where conformity with past activities have restricted a full leveraging of the opportunities contained in the ROS.

With regard to 'what type of response did the two institutes implement in relation to the six different pillars' (Q3), we see that the implementation was substantially different. In effect, in the area of social norm enhancement, where the ROS was more generous, the LE's actions show that the Institute displayed a stronger and more determined attitude toward taking full advantage of opportunities and initiatives for actions provided by the legal framework. The simultaneous implementation of several initiatives in different areas illustrates its integrated and full scale approach to the reinforcement of social norms that are relevant for the boosting of social capital. Therefore, it was able to go beyond only a basic compliance with the policy and in a number of cases acted as a national leader in developing a system of best practices in responding to the tutorial pillar of the policy (Q4).

In contrast, social norm enhancement in the RP is characterised by an approach that overly emphasises the observance of rules and discipline. Indeed by subsuming into its coexistence strategy a great deal of the previous pre-2007 approach, the RP did not develop a coherent and effective strategy for social norm reinforcement. It did not experiment before in this area and it did not experiment after. It has, in effect, adopted a restricted approach to the ROS and continued to emphasize its formal educational mission. Therefore, its response to the ROS of Aragon was not at all creative in nature nor did it become a national leader in any particular area of the policy.

At the same time, with regard to the structural dimension of social capital to which Aragon's ROS pays less attention, the response capacity of the

two Institutes is more similar. Both Institutes display greater reliance on the use of the window of extracurricular activities than on the other two. In both Institutes, the passiveness in the implementation of the participation principle and the lack of or less interest in implementing specific programmes like the PROA, means that the LE and RP have had the capacity to actively engage with only one of the pillars for network promotion. The rest seemed at the time of the fieldwork less relevant to the two institutes, and therefore less was done in terms of responding directly to the policy or providing supplementary activities associated with the two pillars of supplementary programmes in relation to the surrounding community or to the needs of encouraging internal participation in the institute's affairs.

The findings presented in this chapter outline the restricted use of the opportunities provided by the Aragon policy on social capital building. The evidence of a somewhat differentiated and in both cases lack of a full response to the ROS, highlights that the two Aragonese secondary Institutes have responded to the national and regional policy in an adequate manner but, at the same time, they still have a way to go in doing so in a fully robust manner. We must remember that the fieldwork was carried out two years after the regional legislation came into effect. Therefore, the two Institutes were at the beginning of their process of compliance with the policy. It was clear that the more pro-active stance of LE prior to and in response to the Aragonese ROS put it in a better position to extract the full benefits and opportunities provided by the new policy. PR, instead, remained faithful to its more traditional stance. Its compliance with the substantive part of the norm enhancement part of the policy was more hit and miss while with regard to the structural part of the policy was patchy at best.

This preliminary assessment of the dependent variable, of course, calls for the analysis of the other two case studies located in the region of Castile Leon, which is the subject of chapter 6. Then the question of what may

explain the differences in capacity is raised, and that is the subject of .chapter 7. What is important to note at this point is that the analysis of the initial two Institutes shows that compliance with the national and regional legislation on social capital building did proceed with some ups and downs. However, it is clear that the legislation on social capital was not ignored. Therefore, compliance did take place and that compliance started soon after the legislation was passed. What Madrid had initiated after 2004 was not ignored by the schools in Aragon in 2008-2009.

## **Chapter 6. The regional opportunity structure in Castile Leon and the response of the Institutes Juan de Juni and Delicias**

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This chapter centres on the region of Castile Leon, and like chapter 5, it has a two-fold purpose. On the one hand, it presents and discusses the regional opportunity structure for social capital promotion that arises from the regional six-pillar strategy for social capital building and the implementation of the national strategy (research question 2); and on the other, it analyses the response of two secondary Institutes—Juan de Juni and Delicias-- to Castile Leon's ROS, thereby assessing their capacity to implement the national strategy to build social capital in secondary schools (research questions 3 and 4). Following the structure of chapter 5, the present chapter also traces, respectively, over four main sections: the regional opportunity structure, the Institutes' profiles, the analysis of their responses, and the assessment of the state of the dependent variable.

6.1 Castile Leon's regional strategy and opportunity structure (ROS) for social capital building in compulsory secondary Institutes

The assessment of how Castile Leon translated the mandate of the national NSCB strategy is carried out according to the same criteria that were used for Aragon: the levels of specification and compulsory nature of the regional opportunity structure and of the incentives built into its supplementary components.

The regional strategy for social capital building and its regional opportunity structure (ROS) that secondary Institutes have at their disposal in Castile Leon are characterised by the scarcity of effort and lack of direction with regard to the Institutes responsibility for ultimate implementation. In addition, there is only a slightly more pronounced emphasis on the substantive dimension vis-à-vis the structural dimension of social capital. Therefore, out of the six policy pillars, only one--addressing substantive social capital (approach to coexistence)--benefits from significant regional input and scope. The five remaining policy pillars (two in the substantive dimension and three in the structural dimension of social

capital building) are hardly developed as ‘windows of opportunity’ for the enhancement of social capital norms and network generation, a fact that places the onus of finding the best possible response to the national strategy directly upon the Institute staff and leadership.

6.1.1 The three policy pillars for the promotion of substantive social capital

Of the strategy’s three pillars for the promotion of substantive social capital—i.e., ‘*education in values*’, ‘*school coexistence*’ and ‘*tutorial actions*’—the improvement of ‘*school coexistence*’ is the component that Castile Leon has elaborated the most in the formulation of its ROS for social norm enhancement. This pillar is duly characterised by a high level of legal detail that mandates actions by the Institutes, as well as by an important set of complementary initiatives which seek to encourage actions on the topic on the part of the Institutes. The result is, in part, to be attributed to the relative long standing legal development of the concept of coexistence in schools in Castile Leon, dating back to the regional legislation of 2005¹⁴⁰ that mandated its implementation by all of the Institutes. The pre-eminence of coexistence over the other policy pillars for substantive social capital promotion is also due to a well-structured scheme of initiatives that provide incentives and support for Institutes in their use of this pillar.¹⁴¹

The level of mandated detail in Castile Leon’s ROS for coexistence includes the establishment of innovative figures, such as that of the coexistence coordinator within the secondary Institutes’ organisational structure and the coexistence commission within the Institute council.¹⁴² In

¹⁴⁰ See Legal Education Act (ORDEN EDU) 52/2005, of January 26, 2005 which promotes a harmonious coexistence in education centres in Castile Leon. Here, the region anticipated some of the contents of the 2006 national law.

¹⁴¹ See Legal Education Act (ORDEN EDU) 1921/2007 of November 27, 2007 which establishes initiatives and actions for the promotion and improvement of a harmonious coexistence in educational institutions in Castile Leon.

¹⁴² Ibidem. See also Legal Education Act (ORDEN EDU) 1106/2006, of July 3, 2006.

addition, incentives are important in reinforcing this policy. There is a significant amount of financial and technical support provided by the provincial and local levels of government—for example, guidelines, specialised materials used by the Institutes in their educational mission, training sessions for teachers and other Institute staff—to encourage Institute activities in this area of implementation. In line with Castile Leon's ROS there is also provincial and local support for the exchange of experiences and the establishment of competitions for the identification of good practices in coexistence activities.

Because of its many elements, the school policies on coexistence contrast with the two other pillars for substantive or normative social capital building that involve 'tutorial actions' and 'education in values'. A focus on 'education in values' does not appear in Castile Leon's legislation governing regional secondary education. As a result, the region's translation of this objective into the ROS is minimal in nature. Only a brief reference to the cross-cutting themes of education in values is contained in the regional curriculum. The provision of regional incentives and support for Institutes to encourage them to undertake complementary actions is referred to with regard to a few themes, in particular to health education and road safety.¹⁴³ As a consequence, the pursuit of this opportunity and its enhancement are left in the hands of the Institutes—that is, in the exercise of the margin of autonomy in curriculum development assigned to the last tier of the administration of education in Spain.

A somewhat dissimilar situation is presented in the case of 'tutorial actions', whereby in Castile Leon there is a combination of legislative content but no operational support. In terms of legislative provisions, this window of the ROS is developed through several documents expanding the national precepts and adjusting them to the regional context, but this

¹⁴³ See Legal Education Act (Orden EDU) 1046/2007 of 12 June, 2007 that regulates the implementation and development of compulsory secondary education in the region of Castile Leon. See also Decree 52 of May 17, 2007 which establishes the curriculum for compulsory secondary education in the region of Castile Leon.

mandate on principles remains as such because it is not supported by actions capable of profiling the pillar as an opportunity structure suitable for the promotion of social norms by the Institutes.¹⁴⁴ The legal provisions in Castile Leon include the call for the promotion of social norms as an integral part of the objectives operationalised by the ‘tutorial actions’, but it lacks the specification of programmes on the part of the Institutes in the pursuit of substantive social capital. The support offered to Institutes via initiatives on the part of heads of studies and staff members of the guidance departments only addresses issues related to students with special needs. The result is that the development of this policy pillar in Castile Leon vis-à-vis its nationally defined scope and potential for social norm reinforcement is minimal in nature and relies on the Institutes themselves in using it as an opportunity to fill the policy gap within their own margin of autonomy.

In two of the three cases, aside from the “guidance in principles” component, the region has failed to follow the national mandate for the creation of supportive incentives in secondary Institutes.¹⁴⁵ Ultimately, the only policy pillar with a level of enhancement on the part of the region is that of coexistence. Table 6.1 below illustrates the assessment of the substantive component in Castile Leon’s implementation of the NCSB.

¹⁴⁴ Ibidem. See also the General Directorate for professional training and educational innovation’s Legal Act (Resolución) of February 20, 2006.

¹⁴⁵ The failure to follow the national mandate in the case of Castile Leon with regard to the education in values pillar brings up the question of policy control and coordination which in multi-level governance systems requires a series of policy re-iterations. The lack of conformity needs to be brought to the attention of the national officials and then follows a request to the región to fill the policy gap. The result is the requirement of time to make the corrections. MLG is based on a system of continuous oversight and adjustment to work properly (Leonardi, 2005). In the case of Castile Leon national evaluation and oversight over the policy process are essential elements in making the necessary adjustments to the ROS in compliance with the national strategy otherwise important components will be missing from the policy that is implemented at the local level.

Table 6.1 Castile Leon’s substantive regional opportunity structure¹⁴⁶

	Legal development		Supplementary actions		
	Level of specification	Level of compulsion	Incentives	Scholastic Material	Other resources
Education in values	-	+	--	--	+/-
Tutorial actions	++	+	--	--	+/-
Approach to coexistence	+	+/-	++	++	++

Scale used: ++ very high; + high; +/- mixed; - low; -- very low.
 Source: Author

6.1.2 The policy initiatives for the promotion of networks

In the Castile Leon ROS the emphasis on networks (structural components of social capital) is even less pronounced than is the case for norm enhancement (substantive social capital). This is evidenced by the fact that all three policy pillars for the promotion of structural social capital in secondary Institutes follow closely the national precepts without any major regional initiative, thus failing to qualify as a clear independent regional innovation for secondary Institutes. Nonetheless, there was a modest but positive distinction with regard to the pillar on *implementation of supplementary programmes*. In this context, the burden of leveraging the three pillars as opportunities for network promotion falls again on the Institutes themselves. The regional adoption and translation of the three policy pillars of the national framework show great limitations in formulating the guidelines for the set of actions that the Institutes need to define for the generation of network social capital within the schools.

The analysis of the policy pillar of *extracurricular activities* shows very little emphasis on the part of the regional government, as it does not legally mandate specific actions nor does it provide Institutes with suggested

¹⁴⁶ For a more detailed version of the table see Annex.

parallel programmes or incentives to prompt activities in this area. Secondary Institutes have been left entirely on their own in figuring out a way to produce and maintain extracurricular activities. In this context, parent associations have come to their aid by offering to administer and organise the offer of ad hoc extracurricular activities for the students. But after a few years, this initiative has come to a halt due to the lack of suitable institutional cooperation and support. Interviews explained that these 'external' initiatives on the part of the parents needed to become 'internal' in structure to survive--that is, it needed to be taken over by the Institutes--, but this did not happen. In the end, Castile Leon's ROS effectively failed to incorporate this added element for building social capital networks in secondary schools.

A very similar evaluation can be applied to the analysis of the *participation principle* in Castile Leon's ROS. While since 2004 the region has had in place an initiative for the training of parents and students to encourage their participation in the educational system, the programme completely by-passed the role that secondary Institutes could play in the process.¹⁴⁷ This was due to the fact that there was a complete lack of connection between the programme and the Institutes' curricular development. As a consequence even though the participation principle was adopted in the region, its translation at the regional level was limited to the absorption of the nationally mandated main channels of participation--such as the establishment of the student and Institute councils. In Castile Leon there is no additional or innovative regional platform for secondary Institutes to encourage them to engage in network generation. The onus of leveraging the participation principle as a more ambitious element for network promotion (rather than just a principle of a student right to formal representation in student councils) falls on the Institutes themselves and the use they make of their margin of autonomy.

¹⁴⁷ See Legal Education Acts (ORDEN EDU) 959/2004 of June 17, 2004 and 587/2008, of April 4, 2008 which establish the first and second Programmes for the promotion of families' and students' participation in the educational system in Castile Leon.

Lastly, as mentioned before, of the three it is only the third pillar of *implementation of specific programmes* that benefits from a reasonable level of regional development in providing a potential platform for network promotion in secondary Institutes. Castile Leon not only counts on the PROA¹⁴⁸ as a specific programme through which secondary Institutes can receive subsidies for, among others, promoting the generation of networks by combating exclusion and discrimination, but also on the programme for the improvement of quality education in the region which endorses innovation in secondary Institutes.¹⁴⁹ Through this latter initiative, the regional government attempted to activate the Institutes' autonomy in education so that they could explore new ways of improving education. To this end, the regional unit in charge of the programme accepts proposals by Institutes for new projects (which are usually the application of good practices developed in other regions) and if selected carries out pilot projects in specific Institutes. Although the materialisation of the pillar as such in each region is always uncertain,¹⁵⁰ the presence of the programme in Castile Leon's ROS provides an additional opening for network promotion whose existence needs to be assessed on a case-by-case basis at the Institute level.

In sum, the analysis of the ROS for network promotion in the region of Castile Leon shows that the three pillars have not been well developed and that they vitally depend upon the content and implementation that the Institutes can manage to give them. As in the previous subsection, Table 6.2 below summarises the findings.

¹⁴⁸ PROA: programme for the assistance, counselling, guidance and support of students based on national/regional cooperation to provide quality education (see Chapter 4, p. 145).

¹⁴⁹ See Legal Act (ORDEN) 1925/2004, of December 20, 2004, which regulates the development of publicly funded projects and experiences for the improvement of quality in education in educational centres in Castile Leon. See also Legal Education Act (ORDEN EDU) 958/2007 of May 25, 2007, which establishes self-assessment forms as an experience to improve quality of education in Castile Leon.

¹⁵⁰ See chapter 4.

Table 6.2 Castile Leon's structural regional opportunity structure¹⁵¹

	Legal development		Supplementary actions		
	Level of specification	Level of compulsion	Incentives	Scholastic Material	Other resources
Extra-Curricular activities	--	-	+	--	--
Participation principle	+/-	+/-	--	--	--
Other programmes	+	++	++	--	--

Scale used: ++ very high; + high; +/- mixed; - low; -- very low.

Source: Author

6.2 The two case studies in Castile Leon: compulsory secondary education Institutes 'Juan de Juni' (JJ) and 'Delicias' (DE)

The two secondary Institutes chosen in Castile Leon are Juan de Juni (JJ) and Delicias (DE). Both Institutes are located in the first periphery of the regional capital city, Valladolid.¹⁵² The profiles of the Institutes with regard to their staff and the main characteristics of their students along with their institutional history and educational mission are discussed in the sections below.

¹⁵¹ For a more detailed version of the table, see Annex.

¹⁵² See chapter 4 for selection criteria.

6.2.1 The 'Juan de Juni' Institute (JJ). Dedication amidst competing demands

Figure 6.1 .Compulsory Secondary Institute Juan de Juni, Valladolid (Castile Leon), Spain



Source: www.iesjuandejuni.centros.educa.jcyl.es/sitio/

Since its founding in 1987, the Juan de Juni Institute (JJ) has been an educational institution in the midst of competing demands, to which its staff has responded with a flexible strategy to incrementally adjust its educational mission and subsequent choices. Two have been the sources of this need for change at JJ: the most significant being the challenge to deliver the best possible education to a working class student population of its 'catch-basin' within a rapidly changing economy, followed by the changing demands placed on the Institute by national, regional and local education strategies. So, while the Institute's creation was the response to a very specific educational demand at the time, throughout more than two decades of existence it has been compelled and has chosen to adjust to the evolution of that demand. This continuous adjustment process has not been without its cost. Rather, it has placed on the JJ both constraints in several aspects of its functioning in addition to potential opportunities to exploit. As most of the respondents in the interviews have underscored,

the constant element in the process of adjustment to the externally generated challenges has been the commitment of the management team who have strived to innovate and formulate a personalised approach to the issues raised.

Originally created as an upper secondary educational centre, the Institute was designed to meet the pressing educational needs of the inhabitants of its combined rural and urban catch-basin area which during the 60s and 70s was becoming the home of hundreds of blue collar workers in the new large Renault and Michelin factories and numerous independent suppliers that opened up factories nearby. The rapid and massive influx of factory workers created the need for the regional and local authorities to provide services such as affordable housing, health and education facilities for the workers' families. In this context of pressure and professional challenge, positively underlined by the increasingly active movements that were characterising Spain's civil society, JJ attracted young and motivated teachers and management staff. In this context, it started operating in a building that was very soon insufficient to serve the large and growing number of students. In the process, JJ had to face severe space and facilities constraints, and its staff had to learn how to function within this limited physical context.

Since the 1980s the high student demand that generated the creation of JJ has changed in scale and characteristics, reflecting the socio-economic changes that have taken place in the neighbourhood. These changes have been compounded by the changes in the national legal framework for education. At the very time when the Institute was legally prompted to transform and expand its offer to include the phase of compulsory secondary education, the demand from its catch-basin was evolving in the opposite direction. A steady decrease in enrolment had ensued, following the successive closing of factories and the emigration of a significant number of workers' families from the area. By the mid-1990s, JJ was facing a smaller and declining student population and a younger student

body profile, the latter being the consequence of the widened educational offer. At the same time, JJ continued to cater to a territorially dispersed student population comprising both disinvested urban areas and marginal rural segments.

In time, the Institute shrank to less than half of its initial student population, in turn having a strong impact on the teaching staff. Just in the past three years (at the time of the field work in 2009), at least 15% of JJ's teaching staff had to leave and be reassigned as the direct consequence of the lack of students. Overall, (taking natural turnover into account) the Institute has seen a drastic reduction in teaching staff of over 35% (from 80 to 50 staff members) in comparison to the numbers at its peak. Most of the reduction has affected the upper secondary teaching staff. As mentioned, with the widening of the educational offer to include lower (compulsory) secondary education, the Institute has seen a significant change in its student profile and unavoidably in the Institute's own identity as an upper secondary centre. Since the 1990s the Institute's student population has changed to include younger students (from 12 to 16 years of age), and also to embrace a newer student population that attends the compulsory education phase but does not necessarily aspire to continue in the same proportion at the upper secondary level and eventually into higher education.

The challenges stemming from these changes in the student population are further enhanced by other specificities of the Institute's catch-basin. Alongside with the provision of educational services to four neighbourhoods in the urban area¹⁵³, the Institute caters to one rural area comprising three localities¹⁵⁴ and their surrounding towns. In addition, by mandate of the Castile Leon regional authorities, the Institute provides

¹⁵³ The four neighbourhoods are: *Rondilla*, *San Nicolas*, *San Pedro regalado*, and *Barrio de España*. Cfr. Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁴ The three localities are *Santovenia de Pisuerga*, *Cabezón de Pisuerga* and *Valoría la Buena*. Cfr. Chapter 3.

education for approximately 50 students¹⁵⁵ from a residence facility housing students engaged in training in competitive sports. Thus, the composition of the student body is characterised by students who live in the city, others who live outside the city (on average circa 50 km. away) and have to commute every day to and from the Institute, and students who have a specific sports profile with a demanding training schedule parallel to their normal studies. Inevitably, these features of the student population has added pressure on the Institute's structure, which found itself caught amid conflicting demands, to respond in a creative manner.

Confronted by different needs and under pressure from limited resources, the Institute has shown--and been publicly acknowledged--an admirable ability to adjust and to persevere its characteristics in the drive towards self-assessment and self-improvement. The interviews with staff and parents speak to this constant feature, and explain it in terms of the tradition of socially committed and younger professionals who are attracted to this type of Institute that serves a working class base and an increasingly marginalised area. Indeed, over the past decade, JJ has engaged in the implementation of self-assessing pilot projects promoted by the regional government¹⁵⁶. In the midst of this change, the Institute has benefited from continuous self-evaluation venues that have provided information for improvement and have encouraged an 'assessment culture' within the management team and other Institute staff. In 2003, the JJ Institute was awarded a national prize for 'Quality in educational actions' in the category of 'Best Educational Practices'. This prize was awarded for the implementation of an innovative system to improve student attendance in class through closer communication with families. The system was regarded as particularly original, perceptive, and effective in developing the linkages with the families of the students.

¹⁵⁵ This accounts for an approximate 12.5% of the entire student population.

¹⁵⁶ Specifically by the Directorate for Quality, Innovation and Training for teaching staff, the translation is the author's.

The effects of the Institute's efforts in the area of self-assessment are remarkably tangible and relevant to the Institute at the present time and are openly regarded by teachers and other staff members as an element of its institutional identity. Self-assessment is also seen as the basis of the Institute's innovative and personalised approach to students and other community members, and in being open minded in its approach to new opportunities made available by the ROS. This aspect will be analysed further later in the chapter.

6.2.2 Compulsory secondary education Institute 'Delicias' (DE): Building on a tradition of solidarity and innovation: confidence, pride and coherence

Figure 6.2. Compulsory secondary Institute 'Delicias' (DE), Valladolid, Spain



Source: www.iesdelicias.com

The Delicias Institute (DE) is an educational centre characterised by a high level of institutionalised confidence stemming from a very strong sense of identity and a keen sense of pride in its educational mission. This profile for DE owes to the combination of its long and well regarded experience in education and the uniqueness of parts of its educational offer. These characteristics are evident throughout the Institute, whose

director is also an alumnus. In terms of its student population, DE counts on a rather homogenous student body, having a manageable proportion of students from minority, ethnic and cultural background, and a stable demand for its educational offer.

Being one of the oldest educational centres in the neighbourhood of Valladolid where it is located (the Delicias neighbourhood), the DE Institute started functioning in 1977, at a time when a particular social class was affirming its role in Spanish society: that of the industrial working class that was growing and organising for industrial and political power. Its creation as an urban upper secondary centre responded to the specific needs of the population which during the decades of the 1950s and 1960s had flocked to the neighbourhood and settled there in large numbers as workers looking for jobs in the automobile factories. Since then, the history of the Institute has gone through different phases, each one representing a particular challenge, but none of them capable of changing the Institute's original sense of identity as 'the' job oriented educational centre for the improvement of the lives of children of urban blue collar workers and the avenue to social mobility for them. In this case, the Delicias Institute at the beginning had a similar educational profile as the JJ, but over time it was spared the rise and fall of the population numbers that impacted this other school.

DE was also faced by new challenges over time with the creation of new vocational training centres within its catch basin and the need to expand its educational offer to include compulsory (lower) secondary education during the 1990s as required by the LOGSE national legislation. These challenges impacted on the Institute from a number of perspectives. They affected not only the number and profiles of the student population, but they also had an impact at the spatial level of its available facilities: the Institute grew in student registration so much that at one point two sections of schooling were established: one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. While the adjustment for DE has been demanding, even

under all of these pressures and changes, the Institute today maintains a strong connection to its original educational mission, so that the predominant expression of the interviewees with regard to the climate within DE is that the subsequent reforms introduced during the last decade have not threatened or significantly altered the Institute's original sense of identity.

The Institute's continuity with its original educational mission and code of community and solidarity norms is reflected in two main areas. On the one hand, the original mission connected to providing working class children the means to achieve social mobility continues to be at the core of the mission statement of the Institute, instilling its members with a great feeling of pride and uniqueness. On the other hand, the mission inspires resourcefulness in specific areas of educational innovation. As will be discussed below, the Institute's confident, hands-on approach in areas related to social norm enhancement as part of the development of its core values is evident in the Institute's commitment to carrying out the implementation of creative and innovative projects whether it can count on regional funding or not. As will also be shown by the analysis later in this chapter, this determination to be pro-active is behind another of the Institute's defining features: its international profile.¹⁵⁷

An additional source of DE pride –with roots in the Institute's origins-- relates to its ability to capture the new feelings and interests permeating Spanish society during the mid-1970s, when the country was in transition to democracy after the end of the Franco regime (Balfour, 2005). Once opened, the Institute successfully tuned in with the working class families' expectations of a better future, and became a focal point for channelling the expectations associated with a new social order that promised to

¹⁵⁷ Having international exchanges for its students with other Institutes in Canada, U.S., France and Italy, as well as sponsoring European trips, the Institute has indeed differentiated its offer from that of many other public Institutes. Although this international profile is not directly relevant for the purposes of this study, it still bears witness to the general pro-active and creative attitude that characterises the Institute.

include the working class. These historical circumstances profoundly influenced the Institute's sense of identity as a point of reference, for example, for the flourishing of art classes as an expression of the new sense of freedom. Today, more than three decades later, the DE Institute is the only upper secondary institution in Valladolid offering the arts module within its upper secondary curricula, and one of only two offering it in the whole region of Castile Leon. With this recognition, the Institute has grown in reputation so that students from all parts of the region flock to study there. Indeed, the Institute's artistic influence is one of the aspects of DE that inspires a remarkable sense of pride among its staff and students.

All in all, the DE Institute is an institution that is very proud and extremely confident of the role it has played in the community for several decades and with which it has shared in the growth of civil participation in society. Even with the confidence that such embeddedness brings, the Institute's pride has also grown with the strong reputation that its upper secondary arts module has achieved as well as with the international profile that it has managed to create in association with its trips and foreign exchange programmes. Above all, DE is an Institute that has had from the beginning a set of solidarity values at its core and has managed to maintain them throughout its educational activities and community actions.

6.3 The Institutes' response to the regional opportunity structure (ROS) for social capital building

This part of the chapter addresses the three questions posed by the thesis—i.e., questions 3 and 4.¹⁵⁸ It does so by presenting the empirical

¹⁵⁸ The questions are: 3. What type of response did secondary schools have to the opportunity structure and the six policy 'windows' made available to them? 4. How fully (formally) did the schools take advantage of the 'windows of opportunity beyond basic compliance with mandatory features? And 5. How qualitatively positive was the response to the ROS by the secondary schools?

analysis of Castile Leon's strategy for social capital building in terms of the responses produced by the two Institutes in the region. Thus, the two dimensions of social capital are focused upon: first the capacity of the Institutes to take advantage of the strategy for social norm enhancement (substantive dimension) and then for network generation (structural dimension). As it has been the case for the two case studies in Aragon, the analysis here also assesses the Castile Leonese Institutes' respective response with regard to its *scope* (degree of formalisation, creativity, and scale), and *internal coherence* (balance between the two social capital dimensions).

6.3.1 The use of opportunities for social norm enhancement

The analysis in this part is informed by the three pillars that are present in the national strategy and that are available to the two Institutes for social norm reinforcement: 'education in values', the 'tutorial action plan' and the approach to 'coexistence'.¹⁵⁹

6.3.1.1 Compulsory Secondary Institute 'Juan de Juni' (JJ): building on their earlier commitments

The assessment of JJ's level of response to the ROS in the area of social norm enhancement reveals the case of an Institute that has been committed to this educational goal for a long time and which is now taking significant advantage of the three openings identified by the regional ROS as opportunities for social norm reinforcement. It does so by adopting a complex and structured approach that blends the formulation of guidelines to guide teachers and at the same time it prompts teachers to experiment on their own.

¹⁵⁹ See Figure 4.4. page 134.

'Education in values'

In the area of 'education in values' the JJ Institute has adopted a dual approach. On the one hand, the legacies from the previous legal framework (LOGSE) have been largely subsumed or integrated into the Institute's Tutorial Action Plan (TAP) with only a few cross-cutting themes still standing on their own and handled independently on an ad hoc basis outside of the overall tutoring scheme. Thus, four cross-cutting themes continue to be included in the JJ's Institute curriculum, and figure in the Counselling and Guidance Department's Programming for the tutorial classes (TAP): drug abuse prevention, road safety education, emotional-sexual education and equal opportunities between men and women.¹⁶⁰ The treatment of these themes within the TAP includes the organisation of debates, roundtables, talks and other activities of a reflective nature which seek to engage students—sometimes even inviting and involving their families--and raise their awareness on the importance of the specific topics.

On the other hand, the 'cross-cutting themes' relevant to education in values and not included in the TAP, such as peace education and moral and civic education, have been targeted by the teachers on a voluntary basis. Nonetheless, responding to the new legal framework (LOE) translated by Castile Leon, at JJ the respective concepts and values appear to have been transversally incorporated into the other subjects by teachers in their annual modular programming. Thus, the overall concept of re-enforcing education in values designed to promote social cohesion and inclusion have been readily accepted into the JJ curriculum and supplementary activities.

¹⁶⁰ Although the TAP is the centre of attention in the subsequent section, the reference to the treatment of cross-cutting themes (part of the 'education in values' 'window' of opportunity) is performed in this section.

Overall, the Institute's treatment of the 'education in values' pillar indicates an integrated approach involving more than one option within the Institute's organisation and educational offer, with both tutors and regular teachers contributing to different themes and through different channels to reinforce the message with students. Nevertheless, the assessment of the Institute's use of this opportunity with its double approach also profiles a weakness. While the treatment of the cross-cutting themes via the TAP entails a structured and comprehensive approach based on annual planning for the Institute as a whole, the implementation by individual teachers with no central planning or monitoring adds an element of uncertainty to the success of the strategy. The outcome is that at the JJ the reliance on the tutorial action plan and its 'tutorial actions' makes them the Institute's most relevant channel for social norm enhancement.

The Tutorial Action Plan (TAP) and the 'tutorial actions'

At the JJ Institute the tutorial action plan (TAP) that is the second pillar provided by the national legislation and Castile Leon's ROS is highly developed and well organised. Implemented and designed by the Counselling and Guidance Department, it goes beyond the minimum requirements stipulated by the legal framework that provides for the professional and personal counselling of students during the last year of compulsory secondary education and in the provision of general support for all other students.

The TAP is fundamentally structured on four axes that broaden its scope and effectively engage with the wider community. The four axes relate to the relationships between tutors and the guidance department, between the tutors and other teachers assigned to the same group of students, between the tutors and the students themselves, and between the tutors and the parents.

In line with the above, a first element worthy of attention in the Institute's approach to social norm enhancement is the axis that expresses the strong interest at JJ in the role of parents and their inclusion into Institute activities as foreseen by the TAP. The formal elaboration of this axis shows that the Institute has clearly identified the importance of maintaining close contact with families and has included among the TAP objectives that of organising activities to engage them in their children's education. To this end, not just teachers but also tutors are actively encouraged to involve parents in their efforts in order to better comprehend and guide their tutees. Interviews with teachers and parents alike underline that the effort of building strong links with families is a step in the design of a strong support system for JJ students. It is also argued by several respondents that it greatly improves the profile of the Institute, aiming to be an educational institution where a personalised approach to the students reinforces the very important social norm of building mutual trust.

A second axis of the Institute's TAP approach to social norm enhancement concerns the work performed by tutors directly with their students. Through the weekly tutorial sessions tutors are responsible for covering specific contents and topics that in many cases underpin essential concepts relating to social norm reinforcement. Such is the case for sessions purposefully devoted to the rights and duties of students within the Institute, the treatment of cross-cutting themes such as special sessions on equality between the sexes, or, among others, on social and moral dilemmas. Every week, the sessions provide the students with an important opportunity for reflection and revising their social skills in order to better interact with others as students themselves explained when asked the question in a focus group setting.

To conclude, the JJ Institute's work on social norm enhancement via the TAP reveals that a highly organised and integrated model has been adopted, and it is well articulated in this document. The JJ Institute has

envisaged a multi-modal approach to reinforcing social norms by integrating families in many activities while maintaining the traditional approach via the tutorial plan. In response to the new legal framework (LOE) a wide array of actions targeting social norms and previously undertaken by tutors are now subsumed in the recently formulated coexistence plan. JJ's use of the tutorial action plan as an opportunity for the enhancement of social norms is being used in a very significant manner.

The Institute's approach to group harmony and coexistence

The JJ Institute is also very committed to the objective of furthering internal coexistence. It has chosen an ambitious approach in which its positive attitude and actions convey the intent to go beyond a minimalist interpretation of the ROS objectives. In line with the full-fledged organisational commitment JJ has demonstrated in the implementation of its TAP that the Institute's coexistence plan represents an impressive coordinating effort to integrate several areas relevant to social norm reinforcement.

The JJ Institute has recently formally conceived and put into place its Coexistence Committee, has appointed its Coexistence Monitor, and has published its Coexistence Plan¹⁶¹. But the Institute's commitment to working on norms of coexistence has been in place before they became mandatory. Building on its tradition, the Institute's strategy and its actions for improving internal harmony and coexistence form a solid and coherent approach that has clear objectives to guide its actions and targets to measure its progress. Leading these actions are the Institute's Head of Studies and Director who provide strong input into the process. Both have skilled backgrounds in the area of effective pedagogy and a keen interest in what they see as the mission of coexistence in the school. The two

¹⁶¹ While the Coexistence Committee and Coexistence Monitor were established and appointed for the 2007-2008 academic year, the Coexistence Plan itself was only officially published for the 2008-2009 academic year.

leaders have without doubt defined JJ's approach to conflict management and its successful pursuit of the objective of harmonious coexistence among all members of the Institute. In this context, the recent legal identification of coexistence as a new compulsory area for action within secondary education has provided the Institute with the opportunity to update its own documents--for example, identifying and targeting as 'coexistence actions' measures which were already being undertaken as part of the Tutorial Action Plan in addition to adding to them new activities. When interviewed, the Director explained that this focus and its benefits have been part of the activities of the Counselling and Guidance Department, of which the Director is also the head.

Given this structured approach, the new coexistence plan becomes an all-encompassing document where explicit reference is made to those activities that support norm enhancement, the way in which they interlink with activities from the tutorial action plan (TAP) and even with the implementation of topics in the curricular and extracurricular activities in the Institute. The coexistence plan incorporates two broad objectives: the first is specifically concerned with improving internal harmony by preventing and managing 'behavioural disturbances' in the Institute, and the other addresses bullying activities. Regarding the first, the plan identifies three courses of action that respectively promote a harmonious coexistence, equality between the sexes, and conflict resolution. It also specifies the activities to be carried out in three fields of action: in the TAP, in selected curricular areas and extracurricular activities. While the JJ's coexistence plan identifies the types of behaviour to be sanctioned it pays particular attention to the disciplinary process in terms of emphasising positive norms and lowering the importance of sanctions.

In addition to challenging the notion prominent in other Institutes that disciplinary action should come first and be the core of the conception and current assessment methods of coexistence, the JJ approach also highlights the Institute's interest and distinct commitment to going beyond

what the law defines as internal harmony to single out the importance of interiorising norms. Interviews show that JJ has placed particular emphasis on the need for students to reflect on their own actions, hence promoting their analysis of what is behind conflictual social behaviour, on the duties stemming from living in a community and the importance placed on the role of social skills and respect of social norms. In this way, the norm-driven disciplinary process becomes an additional space or platform from which social norms are reinforced and comprehended by students.

Turning to the activities included in JJ's coexistence plan, the search for spaces to engage students in the reflection on social norms is also evident. Complementary to the actions carried out through the TAP other activities within the *curricular* and *extracurricular* areas also have a place in the coexistence plan. Among these actions are the sessions dedicated to the analysis and debate of press, radio and TV coverage relating to coexistence problems within the school and in the outside community. The debate on conflictive situations from outside the Institute represents --according to the teachers interviewed--a remarkably effective way of enhancing social norms. The students interviewed spoke of the joy of engaging in such debates. This action is further strengthened by the Institute's daily provision of local and regional newspapers for free consultation by the students. The distribution of the newspapers is located at the very entrance of the Institute providing easy access for the students. Students were observed as taking advantage of the availability of newspapers during the recess period. Thus, the students were provided an independent source of information on events in the community that could then be discussed within the Institute's tutorial sessions.

Overall, the approach to coexistence adopted by the JJ Institute demonstrates a strong institutional commitment to social norm reinforcement and a structured way to pursue it. Comprising two distinct avenues for action--that is, the engagement with parents and the

coexistence plan--the Institute stands out in its individual response to Castile Leon's ROS.

6.3.1.2 Compulsory Secondary Institute 'Delicias' (DE): the pursuit of coherence and innovation

Presented with the three opportunities for social norm reinforcement, the DE Institute has responded fully by leveraging all three in a manner that adopts a very coherent, integrated and innovative approach. Indeed, the Institute has clearly identified a number of values that it deems to be of central importance for its educational mission, and it systematically addresses them by making use of all three pillars. Metaphorically, the foundation of the DE approach to social norm reinforcement is the 'education in values', upon which the Institute places its TAP and coexistence programme as the two building blocks for a whole edifice that is solid in its structure and coherent in its functionality and effectiveness.

'Education in values'

DE's approach to the implementation of an 'education in values' is built on continuity and coherence because these topics are solidly embedded in the Institute's culture and in its overall approach to social norm reinforcement. As the analysis of the three pillars in this part of the study confirm, the interpretation that for many years the Institute had given to the treatment of cross-cutting themes in its PEC¹⁶², (the Institute's "Educational Project") is echoed in its more recent documents and projects, that display a high degree of coherence and innovation.

¹⁶² PEC stands for Proyecto Educativo de Centro (the Institute's educational project). This project is one of the three formal documents educational institutions must have, where essential information on the Institute's identity, philosophy, priorities, methodologies, aims and purposes, channels of participation, and coordination mechanisms with other institutions is established (MEC, 2002). Cfr. Chapter 4.

The Institute's PEC which was formulated in accordance with the 1990 legal framework LOGSE¹⁶³, foresees in its curriculum the treatment of cross-cutting themes, and more importantly, it identifies them as crucial in upholding values which underpin societal interaction and respond 'to a number of social and personal needs'¹⁶⁴. Grouping such values and cross-cutting themes into two modules--the 'coexistence' and the health education modules--the DE Institute established a clear approach to the two modules by defining their contents, identifying specific curricular needs of the student body, setting objectives and targets, adopting a methodology for their implementation and mandating an evaluation of the overall approach.

Regarding the 'coexistence' education module, the way the DE's PEC defined this cluster of cross-cutting themes focused on four normative values that relate to social norms: tolerance (and respect), responsibility, solidarity and civic awareness. In particular, the values of personal responsibility and civic awareness in the Institute's PEC are defined with explicit reference to the importance of assuming and complying with social duties and obligations, as well as of respecting shared norms for coexistence in a community. In its comprehensiveness, the module specifically addresses the substantive element of social capital and by being a module within the curriculum project it exemplifies the DE's unambiguous commitment to the goal of social norm reinforcement.

Concerning the methodology devised for the module, the Institute's PEC pursues coherence by relying on the power of example. Believing that the most effective way to positively impact others' actions is by being successful with good practices, the DE has incrementally expanded its actions to produce spillovers in its approach to education in values. Thus, the PEC outlines a series of activities aimed directly at the debate and

¹⁶³ The acronym LOGSE stands for Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo (General Law for the Organisation of the Educational System). Translation is by the author. Cfr. Chapter 4.

¹⁶⁴ Cfr. DE's 1999 PEC, page 28.

discussion of social norms and human rights, as well as other issues that more indirectly promote such discussions. Teachers are encouraged by the PEC to address these cross-cutting themes and engage students in group exercises and debates across various taught subjects in the curriculum.

The DE's approach to an 'education in values' elaborated in the PEC is pervasive, coherent, and leaves room for innovation by teachers and tutors. The centrality of these themes and concerns in the PEC after the new legal framework (LOE) came into force in 2006 and their interrelation with other areas of education on social norms to be analysed below represent unequivocal signs of an Institute that is committed to the emphasis of social norms and goes well beyond a minimalist interpretation of the ROS for social capital building. Exemplarily, the DE has taken advantage of this opportunity originally created by the LOGSE, and has continued to uphold and expand it after the new 2006 legislation came into existence.

Tutorial Action Plan (TAP) and 'tutorial actions'

At the time of the fieldwork, the Guidance and Counselling Department at DE was involved in activities addressing social norm reinforcement that stem from both the Coexistence Plan and a new educational project in its implementation phase entitled '*The value of responsibility as the guarantor of academic success*'. While the role that the Guidance Department was playing was mainly informed by these two initiatives, it was expanded to include the organisation of sessions, talks and workshops, as well as actions for the implementation of the 'education in values' objective discussed above.

It is the involvement of the Guidance Department in the implementation of the innovative educational project '*The value of responsibility as the guarantor of academic success*' that stands out. The theme of

responsibility was central to the activities of all of the members of the Guidance Department, from the Head of the department to the tutors, as was clearly underscored in the interviews. Because of this project, the focus of attention at the DE was to teach students the value of responsibility within the family, within the school, in the classroom and in interactions with peers. The belief in the DE is that the emphasis on the value of *social* responsibility contributes to the building of a sense of belonging, of being part of a group and of following social norms in the interaction with others who are members of that same community. This thesis' conceptualisation of social capital and the original objectives of the NSCB strategy deems that all these elements are crucial for the enhancement of its substantive dimension.¹⁶⁵

Indeed, given that the activities in this project are rooted in the motivation of the students and in encouraging them to reflect on their sense of social belonging, it follows that students at the DE are approached individually by the Department when problems are identified. At the same time, families are brought in to act in partnership with the Institute for the purpose of improving the ad hoc support given to students in need. The external link with families is also an identifiable and innovative feature of the DE approach.

Overall, the Institute's Guidance Department is making significant strides in the area of social norm reinforcement, most of all via this innovative project. Nonetheless, there are other actions that are contained in DE's TAP and are aimed at social norm enhancement. They encompass specific activities scheduled throughout the academic year that place emphasis on specific social norms important to the original NSCB strategy. Examples are the 'solidarity race' organised every year when the Institute devotes an entire week to multiple discussions of what solidarity means and entails in terms of behaviour; the 'Peace week' during which

¹⁶⁵ See chapters 1 and 2.

roundtables and seminar sessions are organised on this theme; and the series of tolerance and anti-racial workshops and seminars interspersed during the academic year. Student appreciation of and participation in these activities are very strong, as reported in interviews reports and confirmed by observations.

Summing up, the DE Institute's approach to social norm enhancement within the window of opportunity provided by the tutorial area (Guidance Department) proves to be creative and consistently organised in both the areas of 'education in values' as seen above and coexistence (as will be seen below).

The approach to improve Institute coexistence

In the area of coexistence, the DE presents a focused, resourceful and yet simple strategy which cleverly takes advantage of past and current schemes in areas germane to the theme of coexistence without losing its overall coherence. To this end, the Institute has adopted a straightforward and pro-active stance in favour of innovative actions deemed to be particularly worthwhile, such as the establishment of the figure of 'mediators', whether or not regional funding for their implementation is available. This commitment of resources singles out the Institute's approach to coexistence as something that differentiates it from that of others.

With its roots dating to before the LOE¹⁶⁶, the Institute's coexistence strategy has experienced a significant improvement particularly in its organisational aspect with the implementation of the LOE legal framework. While previously the work on coexistence issues at DE was reported in interviews to be disorganised and rather intuitive in nature, by 2009 and on the heels of the new legislation it was assessed as

¹⁶⁶ For a number of years the Institute has counted on a 'coexistence commission' as part of its Institute council. In addition, both the Institute's PEC and internal code of conduct integrated the topic of coexistence.

representing the opposite. Its strong features were singled out to be the capacity to integrate various areas of social norm enhancement, a well structured guiding document (Coexistence Plan-CP), an appointed person clearly responsible for its implementation, a strong coordination that made the improvement of coexistence at the DE coherent, a shared consensus and a resulting commitment to the Institute's approach to substantive social capital building.

The incorporation of the regional ROS into curricular areas of the Institute is evident throughout the reissued CP, where explicit and implicit referrals to the pillars of 'education in values' and the 'tutorial actions' are to be found. The Institute's approach to coexistence is closely linked to the treatment of cross-cutting themes ('education in values') informing the *coexistence module* assessed earlier¹⁶⁷, and inspiring significant parts of the Coexistence Plan. At the same time, the CP integrates the Guidance Department's TAP by acknowledging the innovative project that has been developed to the tutorial area¹⁶⁸ and that is part of its own activities concerning other objectives of the CP.

The analysis of the document itself shows that the recently formulated CP is a focused, well organised, and interesting document outlining the Institute's clear priorities and objectives in the pursuit of an improved level of harmonious coexistence. The language is simple and the style is engaging in the communication of its message. It begins with the assessment of the incidence of the four most serious and disruptive types of behaviours on the part of students in the Institute: bullying, racism and xenophobia, sexist discrimination, and breaches of privacy. The DE's CP then posits five objectives to reverse the trend: promoting respect; insuring responsible behaviour in the fulfilment of the educational process; engaging all teachers, students and families in the pursuit of the coexistence environment; preventing violence and conflict; and, raising

¹⁶⁷ See section on 'education in values' for DE.

¹⁶⁸ See section on DE 'tutorial actions' earlier in this chapter.

student awareness of their rights and duties. For each of these objectives, the CP identifies the activities, methods, timing and staff responsible for the monitoring and evaluation of the actions undertaken by the project.

The methods call for and profile how to achieve close coordination within the Institute between staff and the teaching units and externally with the direct involvement of families. These features confirm the commitment of the DE's approach to social norm reinforcement. For example, by involving parents the Coexistence Plan strengthens the idea of educating by example. The extensive coordination required is ensured by the person who is appointed to make sure that the connection with parents occurs and who manages personal interviews and sessions organised by the Guidance and Counselling Department.

The DE's coexistence strategy has important qualities that strengthen its approach to social norm reinforcement and make it coherent, innovative and comprehensive. The CP's strong connection with other areas of social norm reinforcement and its focus on a selected number of values are considered to be the cornerstone of the Institute's coexistence strategy and a good example of the effective use of the opportunity for social norm enhancement.

6.3.2 The use of the structural pillars of network promotion

The analysis that follows is on the extent to which the two secondary Institutes in Castile Leon have been capable of leveraging the three windows of opportunity for network promotion within their respective student bodies: 'extracurricular activities', the 'implementation of the participation principle' and the 'implementation of specific programmes' that have received regional funding.

6.3.2.1 The 'Juan de Juni' Institute (JJ): promise of future capacity

In contrast with the results of JJ on social norm enhancement, the analysis of network promotion in the JJ Institute profiles a different scenario. In the three ROS areas under consideration the JJ has performed at a low level, but at the same time it has also shown the capacity to take the initiative and innovate with regard to network promotion by formulating and implementing the 'iesocio' project.¹⁶⁹

Extra-curricular activities

In the field of extracurricular activities, the Institute was found to have under-utilised the opportunities created by Castile Leon's ROS. A combination of the characteristics of its student body and of external circumstances adversely affected the administration of extracurricular activities at JJ. As will be explained later in this section, important changes forced onto the Institute in the administration of the offer of extracurricular activities have limited its margin of autonomy when responding to the regional strategy. At the same time, the participation of JJ students in alternative out-of-class sport activities organised by the local authorities—such as the interschool games-- was found to have been over the past years and still remains very low.¹⁷⁰

Concerning the Institute's prerogative in exercising its margin of autonomy to establish its own offer of extracurricular activities, the JJ Institute is in a difficult position. This is because the offer of team sports and other activities requiring the supervision of a suitable instructor—such as a dance or acrobatics instructor--were not found among the Institute's own staff and have recently faced a series of legal challenges. As a result, the

¹⁶⁹ This project will be discussed in greater detail below. It involves the monitoring of student interactions within and outside of the Institute.

¹⁷⁰ Valladolid municipal government promotes sports through the organisation of an annual sports competition for children of different ages. Participation in these games is promoted via ad hoc school teams. As such, schools, as institutions, are not involved. Rather, students are expected to ask their P.E. teachers to sign them up as a team.

Institute has been forced to limit its offer of activities to those of an individual and non-supervised nature which fail to be of relevance for the objective of the network generation strategy.

The offer of its sports and supervised activities by the Institute has also been affected by three converging factors, two of which relate to the composition and characteristics of the student population, and a third refers to a circumstantial legal development in the region of Castile Leon. The Institute counts among its student population a large number who live outside of the city (approximately 40%) and an additional sizeable number (12.5%) who participate in local and regional sports teams and leagues. This means that more than half of the Institute's student population is less likely to respond to whatever offer of activities the Institute makes due to personal circumstances. The consequence of this contextual trait is a reduced demand for sports activities at JJ which in turn further hinders its offer due to the cost involved in satisfying such a small demand.¹⁷¹

The significance of this outcome is heightened when analysed together with two other factors affecting the Institute's exercise of autonomy in the offer of extracurricular activities. While the small offer of extracurricular activities contributed to generate a non responsive attitude among JJ's student body, an adverse development at the regional level has negatively impacted on the offer of extracurricular activities on the part of public Institutes in this region. Specifically, in Castile Leon it is difficult for parents' associations to contribute to the offer of extracurricular activities. The cooperation from the JJ's parents' association had been quite meaningful, to the extent that they had become actively engaged in the search for and hiring of external instructors to oversee a number of the extracurricular activities.¹⁷² The court cases initiated by some of the

¹⁷¹ In the region, the possibility of offering an activity is always highly determined by the efficiency in costs.

¹⁷² Not being the focus of this study, the specifics of the regional situation concerning parents' associations are only mentioned in order to highlight the set of circumstances in which the offer of

external instructors charging the parents with unfair labour practices have led to the regional veto over this approach to the management of extracurricular activities. The result has been to leave the Institute with no adequate structure to provide for this activity.

All of the above exemplifies the current situation of extracurricular activities at the JJ Institute as an expression of the Institute's own autonomy. Being left with only a limited offer of activities, the Institute's position is by default assessed to be weak in terms of real network generating activities such as team sports. This is the result not of JJ's own actions but rather to the legal challenge by the P.E. instructors hired on a temporary rather than permanent basis (see footnote 138).

Implementation of the participation principle

The implementation and promotion of student participation in the JJ Institute is limited to the venues required by law, with no initiatives taken beyond these provisions. In this regard, the history of JJ weighs in as the Institute whose educational mission has been to improve the prospects of working class children in a context of competing demands. Its mission is interpreted as the responsibility of teachers and parents, and less so of the students themselves. There are no student associations at JJ, and the institutional channels of participation (student representatives on the student council and on the Institute council) fall short of constituting venues for the expression and debate of student opinions in network formation. Interviews with teachers explain that the reason for this is rooted in common student misinterpretations of the purpose for their participation in both councils. The teachers admit that the purpose of student representation has not been fully addressed or adequately explained to the students.

extracurricular activities in the Institute has changed. Still, at the time of the fieldwork, parents' associations had been taken to court for the hiring of instructors for the extracurricular activities they organised without offering them stable and secure employment. The result was the cancellation of the activity.

The teachers go on to explain that in the case of the *Junta de delegados* (student council), the students' misunderstanding stems from three simultaneous mistaken perceptions: firstly, scepticism about the real impact of student opinions in the Institute vis-à-vis those of the teachers; secondly, a very limited view of the functions and possible role that a student council can have in Institute affairs; and thirdly, the incorrect idea of what the ultimate purpose of a representative should be--that is, to transmit the views of the students. In effect, in student focus groups and interviews held those participating in the councils demonstrated that at the JJ there is a rather confused and limited notion on what student participation is and what it should entail. It is also clear that teacher criticism of the functioning of the councils singles out the effective lack of full student participation rather than their own lack of responsiveness to student needs. Additionally, the students' narrow perception of the role of representation is reinforced by the timing of the election of representatives, which happens at the start of the academic school year. This means there has simply not been enough time for students to socialise and have an understanding of the issues and become acquainted with each other. This timing of elections contributes to rendering the elections of student representatives for the student council a formalistic but not strictly participatory exercise.

The interviews also confirm that the process of student participation in the Institute's council to a large extent entails similar limitations. Student participation in this body is similarly affected both by the difficulty in placing real value on the opportunity for participation, as well as by the composition of the council. Students feel that the composition of the council is unbalanced. The council is composed of 20 members 16 are adults representing, among others, parents, teachers and Institute staff. Student representatives state that the imbalance in the representation ultimately inhibits them from active participation. Not surprisingly, student

participation was described by teachers and staff, as passive, while students spoke of the council as an intimidating body.

At the same time, the Institute's long-standing passive stance in this area, in the view of the leadership of the JJ was about to change, because new efforts to tackle areas identified as in 'need for improvement' through a recently performed self-assessment exercise at the time of the fieldwork were to be put in place. Among the ten critical areas that needed improvement, student participation came in ninth after receiving the second worst evaluation on the part of students.¹⁷³ While this intention had not yet been articulated into specific actions, the commitment on the part of the Institute leaders and council members had already been expressed in formal documents. Ultimately, the JJ Institute was beginning to engage in a turnaround: changing from a tradition of having effectively discarded the opportunity to use the area of student participation to bolster the structural dimension of student social capital by adopting targeted measures to enhance it. Here again, we have an example of the reiterative process of policy learning through experimentation and the value of self-evaluation as a tool promoting that learning. In the case of JJ that learning process is aided by the fact that student participation is a part of the stipulation of the Castile Leon ROS on social capital building.

Other opportunities: the Open Centre Programme and the 'iesocio' Project

Further opportunities for the JJ Institute to reinforce network promotion are its participation in the 'Open Centre Programme'¹⁷⁴ (OCP) and the implementation of the 'iesocio' initiative that is a new programme created autonomously by the Institute. The assessment of the Institute's use of these opportunities yields a mixed result, for while the OCP has been

¹⁷³ See 2008 Self Evaluation Report, JJ Institute (IES Juan de Juni), Valladolid.

¹⁷⁴ In Spanish 'Programa Apertura de Centro'.

largely underutilised, the latter represents an innovative approach with a promising future for network promotion.

The Institute's participation in the 'Open centre programme' constitutes an opportunity for promoting network generation. The programme entails the commitment on the part of participating Institutes to keep open their facilities during extracurricular hours in order to allow members of the community and students to use them. In complying with this commitment, the JJ Institute opened some of its facilities, such as the theatre, to be used by neighbourhood associations during the afternoon. However, the Institute has failed to organise activities that would promote and encourage the participation of students in any out-of-class activity that could take place within the framework of this programme. Despite the opportunity that the programme presents for network generation among students in the Institute, it has not been used effectively by the JJ Institute.

The '*iesocio*' project is an initiative that the Institute began implementing during the 2008-2009 academic year. This is an important turnaround for JJ and it is due uppermost to the vision of its leadership. This innovative project seeks to monitor the development and evolution of networks in all of the Institute's classrooms. With the use of special software, students are consulted on their personal relationships with classmates thus gathering information on the characteristics of their interactions, the positive or negative nature of such relationships, and more. As a result, the Institute directors are able to follow the existing networks within and across classes. The project provides them with the possibility of monitoring student interactions, as well as identifying cases of bullying or serious cases of ostracism and marginalisation. For the purposes of network generation, the significance of the network mapping lays in the potential of the tool to help prevent unsocial behaviour and of the information gathered to support more positive behaviour. While in itself the mapping does not represent a specific network generation action, it is a supportive tool for such purposive actions, and it embodies the Institute's forward looking

perspective with regard to positive interactions among the students. Interviews with the Institute's leadership confirm that this project is interpreted by the promoters as JJ's acknowledgement that student networks are positive, and the Institute considers them to be an essential element in guaranteeing a harmonious environment. From the wider perspective of social capital building, the conceptualisation and implementation of this project by the Institute highlights its commitment to the improvement of social behaviour and the observance of social norms which are essential to the bolstering of the substantive dimension of social capital.

6.3.2.2 Compulsory secondary Institute 'Delicias' (DE): modestly challenged

The weakness of Castile Leon's ROS with regard to network promotion weighs on the DE's performance. Nonetheless, against an overall underutilisation of the pillars for network promotion in contrast to the case of social norm enhancement, the DE Institute shows network promotion potential in one of the three pillars--that is, the implementation of the participation principle. Instead, the other two windows of opportunity (extracurricular activities and external programmes) were found to be under exploited.

Extra-curricular activities

The DE proudly counts on an extensive range of extra-curricular activities to offer its students, some of which in fact have granted the Institute recognition throughout the city. Still, only a small proportion of such activities are suitable for the bolstering of networks that promote social capital among students. Due to a number of reasons not always under its control, and in spite of being creative and pro-active in its extra-curricular offer, the DE Institute was assessed to have a less than optimal approach to network promotion in this area.

The DE Institute's impressive extra-curricular offer comprises various activities that students can engage in, but network formation is not often addressed through them. The high number of activities on offer are an example of the Institute's pro-active and creative nature in its mission of educating students, because DE includes under the extracurricular label activities that are not part of the core academic programme and which do not necessarily have at their core the objective of promoting networks among students even if indirectly they do so.¹⁷⁵ From visits to museums, individual participation in academic contests, and nature-related activities to international trips and international exchanges, DE has grouped all of these activities and defined them as extracurricular activities. Particular emphasis and attention has been devoted within the Institute to international trips around Europe and exchanges of students on an individual basis that are coordinated with Institutes in the U.S, France, Italy and Canada. However, only a small portion of the extracurricular activities in the 2008-2009 academic year's offering¹⁷⁶ were found to address group growth, and this is due in large part to the legal problems discussed previously with regard to the JJ Institute.

To understand why this Institute so committed to inclusive values was underperforming in this regard, it is necessary to point out what emerges from the interviews. At the time of the fieldwork, the DE was facing a difficult situation. Recent developments had forced the Institute to suspend even the small number of activities with some potential for network generation. The DE Institute's extracurricular sports offer has traditionally included a large group of activities designed and carried out by the Institute itself as an expression of its autonomy, together with a few others

¹⁷⁵ In the Spanish educational system there is a difference between extracurricular (in Spanish *actividad extra escolar*) and complementary activities (*actividad complementarias*). Complementary activities are non core subjects that complement the curriculum and are usually carried out during class hours, even replacing the time slot of the associated main subject area. Examples of complementary activities are visits to museums, exhibits and any other relevant places for a specific subject during class hours. For more details see chapter 4.

¹⁷⁶ Cfr. Official list of extracurricular activities provided by the DE.

organised by the local authorities (Municipal School Sports Federation). While the former group is mainly comprised of individual and non-team oriented sport activities¹⁷⁷, the latter group of activities represented the small quota of team-oriented sports on offer.

Promoted by the municipal authorities, every year a city wide sports competition encourages the participation of students from all Institutes in a wide variety of sports (inter-Institute games). Although DE never had a large proportion of students participating in these games¹⁷⁸, the inclusion of these team activities in the Institute's offer did in fact reinforce its approach to network promotion. It also embodied the Institute's determination to overcome limitations stemming from the national legal framework governing public educational centres. The respondents asserted that these restrictions effectively limited the possibility for staff to work and be compensated for activities during out-of-class hours¹⁷⁹. Additionally, the organisation and training of teams during after class hours of work were traditionally handled by the Institute in coordination with the parents' association. For a number of years the Institute managed to organise the teams and training necessary for students to participate in the city's inter-Institute games. But then the DE's participation in the city games was interrupted because of the legal battle that the parents' associations in Castile Leon faced regarding their informal contribution in violation of labour rules, as pointed out earlier in the case of the JJ Institute (see footnote 138).

The Institute's position in terms of network promotion was inevitably affected by this legal battle, given that in the absence of DE's teams participating in the inter-Institute sport competitions, none of its other

¹⁷⁷ These activities are fundamentally of three types: skiing, walking (hiking) and running. For each of them, the Institute has included in its list of activities a specific day event: the 'green day' for walking and hiking, the 'white day' for skiing and the 'solidarity race' for running.

¹⁷⁸ Since 2005 the figures of participating students from the DE Institute has been under the average of participation of students from other similar Institutes during the same period.

¹⁷⁹ The national legal framework restricts, for example, any monetary recognition to out-of-class work by Institute staff.

extracurricular activities addressed this goal effectively. Still, as far as the overall evaluation of how much this window of opportunity was being used by the Institute, the case of DE raised important questions and produced a mixed result. On the one hand, the restrictions imposed by the legal framework significantly curtailed the Institute's autonomy of action in this area. But it was also true that even within its curricular offer the Institute had not yet found any alternative ways in addressing network formation via team-oriented activities in which students could participate.

Implementation of the participation principle

The analysis of the two traditional channels of participation existing in the DE Institute in application of the participation principle confirms the creation of the channels but also that they were underutilised and undervalued by the students. The trend at DE of a modest use of the participation channels increases with the age of the students and altogether shows an overall disengagement of students which is not being countered with clear actions on the part of the Institute. While teachers and staff themselves underline this element, they also point out that the Institute has satisfactorily strengthened its approach to this pillar by creating two additional spaces for participation.

Student participation via *delegados* or class representatives is articulated in the DE's PEC as an important role with dual responsibilities: of a representative and of a non-representative nature. Focus groups with students explained that the non-representative tasks are clearly established in the Institute's PEC and refer to specific every day behaviour and responsibilities (such as turning off the lights of the classroom when classes are not being held) which are ordinarily carried out by the *delegados*. It is the 'representational' responsibilities which students have complained about from the outset that present a considerable reduction in scope of what *delegados* can or should do. In the words of a student representative, these tasks narrowed the representative role of the

students to that of mere 'messengers' and extensions of the school administration. Even according to the perspective of younger students, the role of the representatives is seen to be more as mediators in student-teacher conflicts and 'messengers' from the administration back to students than someone who steps into the role of advocate of the students in the Institute affairs.

This narrow characterisation of the role of the *delegados* becomes increasingly acute as the students advance in their education. Older students state that they prefer to bypass their representatives and establish direct contact with the teacher when conflict arises. As an outcome, by the end of the secondary education phase, the class representative role is reduced to complying with the non-representative tasks--that is, among others, monitoring the classroom's cleanliness, turning off lights and keeping track of attendance.

The assessment of the Institute council as another channel for student participation is that it serves a good purpose but it does not reach out enough. The internal functioning of the council is perceived by both Institute staff and participating students as adequate and effective, but the general feeling on the part of non-participating students is of a body rather extraneous to them. Student representatives on the council referred to it as a 'good manner of participation' in which they are heard, and interact with the other members of the council (parents, teachers, Institute directors, and representatives from the local and regional authorities). Institute directors and other members of the council also spoke of student participation in this forum as being very active and positive. Although student representatives were uncertain about their degree of influence in the council's decisions, they did highlight the council's tendency to reach fair and 'middle-ground' decisions, an assessment that acknowledges their rather positive view.

However, non-participating students failed to share this perception and doubted that the Institute council promotes their engagement in the Institute's affairs. Student representatives responded by arguing that this perception among students is rooted in a widespread lack of interest in all Institute affairs, which matches the students' reduced value of the class representatives' role. Thus, interaction with 'representatives' in the Institute is framed by this understanding or mis-understanding which curtails the idea of a strong engagement in Institute affairs. Presently, this narrow view of the formal representation role of the *delegados* held by the students has been met with little or no action from the Institute that could signal a change.

Conversely, at the DE there are two additional platforms in which students can engage in aspects of the institution's life: the *coexistence commission* and the *evaluation sessions*. Participation in these two platforms is modest, but they are appreciated by students who assess them as two more interesting and informal venues at their disposal. For example, students are welcome to participate in and often come with complaints or views on issues affecting their education during the evaluation sessions of each course. These sessions that take place periodically and provide a forum for the analysis of student progress. Students know that they are also welcome to participate in the *coexistence commission*, created at the DE even before the 2006 LOE called for its formal creation. Dealing with norms of coexistence (today embodied in the internal code of conduct and the coexistence plan), students participating in the Institute's council can have their voices heard in this additional forum.¹⁸⁰

DE student participation in Institute affairs is assessed by them as being modest. Holding a narrow idea of what their interaction with teachers and directors of the Institute should be --reduced to management of conflicts-- students fail to see participation in Institute affairs as

¹⁸⁰ See earlier section on coexistence.

important. Nevertheless the Institute provides them with additional opportunities to participate, and in these cases the students have responded. The assessment of the use of this window of opportunity at DE leads us to conclude that the Institute falls short in enhancing student participation that can encourage network generation and boost the creation of social capital.

Other programmes addressing network promotion

At the time of the fieldwork the DE was not participating in any external programme or initiative with an impact on network generation. In the absence of Castile Leon's ROS pro-active stance regarding network creation, the DE Institute was left to rely on opportunities for structural social capital fostering that it could create within its own margin of autonomy. The DE has not made use of this prerogative and has failed in creating its own initiatives or programmes to address the need of network generation that fall outside of the scope of the two previously analysed pillars.

6.4 Conclusions: the state of the dependent variable in Castile Leon

The empirical analysis of the two case studies in Castile Leon yields results relative to the state of the dependent variable--that is, the capacity of the two Institutes to respond to the ROS for the purpose of promoting substantive and structural social capital among their students. Overall, the results point to differentiated capacities being reached by the Institutes, both in terms of the two dimensions of social capital and of the significance for each Institute of Castile Leon's ROS. The ROS is distinctly weaker in its provisions for structural social capital promotion than for substantive social capital promotion. Because of this lower level of regional support, the differentiated capacity shows up clearly in the degree

to which each Institute has leveraged and innovated within the space of autonomy that they have at their disposal. Ultimately, each level of performance highlights a degree of creativity, resourcefulness and commitment on the part of the Institutes with regard to social norm enhancement, while they reflect the persistence of a mostly reactive approach to the objective of network promotion.

As stated earlier in the chapter, the regional strategy for social capital building and its regional opportunity structure (ROS) is characterised by the scarcity of effort and lack of direction on the part of the receiving Institutes. There is a slightly more pronounced emphasis on the substantive dimension vis-à-vis the structural dimension of social capital. Therefore, out of the six policy pillars, only one addressing substantive social capital (approach to coexistence) benefits from significant regional interest and scope. The five remaining policy pillars are scarcely developed by the ROS but the gap has been significantly filled by the initiatives of the individual institutes.

Based on a coordinated approach to coexistence strategy which involves actions in multiple areas, the JJ Institute shows the capacity to take significant advantage of the opportunities set out by the national mandate and its regional translation. JJ places emphasis on --and shows a creative and innovative approach to--social norm reinforcement. Its coexistence strategy is closely interlinked with other categories of actions, such as its norm driven disciplinary process, so that the end result is the Institute's promise of creating further capacity in terms of promoting the creation of substantive social capital among the students. Nonetheless, this effort is constrained in its achievements by the Institute's very modest performance in the use of the opportunities for the promotion of network formation, even considering that Castile Leon's ROS itself is weak in this regard.

The assessment of JJ's response on network promotion shows a lack of capacity to fully exploit the formal platforms for students' participation and to leverage the curricular and extracurricular opportunities available for innovative actions. The Institute's activity in this area outlines only one specific instance in which initiative is taken and shines --the 'iesocio' project--which offers a good prospect for solid network generation.

Social norm reinforcement is addressed in a minimalist but consistent way in the DE Institute, where the three pillars for substantive social capital building have been exploited. Not only does the Institute display coherence, but it also shows a capacity to be creative and pro-active with the involvement of parents, the development and implementation of new projects, and the determination to initiate programmes and plans regardless of the availability of financial incentives promoted by the regional and/or local authorities. Conversely, the DE's overall approach to network generation failed to show added capacity to overcome the weak formulation in the ROS. The Institute's use of the three pillars for structural social capital fostering shows at best the capacity to formally meet requirements as in the case of the implementation of the participatory principle. Still, it shows restraint in its capacity to act when the context becomes complicated and restrictive, as in the case of the extracurricular activities.

The results presented in this chapter of the two case studies in Castile Leon indicate that the state of the dependent variable (i.e., capacity to implement the NSCB) is overall modest, but that it is *more* positive in both secondary Institutes in terms of their ability to respond to opportunities in the strengthening of substantive social capital provisions among the students. The weakness of the regional ROS strategy in addressing the objective of network promotion, and therefore the weaker partnership between the regional/local institutions and the Institutes, appears not to have aided the Institutes' ability to perform at the highest level in this regard. However, the two case studies demonstrate how the two institutes

in using their relative autonomy have attempted to fill the gaps left by the regional ROS, and in these cases their previous experience and education traditions helped them considerably in seeking possible solutions to the missing objectives in the dictates of the structural social capital side of the Castile Leon ROS.

In the next chapter—i.e., 7—the findings from chapters 5 and 6 are compared by focusing on the dependent variable (what differences exist in social capital building capacity within the four institutes in the two different regions) as well as the independent variables (why do the differences exist). This assesses the overall state of implementation of the 2006 LOE and subsequent operationalisation of its requirements at the regional level. In carrying out this assessment we need to keep in mind that the fieldwork was conducted approximately a year and a half after the reform was introduced. Therefore, it provides an evaluation of the initial phase of the reform and its implementation in two regions.

Chapter 7. Comparing the two regional strategies and the four case studies for social capital building

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This chapter undertakes the analysis of the two comparative research questions 5 (what explains the variation in the social capital building capacity across Institutes--that is in the dependent variable?) and 6 (conversely, what is common in their response?). Research question 5 is directly concerned with the adequacy<sup>180</sup> of the institutional and operational context, seeking the explanation of 'why' the variation in capacity takes place. Therefore, it concentrates on one independent and two intervening

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<sup>180</sup> Cfr. Chapters 1 and 3.

variables informing the thesis: the independent variables analysed here are the ROS for social capital building, the quality and degree of previous innovations with educational programmes within the multi-level setting of the Spanish educational system, and the quality of leadership in the Institutes. This comparative chapter will not take into account the other independent variable discussed in Chapter 1—i.e., the national strategy for the creation of social capital (NSCB)—because it is the same for all regions in the study; it has been discussed in detail in chapter 4 and will be further analysed in Chapter 8. Where differences appear across cases are in the type and quality of the regional opportunity structure or regional strategy (ROS) defined in the two regions and in the way that the four institutes operationalise the six pillars of their ROSs.

The two intervening variables refer to the traditions and experience of the institutes in the Spanish educational system and the creative nature of the leadership element within each Institute. As seen throughout this thesis, the ROS is the configuration of the regional strategy that has been introduced in every region as that region's translation and implementation of the national NSCB strategy on the heels of the 2006 LOE and 2007 regional legislation. The quality and degree of the first intervening variable—i.e., schools' tradition and experience--expresses the manner in which the Institutes function to fully put into practice their policy implementing roles within Spain's multi-level institutional setting. Specifically, it refers to the way in which they have interacted with regional and local level authorities, civil society, students, and have ultimately defined a role for themselves within the wider community. The other intervening variable—i.e., internal leadership--singles out the role that particularly committed and experienced members of the staff had developed in 2009 to meet the challenges in the implementation of the NSCB programme --from the directors to the teachers and administrative personnel, or the "human capital" element that was present and in a position to introduce new and innovative solutions to problems raised by

the implementation of the programme. Research question 5 addresses the commonalities in the Institutes' response to the ROS.

For this purpose, the comparative analysis focuses on the two ROSs and on the response to each ROS given by the two respective institutes of the case studies in each region. In terms of the latter, the chapter comparatively assesses the four cases relative to the commonalities and differences in the scope and internal coherence of their response for social capital building. The chapter unfolds over three sections. The first section is devoted to the comparative assessment of the capacity demonstrated by the four Institutes to undertake the task of social capital builders for their student bodies. To this end, among other analytical considerations, a qualitative ranking of the Institutes is provided. The second and main section of the chapter addresses the explanation of the capacity achieved by each institute, thus engaging with the impact of the independent and intervening variables: ROS, quality and degree of experience, and leadership. Finally, the third section draws conclusions on the basis of the comparative analysis and links the performance on the dependent variable to the impact of the independent and intervening variables.

### **7.1 The capacity of secondary Institutes to build social capital: a comparative assessment**

Remembering our previous citation of Bardach (1977) that we should expect even the best designed policy to go "awry" in its implementation, the representative examples in the two regions of the implementation of the Spanish NSCB strategy based on the provisions of the 2006 LOE show significant signs of where developments have not gone terribly awry and instead where the objectives of the programmes have been substantially respected.

As pointed out in the first chapter of the thesis, the capacity of schools to build social capital is dependent upon the manner and characteristics in

which they take advantage of the six pillars identified in the NSCB strategy operationalised by the two regions. As such, the comparative analysis of the dependent variable (school capacity to implement the NSCB strategy) carried out in this section of the chapter uses two different perspectives. In the first instance, the **scope** of the institutes' responses is compared and assessed based on an analysis which is performed by taking into account the level of *formalisation* (i.e., change in the curriculum undertaken) and the *scale* of the response by the two institutes. Subsequently, a second assessment views the institutes' responses from an **internal coherence** perspective, thereby evaluating the balance in the institutes' approach.

### **7.1.1 Assessment of the pillars: How extensive is their use for social capital building?**

#### **7.1.1.1 The ROSs: Differentiated responses at the regional level**

Despite the fact that there was one national strategy for the building of social capital through the school system, the two regions under scrutiny undertook two substantially different approaches. As was illustrated in the two introductory sections of Chapters 5 for Aragon and 6 for Castile Leon, the 'substantive' part of the social capital building strategy—education in values, tutorial initiatives and peaceful coexistence--was in both cases more highly developed than was the structural part that involved extracurricular activities, participatory principle and supplementary programmes.

The reasons for this are easily identified: the substantive part of the strategy asked the schools to deal with the contents of the curriculum (education in values and peaceful coexistence) and with established practices (tutorial activities) that were completely under the control of the schools themselves. In contrast, the structural part of the strategy called into question activities (e.g., extra-curricular activities and supplementary

programmes) that were in part conducted with the assistance of parent organisations or local governments. In these cases it was more difficult for the institutes to predetermine the outputs, and as we saw in the legal challenge mounted by the athletic instructors in Castile Leon to extra-curricular sports activities organised by the parents, there was little that the institutes could do to regain the initiative. The third component—supplementary programme—was largely dominated by the incorporation of the pre-existing national PROA programme for the assistance, counselling, guidance and support of students. Again, regions had little flexibility in changing this pillar in the strategy given its link to an existing national programme.

A second important element that helps to explain the success of the substantive component of the NSCB strategy is the fact that the NSCB programme transformed into a mandatory component elements of the curriculum- e.g., education in values and peaceful coexistence—that were already present in the schools but which had an optional or voluntary basis according to the dictates of previous legislation of 1990. Therefore, it is one thing to come up with a completely new programme element or pillar and another to adapt existing initiatives to the dictates of the new legislation and policy focus.

Despite the inherent difficulties associated with the two sections of the NSCB strategy, there were significant differences between the two regions. Aragon undertook an ambitious definition of the mandatory parts of two of the substantive pillars—education in values and peaceful coexistence—and supplied supplementary programmes and activities for the secondary Institutes to actively engage in the promotion of social norms.

In the Castile Leon ROS the education in values received a strong focus but where the region excelled vis-a-vis Aragon was in the emphasis on the schools' coexistence pillar. This was due in large part to the fact that this

component had been anticipated by the 2005 reform of the educational system introduced by the regional government in response to the general climate that had been created by the 2004 events. Therefore, for this pillar Castile Leon had available a pre-existing platform of policies, instruments and funding that were then transferred as a group into the national social capital building strategy. Therefore, in Castile Leon the institutes were able to make use of existing programmes in formulating their overall response to the NSCB strategy.

With regard to the three structural pillars there was much less flexibility displayed between the two regions. The first pillar—extra-curricular activities—was very much dependent on outside support while the second—the participatory principle—was dependent on internally engrained attitudes toward student participation in the governance of the Institutes. The regions did not flesh out what was intended with this pillar and basically left the institutes to work out their own solutions beyond giving formal recognition to the pillar. And the third pillar in both regional provisions remained dominated by the existing PROA programme which will become evident as we turn to the comparison of how the ROSs were translated into policy initiatives by the four institutes.

The assessment performed in the following section compares the Institutes' level of response to each pillar and categorises the Institutes in terms of their differentiated degrees of performance. The extent of their response is analysed along two dimensions<sup>181</sup>: 1. the generation or production of creative *formal documentation and formal structures* (creative **formalisation** from here on) in response to the window; and, 2. the scale of each response (**scale** from here on), in terms of the amount of detail in the development of the window, as well as in terms of the degree of creativity in such development when compared with the minimum response expected on the basis of a strict interpretation of the

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<sup>181</sup> Cfr. Tables 7.1 and 7.2 in this chapter.

strategies. It should be remembered that the term “minimum” response is used here to refer to a response that observed the minimal formal demands of the pillar while a more qualitative response means that the institutes added on to the formal requirements their own creative twist to the policy response.

#### **7.1.1.2 Social norm enhancement: Education in values, tutorial actions and coexistence**

The analysis of the Institutes’ level of response in bolstering the **substantive** element of social capital reveals significant differences between the overall highest and the overall lowest performing Institutes. In effect, two Institutes --the LE (Los Enlaces) and DE (Delicias) institutes from Aragon and Castile Leon respectively--with diverse student populations and in different urban contexts recorded the overall highest levels of activity across all substantive social capital building pillars. Indeed, their similarities unfold across the two analytical dimensions (creative formalisation and scale), each in a different pillar: they both displayed a considerable *scale* of development in the case of the ‘education in values’ context, and they both had a more creative approach with regard to harmonious coexistence than the remaining two institutes (RP-- Ramon Pignatelli-- and JJ—Juan de Juni).

Using a scale from 1 to 5 to rate each Institute in terms of creative *formalisation* and *scale* of response, the analysis singles out the LE and DE as the top performers of the four case studies. Translating the extent of their use of the substantive pillars into mean scores, Table 7.1 shows that these two institutes rank at the top and that the other two institutes--JJ and RP—rank at a much lower level.

The analysis of the pillar of education in values shows how the *scale* of the approach carried out by the two higher performing Institutes was found to be the determining factor in their high performance. The analysis clearly

shows how in both cases, the treatment of an ‘education in values’ and the transversal themes it covers have been planned and carried out in a manner that exceeds what a strict compliance with the minimum requirements established by the law would have entailed. Effectively, regardless of the differences that exist between the legal frameworks adopted in the two regions, the LE and DE have successfully integrated into their Institute’s ethos and actions the importance of an ‘education in values’ objective based to a great extent on previous experimentation in this field.

**Table 7.1 Comparative use of opportunities for substantive social capital promotion**

| Window of opportunity | Analytical dimension   | LE         | RP         | JJ         | DE         |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| ‘Education in values’ | Creative Formalisation | 5          | 1          | 1          | 3          |
|                       | Scale                  | 5          | 2          | 2          | 5          |
| ‘Tutorial actions’    | Creative Formalisation | 4          | 2          | 3          | 4          |
|                       | Scale                  | 5          | 2          | 4          | 4          |
| Coexistence           | Creative Formalisation | 5          | 3          | 4          | 5          |
|                       | Scale                  | 5          | 2          | 4          | 4          |
| <b>Overall Mean</b>   |                        | <b>4.8</b> | <b>2.0</b> | <b>3.0</b> | <b>4.2</b> |

Note: Five point scale used for assessment of performance: 1=Low, 2=Medium Low, 3=Medium, 4=Medium High, 5=High.

Source: Author’s formulation

In contrast, RP and JJ represent cases characterised by a more strict and minimalist interpretation of the opportunity afforded by the regional legislation by displaying a narrower integration of the core elements of the ‘education in values’ in their ethos and organisational structure. In effect, while the RP had limited its action in this area to the events that local authorities organised in specific cross-cutting themes such as health education or road safety, JJ had failed to maintain the independence of ‘education in values’ as a distinct curricular component. The creative *formalisation* assessment further confirmed this: in effect, both Institutes lacked independent documents addressing an ‘education in values’ theme. This sharply contrasted with the formulation of strategies,

programmes and projects, and establishment of detailed timetables for the achievement of concrete goals displayed by the LE and DE institutes. In these last two cases the previous experimentation with the two components led to a distinct ability to elaborate on the purpose and components of the two pillars which were missing in the other two institutes.

In a similar manner, the underperformance of JJ and RP in the “tutorial actions” pillar has been characterised by a minimal response to the opportunity with the adoption of a standardised TAP *and* a standard structure for its implementation that ruled out any innovative role or organisational figure to improve social norm enhancement. Despite this similarity, the difference between the two institutes lies in JJ’s higher emphasis and level of detail of the social norm related activities in its TAP while the RP expressed a less formal commitment to the objective of “social norm enhancement” with a considerable larger amount of its TAP activities focusing on the alternative objectives of academic and study support for students.

As on the “education in values” theme, the two overall highest performers (LE and DE) have gone beyond a minimum response rate although each one has done so by emphasising in a different manner the integration of the pillar. While the LE has displayed the strong incorporation of the theme in its organisational *structure*, the DE institute has done so in its internal *documentation*. In effect, the LE stands out from the other cases with the creation of new organisational figures and social norm promoting channels at the disposal of students that joined previously separate efforts of the guidance department and other Institute units. At the same time, the DE has formulated an innovative project run by the Head of the Guidance

Department articulating the two lines of action (TAP and innovation project)<sup>182</sup> in a coherent and supportive manner.

Last of all, in the response to the ‘harmonious coexistence’ pillar, three institutes (LE, DE and JJ) showed similar levels of *creative formalisation*, though each found different ways to develop the pillar: by having a highly programmatic and structurally based approach to enhance coexistence in the case of LE; by achieving a high level of integration with other areas that have widened the base of their actions for coexistence (DE); and by developing clear and thorough guidelines with clearly mandated objectives to guide their actions in the area (JJ). In addition, all three Institutes counted on a person who was officially responsible for the development and implementation of their coexistence plan.

Contrasting with these three cases, RP’s formalistic response was heavily reliant on the internal conduct of discipline, with almost no independent standing for the pillar and no inclusion of positive actions to promote student coexistence. Not only did it lack the window’s formal structure within its organisation (Coexistence Committee), but even the already appointed figure of a ‘coexistence monitor’ (responsible for the implementation of the coexistence plan) was represented by the Head of the Guidance Department who treated this pillar as a secondary priority.

These organisational arrangements have clearly affected the window’s visibility and prominence within the Institute’s curriculum. RP’s disregard for this window is rooted in the belief that other tools at the Institute’s disposal should be sufficient to guarantee an acceptable level of harmonious coexistence, and as a consequence, the window is considered to be redundant and unnecessary with the RP staff visibly reticent to engage fully with its requirements. Conversely, the other three

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<sup>182</sup> See chapter 6.

Institutes have embraced the opportunity and have developed a thorough and detailed strategy that has gone beyond the minimum expectations.<sup>183</sup>

Overall, in terms of social norm enhancement, the comparative analysis revealed that three out of the four Institutes presented a balanced and rather homogeneous stance to the three social norm enhancing opportunity pillars without displaying particular preferences for one pillar over another. While the pillar of 'education in values' was the least exploited of the four cases, the pillar for building a 'harmonious coexistence' was found to have the highest degree of activity across cases and analytical dimensions, despite slight differences between Institutes in the characteristics of such activity.

In sum, LE ranked as the top performer, being profoundly committed to embracing all of the opportunities for social norm enhancement, while RP, at the bottom of the scale, displayed a lack of concern and lack of belief in the need to engage in such an effort. On the whole, however, only LE and DE are considered to have taken full advantage of the substantive part of the ROS, while JJ and RP displayed a lower level of performance in their response to the social norm enhancing opportunities provided by the regional strategy.

### **7.1.1.3 The Institutes' use of opportunities for structural social capital building (network promotion)**

The analysis of the use by the four Institutes of the network promotion set of pillars yielded different results from that found for social norm enhancement. In the case of the structural or associational feature of social capital, the assessment found LE and RP as the higher performing Institutes. From another standpoint, LE and RP's overall performance level

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<sup>183</sup> Once again, the LE ultimately stands out with an official national recognition for the quality of the strategy devised for the achievement of a harmonious coexistence within its campus.

vis-à-vis the other two Institutes was found to be rather narrow and mixed from one pillar to the other.

In effect, as Table 7.2 illustrates, the translation into numerical mean scores of the assessment of the four Institutes relative to their use of opportunities for structural social capital shows that the overall scores are much lower and less variable between Institutes than was the case in substantive social capital promotion pillars discussed in the previous section. Once again LE is the highest performer (3.5), followed by RP (2.8) and the other two Institutes.

**Table 7.2 Comparative use of opportunities for structural social capital promotion**

| Window of opportunity                  | Analytical dimension   | LE         | RP         | JJ         | DE         |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Extracurricular activities             | Creative Formalisation | 5          | 4          | 1          | 2          |
|                                        | Scale                  | 5          | 4          | 1          | 1          |
| Implementation participation principle | Creative Formalisation | 4          | 3          | 3          | 4          |
|                                        | Scale                  | 3          | 2          | 1          | 4          |
| Implementation other programmes        | Creative Formalisation | 2          | 2          | 2          | 2          |
|                                        | Scale                  | 2          | 2          | 4          | 2          |
| <b>Overall Mean</b>                    |                        | <b>3.5</b> | <b>2.8</b> | <b>2.0</b> | <b>2.5</b> |

Note: Five point scale used for assessment of performance:: 1=Low, 2=Medium Low, 3=Medium, 4=Medium High, 5=High.

Source: Author's formulation

This fairly homogeneous level of performance is particularly noticeable in the case of the three *overall* 'lower performers: RP, JJ and DE. Still, the individual analysis of each window reveals significant differences between Institutes hidden by the combined mean scores. All the same, once again, with higher levels of activity in two out of the three pillars for network promotion, the LE remained the top performer of the four.

To begin with, the pillar of extracurricular activities is the only one in which the two overall top performers (LE and RP) coincide in having the higher

scores across the two analytical dimensions. In effect, RP and LE showed similar levels of *formalisation* of the contents with considerable documentation regulating extracurricular activities deriving from their participation in the public Programme for the Integration of Institute spaces (PIEE)<sup>184</sup>. LE demonstrated a slightly better performance than RP having achieved a higher level of integration between its PEE unit and other units and departments in the Institute, partly due to the long standing presence of the programme in the Institute, which contrasts with the much shorter span of time it has been present in RP. In effect, both institutes had incorporated the activity in their educational programmes long before the NSCB and ROS required its presence. In fact, the LE has had an uninterrupted implementation of the programme for over twenty years while RP has had it running for eight years, including some periods of interruption that have undoubtedly impacted on its ability to fully integrate it operationally with other units as has been the case with LE. Nonetheless, both Institutes were found to have developed and used the pillar for network promotion via extracurricular activities, in a way that has gone beyond the regional strategy's minimum expectations and with a significant proportion of students engaged in the programme. In effect, both Institutes have built on their past experimentation and have maximised the positive effects originally sought by the programmatic pillar.

At the same time, very low levels of network generating extracurricular activity were taking place in JJ and DE, with the former finding itself in a particularly acute situation with virtually no offer at all. In effect, while the reasons for JJ's lack of extracurricular offer were explained previously and mainly relate to external factors<sup>185</sup>, in DE's case, although some non-team oriented sports were included in its extracurricular offer, the remaining range of activities available to students were not addressing any of the 'team building' skills, therefore failing to promote network

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<sup>184</sup> See chapter 5.

<sup>185</sup> See section 6.3.2.1 in chapter 6 for a more detailed explanation.

formation. While both institutes could not participate in the analysis of *scale* (with no adequate offer of activities to analyse in either case), from the point of view of *formalisation*, DE is slightly in a better position than JJ because it has traditionally had *some* extracurricular offer—though not of a network generating variety—in place. In this sense, the DE benefits from having a unit dealing with the offer and, until recently, from an organised procedure set into place for the coordination of the extracurricular activities it *used* to offer.<sup>186</sup> In addition, DE has traditionally prepared an internal document where all extracurricular and any other complementary activities were listed for the specific purpose of their inclusion in the planning for the academic year. Although these items fail to characterise the institute as a ‘good performer’ vis-à-vis the use of this pillar, they do however signal the potential to use the pillar should the Institute decide to do so. In effect, the adoption of formal documents, new internal procedures and structural innovations to procure the offer of extracurricular activities is, in itself, a way of using the pillar.

Turning to the application of the participation principle (second pillar for network promotion), the two Institutes with the higher levels of activity encouraging and promoting student participation in their affairs were LE and DE. In this particular window, RP and JJ represented the lagging group, with an approach to student participation that was significantly less intense than the one adopted by LE.<sup>187</sup> This notwithstanding, the sober result is rather a low performance across the *four* case studies, with a general assessment that shows a similar low levels of activity in this pillar within all Institutes.

In effect, both LE and DE count on channels and organisational structures—in addition to the ordinary ones—through which students can participate and engage in Institute affairs. In LE, student participation via innovative

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<sup>186</sup> For a more detailed explanation please refer to chapter 6.

<sup>187</sup> See Table 7.2 in this chapter.

schemes specially designed for such purposes -- such as the student mediator scheme and the student helper figure<sup>188</sup>-- once again show how the Institute has used its margin of autonomy to creatively interpret what in effect is a compulsory principle in the most ample way. In a similar manner, DE has opened a new channel for student participation in what it has labelled 'evaluation sessions' where group progress and other matters affecting the Institute's ordinary business are discussed. In so doing, DE is leveraging the opportunity offered by a pillar that could be handled in a minimal way as RP and JJ have done. In effect in these two Institutes, the implementation of the participation principle from a *formalisation* point of view is reduced to the fulfilment of the legally compulsory establishment of the student council and the election of student representatives. In both cases, not only have the Institutes carefully remained well within what a very strict implementation of the strategy requires, thus failing to create additional channels for participation, and having demonstrated an inability or unwillingness to ensure that the existing channels effectively provide students with real opportunities for participation.<sup>189</sup>

The assessment of the third and final pillar for network promotion yielded the case of only one Institute (JJ) making a robust use of it, with the remaining three Institutes displaying a much lower level of performance. While JJ demonstrated an impressive *scale* in the development of a programme that increases its chances of promoting networks, the other three Institutes have not yet developed programmes taking similar advantage of this opportunity.

In this regard, the three other Institutes, have retained (and are implementing) some programmes mainly associated with other pillars --as was the case of LE and RP with the PIEE programme. This approach appears to have offered them a chance for network building perhaps

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<sup>188</sup> See chapter 5.

<sup>189</sup> See chapters 5 and 6.

comparable to that which JJ has created. Nonetheless, the formulation and implementation of an experimental project in JJ which explores the importance of networks among students<sup>190</sup> marks a real difference in approach between JJ and the other three Institutes. From every analytical dimension, the comparative assessment has found JJ clearly ahead of the others, demonstrating that it has seized an opportunity that others have not yet identified. In effect, the weakness of the other Institutes' performance in this area was due to the fact that the programmes they were implementing (which are potentially addressing the objectives of this pillar) already engaged in the development of the extracurricular pillar.

In sum, the comparative assessment of the use of the three pillars for network generation yields one clear overall top performer (once again LE). Interestingly, the overall scores in this regard suggest a degree of similarity among the Institutes, although disguising important differences in the ways in which Institutes have taken advantage of each pillar provided by the strategy.<sup>191</sup> Attention is drawn to the JJ case, which having a weak use of the extracurricular pillar, is at the same time the only Institute fully leveraging the opportunity created by the implementation of additional programmes and initiatives.

#### **7.1.1.4 Overall results: a differentiated response**

In the previous subsections, an analysis was performed of the extent to which Institutes used the ROS pillars in both dimensions of social capital formation. The aggregate scores obtained from the performance across dimensions reveal a differentiated level of response. Table 7.3 below displays these aggregate measures.

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<sup>190</sup> See section 6.3.2.1 for the details of the programme.

<sup>191</sup> See Table 7.2 earlier in this chapter.

**Table 7.3 Aggregate results for the assessment of scope**

| Region       | Institute | Aggregate scores of performance in two dimensions of social capital | Averages |       |
|--------------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------|
|              |           |                                                                     | Regional | Total |
| Aragon       | LE        | 4.15                                                                | 3        | 3     |
|              | RP        | 2.4                                                                 |          |       |
| Castile Leon | JJ        | 2.5                                                                 | 3        |       |
|              | DE        | 3.35                                                                |          |       |

Note: Five point scale used for assessment of performance:: 1=Low, 2=Medium Low, 3=Medium, 4=Medium High, 5=High.

Source: Author's formulation

When comparing regional outputs as was discussed at the beginning of the chapter, both regions had their strong and weak points. Aragon had made the most of the substantive pillars while Castile Leon did better on the second block of outputs. At the institute level the LE institute in Aragon displayed generally higher levels of performance across all of the social capital dimensions followed by the DE in Castile Leon. The other two institutes registered lower levels of overall performance across the six measures, however with peaks of performance in one or two pillars.

Overall, the analysis confirms the contrasting uses of the structural pillars vis-à-vis the substantive ones. By way of example, in the case of the structural pillars, no pillar was consistently ignored by all of the institutes as instead was the case for 'education in values' among the substantive pillars. At the same time, a structural window ('implementation of specific programmes') was found to be intensely used by one Institute and minimally accommodated by the others, a situation that was not replicated in the substantive component of the ROS. In the end, no two Institutes showed a shared preference in the simultaneous use of all three pillars.

In sum, throughout the six pillars, the extent and manner in which Institutes use their margin of autonomy is linked to how they operationalised the analytical dimensions of formalisation and

scale.<sup>192</sup> Effectively, the challenge of network formation is highly dependent on the way the pillars are exploited by the schools which, in turn, speaks to the creativity, drive, and motivation on the part of the Institutes in taking the basic principles contained in the strategies a step further in their role as the last and most important tier of implementation.

### **7.1.2 Assessment of internal coherence: how comprehensive is the approach to social capital building by the four Spanish Institutes?**

As discussed in the first chapters of the thesis, the acknowledgement of social capital's dual conceptual nature is crucial for any social capital building effort. The implication therefore is, that a network (structural dimension) in which links are not underpinned by trust and the observance of social norms (substantive dimension), does not help to build social capital. At the same time, the presence of a trustful environment imbued by social norm observance without the existence of networks that link actors, also fails to be considered to represent the preferred outcome.

In line with the above, the identification of the pillars provided by the regional strategies is based on their potential for impacting elements of the two dimensions of social capital (substantive and structural). Table 7.4 summarises the conceptualised status of the six pillars.

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<sup>192</sup> See Tables 7.1 and 7.2.

**Table 7.4 Conceptual status of the windows of opportunity**

| Social Capital Dimension | Policy Element / Pillar                                     | Element of SC targeted                                                                                                                                     |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Substantive              | 'Education in values'                                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cooperation</li> <li>• Solidarity</li> </ul>                                                                      |
|                          | 'Tutorial actions'                                          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trust</li> <li>• Integration</li> </ul>                                                                           |
|                          | Coexistence                                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tolerance of differences</li> <li>• Cohesion</li> </ul>                                                           |
| Structural               | Extracurricular activities                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Team work</li> <li>• (Building of) Horizontal ties;</li> <li>• (Contributing to) Strengthening of ties</li> </ul> |
|                          | Internal application of the participation principle         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Value of organised collective action;</li> <li>• Establishment of vertical ties</li> </ul>                        |
|                          | <i>Adoption of supplementary programmes or initiatives*</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Widening of networks;</i></li> <li>• <i>Multiplication of networks</i></li> </ul>                              |

\* As has been explained in previous chapters, the specific social capital relevant elements addressed by this window of opportunity are different and can only be assessed on a case by case basis. The elements specified here respond to the analysis of the regional opportunity structure.<sup>193</sup>

Taking the above into account, the assessment of internal coherence (conceptual comprehensiveness) of the approach adopted by the Institutes is essential in projecting their impact on social capital over a period of time. We need to remember that the period between the formulation of the national and regional legislation 2006/2008 and when the fieldwork was completed (2009) did not allow the time necessary for customary adjustments to take place and how they were finally operationalised by the individual institutes. In other words, there was not sufficient time for policy learning to take place in bringing about eventual adjustments of the approach initially selected by the institutes. For example, during the interviews the JJ Institute had under consideration the way it approached the pillar of student participation as a result of a self-evaluation undertaken autonomously. Therefore, what we have in the analysis of the responses to the social capital strategy is the initial stages

<sup>193</sup> See the discussion of the individual ROSs in chapters 5 and 6.

of implementation and not at all the four to ten year time lag between the initiation of implementation and the undertaking of a realistic evaluation of the results as recommended by Goggin et al. (1990).

From this perspective, the most significant finding of the analysis is that *none* of the four Institutes is leveraging all of the opportunities provided by the pillars in an overall comprehensive manner after the first year of operation. As can be seen in Table 7.5 and as expected on the basis of the implementation literature (e.g. Hill and Hupe, 2005; Pressman and Wildavski, 1984; Bardach, 1977), after one year in existence the NSCB programme has not been thoroughly operationalised in any of our four institutes. All four Institutes are not addressing the totality of the relevant social capital elements identified by the national strategy but significant portions are already in place.

**Table 7.5 . Internal coherence: Institutes' ability to address social capital elements in the six policy pillars**

| Window                     | Social Capital element      | Engagement with element by Institute |             |                |                  |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|----------------|------------------|
|                            |                             | LE                                   | RP          | JJ             | DE               |
| 'Education in values'      | Cooperation                 | ☑                                    |             |                | ☑                |
|                            | Solidarity                  | ☑                                    |             |                | ☑                |
| 'Tutorial actions'         | Trust                       | ☑                                    |             | ☑              | ☑                |
|                            | Integration                 | ☑                                    |             | ☑              | ☑                |
| Coexistence                | Tolerance                   | ☑                                    |             | ☑              | ☑                |
|                            | Integration                 | ☑                                    |             | ☑              | ☑                |
| Extracurricular activities | Team work                   | ☑                                    | ☑           |                |                  |
| Participation principle    | Value collective action     |                                      |             |                |                  |
|                            | Vertical ties               | ☑                                    |             |                | ☑                |
| <i>Other programmes*</i>   | <i>Widening of networks</i> | ☑<br>(PIEE)                          | ☑<br>(PIEE) |                | ☑<br>(exchanges) |
|                            | <i>Strength of ties</i>     |                                      |             | ☑<br>(iesocio) |                  |

\* As it is explained earlier in this study, the implementation of specific programmes represents a variable area in terms of the specific social capital relevant elements that are addressed. The light grey shading denotes the different character of the pillar.

The ranking of the Institutes, relative to this assessment, echoes the results of the scope assessment. The two overall best performers in terms of scope --LE and DE-- show creative approaches to the building of the social capital's *substantive* dimension. However, their simultaneous performance in terms of network promotion (structural dimension) is differentiated. Even though LE has a strong and stable extracurricular offer addressing team building and team work activities, the fact that the participation principle and the use of alternative specific programmes are only partially leveraged leads to the conclusion that an overall comprehensive response to the social capital building strategy has yet to be fully articulated after one year in operation. Similarly, while DE is found to be innovative in the promotion of vertical ties in the application of the participation principle, it is, at the same time, found to be rather weak in all of the other windows for the bolstering of structural social capital.<sup>194</sup> The gap between the best performers and the others (RP and JJ) is large, with RP in particular responding to only two of the eleven elements of the entire opportunity structure. In effect, in both RP and JJ's cases, a comprehensive approach to elements from both social capital dimensions was not achieved. They require a substantial degree of additional input—i.e., policy learning in this area) in formulating their responses to the pillars in order to arrive at a satisfactory level of comprehensiveness in the generation of a complete social capital strategy.

With none of the four Institutes presenting a perfect and complete use of the opportunity structures, the attention is hence directed towards the adequacy of the institutional and operational context. In the next section, the role that of the independent variables (ROS, the schools' past experimentation and the leadership element) are playing in the overall

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<sup>194</sup> We need to remember that in Castile Leon there is the factor of the external legal challenge by the private PE instructors to parent sponsored extracurricular sport activities. Where they were present they were forced to close by the Region in order to avoid further legal challenges.

scheme for social capital building by secondary schools in Spain is reviewed.

## **7.2 The impact of the independent and intervening variables: ROS, quality and degree of experimentation and leadership**

### **7.2.1 ROS: facilitator or constraint?**

In line with the above discussion, one of the study's findings has highlighted how the final operationalisation of the strategy for social capital building in both regions has been characterised by the level of development of two crucial components: a '*mandatory* component', referred to as the legal interpretation and translation into regional law of each of the six policy pillars contained in the national framework; and a '*supplementary* component', consisting of the establishment and promotion of alternative and additional initiatives and programmes at both the regional and local levels supporting and complementing the legal precepts that originally translated and adopted the programmatic pillars. The finding hence relates to the fact that in the cases where the '*supplementary* component' of the pillars has not been properly acknowledged and elaborated, the Institutes' response to the window of opportunity has been considerably lower than in the cases where the opposite has been achieved by the region. In effect, this conclusion has been drawn from three particular cases in the study: the 'window' for the promotion of coexistence in both regions (affecting the performance of all schools), the pillar of extracurricular activities in the region of Aragon (LE and RP), and the pillar of implementation of additional programmes in the region of Castile Leon (JJ and DE).

The case of the window of coexistence in both regions has demonstrated how the formulation and implementation of regional initiatives acted as a defining element in eliciting a response on the part of the four Institutes. In

effect, the comparison across Institutes shows this element as the one most often used by all, despite the differences across the cases. This in turn coincides with 'coexistence' being the pillar that concentrated the largest amount of attention on the part of regional and local governments in devising parallel *supplementary* programmes and specialised support to facilitate an increased response on the part of Institutes. Effectively, the four Institutes' intensive interaction with the pillar further confirms the two regions' success in creating a real '*opportunity*'; the Institutes' level of proactive behaviour confirms the achievement of a positive reaction to the availability of means and encouragement of action coming from the supplementary initiatives taken by the regional and local levels of government.

In a similar way, the contrastingly diverse levels of development of the pillar of extracurricular activities in the two regions again highlight the crucial role of the supplementary component of the strategy in each region's final configuration of the opportunity structure. In this way, it is convincingly apparent that in the case of Castile Leon, the region's opportunity structure actually lacks this pillar due mainly to an orthodox position on the part of the regional government in the translation and enhancement of the policy and to the subsequent legal challenge to the way the institutes chose to implement it in the region.

Social capital enhancement is a novel challenge and in some instances like this one, the secondary Institutes are not completely ready to pursue such a path to the detriment of more traditional educational and practical objectives. Innovation, in this sense and in this context, was found to be constrained by a form of institutional path dependence: why change if one is not really forced or properly provided incentives to change? Effectively, secondary Institutes in this region (JJ and DE) have been unable to accommodate the extra work and additional organisational/legal challenges that developing this window entails.

Conversely, in the case of Aragón, the regional and local level authorities have perceived the importance of the pillar and have adopted a *pro-active* rather than a reactive, *conservative* stance on the matter. Within their margin of autonomy, Aragón has stressed the implementation of the public programme, PIEE, by promoting it as a successful tool in the enhancement of the window as part of the formulation of its opportunity structure for social capital building. In this mentoring capacity, Aragón has also sustained the importance of the supplementary component and effectively achieved a high degree of response on the part of the two Institutes (LE and RP) in the use of the window. The outcome is that in Zaragoza (Aragón), the success of the PIEE programme has meant that close to an absolute majority of secondary Institutes are currently implementing the programme, and extracurricular activities represent a widespread offer of social capital building options throughout the city. Against the rather low development priority given to the pillar in the mandatory component of the law, the PIEE in Aragón is no doubt an excellent example of an opportunity which owes its existence and its significant potential for social capital building to the highly developed *supplementary* component offered by the regional government.

A last important example of the significant role played by supplementary initiatives to ensure the very existence of the 'window' of opportunity, is found in the third pillar for network promotion (the implementation of supplementary programmes). In no other case does the autonomous development of the supplementary component of the opportunity structure gain so much prominence. The different approaches—passive and/or pro-active--of the two regions regarding this alternative channel yielded a major difference in the Institutes' responses to the opportunity structure. In effect, Castile Leon has been quite pro-active and has incorporated into its opportunity structure the means to provide secondary Institutes (JJ and DE) with this pillar for network promotion, while schools in Aragón (LE and RP) were not given the same option.

The conservative versus innovative or the passive versus pro-active choices made available at the regional level have helped to profile the regional educational framework and to translate it into the region's opportunity structure for social capital generation by secondary Institutes. In this process, the particular importance attributed to the *supplementary* components of the strategy was found to be a crucial factor having a real impact on the dependent variable as formulated in the study's original hypothesis. The sponsorship of additional programmes and initiatives by the region to enhance a particular pillar is not only of importance for encouraging and facilitating a pro-active response from Institutes in their use of the window (dependent variable), but is also crucially linked to the promotion of the Institutes' *co-participation* in the definition of the final configuration of the region-specific opportunity structure, as is discussed in the next subsection.

### **7.2.2 Institute quality and degree of integration: role definition, self-confidence and empowerment**

A second variable contributing to the differences between Institutes refers to the way the institutes have previously experimented in responding to local challenges and which constitutes the 'institutional capital' present in each school. The four institutes have faced various challenges over the past twenty years from changing their curriculum offer (RP) as part of the democratisation process to a drastic reduction in student demands (JJ), and these responses have created a certain propensity to change in reaction to outside stimuli. The 2006 national law and 2007 ROSs represented a new set of challenges that the schools had to take into account and adapt to as part of their educational mission.

In effect, the study has identified the types of choice at the disposal of regional governments in their task of translating the national framework and of shaping the regional strategy while at the same time, it has also emphasised the Institutes' important responsibility in the *final* configuration

of the opportunity structure. The objective in the operationalisation of the strategy is to go beyond meeting the formal requirements set by the legislation and instead meet the needs of the spirit of the legislation to become effective social capital builders.

At the moment, as institutional stakeholders within the existing MLG structure, the Spanish secondary Institutes have moved in a cautious manner. The Institutes had by 2009 begun to make some use of their margins of *autonomy* and institutional capital when confronted with the mandatory and supplementary components of the legislation.

This conclusion acquires further relevance when the particular traits of the student population each Institute caters to (as well as of the staff and director) are taken into account. Institutes are in a position to adjust and specify each pillar in order to best suit it for the final recipients of the strategy--that is, the students. One example of this final specification can be cited. The LE Institute proved to be highly active in this regard. The Institute's pro-active behaviour is indeed indicative of its high degree of self-reliance due to the existence of a proper supplementary scheme provided by the regional government and exploited by the Institute. At the same time, LE's pro-activeness is also related to the keen awareness that the staff and the director have of the role that the Institute needs to play in effectively creating a suitable environment in order to impact the social capital of students. This propensity to act contrasts with the second Institute studied in the region, the RP, which showed an evident lack of interest in changing its educational offer and as a consequence presented a rather passive response to the definition of social norm reinforcement. In effect, despite being exposed to the same regional opportunity structure, including the same supplementary incentives as LE, RP's directors and staff members have not embraced the opportunities in the same way and have not adjusted them to serve the needs of their students and the overall objectives of the national/regional strategy. In sum, although in the current legal framework and MLG structure in Spain,

the secondary Institutes have made a significant first step in the use of their sphere of autonomy; yet, this autonomy remains relatively underutilised with regard to its potential for the configuration of strategies for social capital building. This underutilisation may be part of the beginning in the operationalization of the programme and the testing of the boundaries of the policy by each institute before venturing forth with ambitious initiatives.

### **7.2.3 Leadership: the role of internal human resources**

In the last analysis, the role of the second intervening factor highlighted by the analyses conducted in the previous chapters refers to the role carried out at the present time by the human factor present in secondary Institutes in the form of the human capital available to the *leadership* within the institute. In effect, throughout the assessments performed on each individual institute, the differences among the secondary Institutes highlighted the crucial role of key staff members' personal commitment and personal drive in formulating the institutional responses to the opportunity structures and taking advantage of the ambiguities present in the ROS. Indeed, in the majority of the pillars contained in the regional strategies for social capital building, the presence—or absence—of the element of leadership left a visible imprint, not only in the extent or scale of the use of the opportunities presented, but at times even crucially determining whether the pillar could be utilised at all. Ultimately, these differences in leadership noticeably affected the Institutes' overall role as an attentive implementer of the national NSCB programme.

In effect, looking at the similarities linking the three higher performers in social norm reinforcement (LE, DE and JJ), these underline the significance of the strong *leadership* and personal commitment demonstrated by key staff members in all three programmatic pillars ('education in values', 'tutorial actions' and 'coexistence'). In the particular

case of the window of ‘tutorial actions’, the strong personal drive of the heads of the Guidance Department in charge of the TAP<sup>195</sup> proved to be crucial in ensuring the Institutes’ commitment to maintaining the objective of social norm enhancement as an essential element, influencing their response to other substantive windows of opportunity as well. As an example, an important additional finding in the LE and DE cases relates to the fact that in both institutes the leadership of the Guidance Department in terms of social norm prioritisation was not only visible in the activity stemming from the TAP but was also observable beyond this pillar in the development of the ‘coexistence’ pillar where a close coordination with the TAP actions was deliberately established.

The element of leadership present in the Heads of the Guidance Department in the window of ‘tutorial actions’ is highly illustrative of the impact of this intervening variable on the response of the Institutes to the opportunity structure and, by extension, on the dependent variable. It is crucial to consider that, although ‘tutorial actions’ are among the ordinary actions of every secondary Institute (and so can be regarded as a compulsory element in the Institutes’ repertoire of activities with students), secondary Institutes are in the position to selectively accentuate the pursuit of some objectives of ‘tutorial actions’ over others. Such a selection process often takes place in a manner that focuses greater attention on providing students with academic support and considers only as a secondary objective that of providing them with support to develop socialisation skills. Though academic and personal support is indeed a *must* for any tutorial action, the objective of aiding the socialising process remains a grey area and is, therefore, vulnerable to being ignored within the pillar and eventually left for others —such as the coexistence pillar-- to include in their priorities.

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<sup>195</sup> For more on the Tutorial Action Plan see chapter 4.

In this sense, RP —the lowest performer in social norm promotion—, is left behind precisely because of the absence of any kind of leadership from the Institute staff advocating the inclusion of the objective of social norms within the TAP and the Institute priorities. RP's staff members were found to be very passive in this regard, ultimately failing to identify the area of action as an opportunity to enhance social norms. Indeed, at RP, the tutorial area is mostly seen as a way to provide extra-study time and help students with their studies in general. It is hence not surprising that RP also appears as the lower performer in the interaction with the policy pillar of 'coexistence'. While in the three higher performing Institutes the personal involvement of directors and coexistence monitors is evident and their actions are reflected in the whole coexistence plan and strategy; in comparison, the presence of the leadership element is noticeably absent in the RP case. The RP is an example of a school which did not experiment in the past and is reluctant to experiment now in the attempt to preserve as much as possible its original mission of catering to an academically oriented student population. In doing so, it is not keeping up with the changes in Spanish society or even those in Zaragoza and therefore is falling continuously behind the exigencies of its role in the Spanish educational system.

Turning to the section of pillars for structural social capital building, the impact of the current leadership was highly visible in the differences registered by the Institutes in responding to the implementation of the supplementary programmes. In effect, from this standpoint, three out of the four Institutes displayed a weak form of activity within the pillar, given the lack of motivational leadership encouraging the Institutes' engagement in —or generation of— any programme that could represent an additional platform for network promotion as a defining element. Effectively, only the JJ stands out as the case in which the inspirational self-involvement of the Institute director and the Head of Studies resulted in the creation of an

additional opportunity for structural social capital reinforcement via the implementation of the 'iesocio' project.<sup>196</sup> In the other three cases, although implementation of specific programmes does in fact take place, this is not performed in a way that opens any additional opportunities for network promotion; in the cases of LE and RP the supplementary programme is used for extracurricular activities (the PIEE); and in the case of DE international exchanges are promoted with a predominantly cultural objective in mind. In this sense, JJ's leadership and personal interest in network promotion have allowed it to go beyond a minimalist interpretation of the regional strategy and become a more pro-active actor defying the more traditional view of Institutes as passive recipients of the strategies formulated at the regional level.

In a similar but less prominent way, the difference in leadership is also observable in extracurricular activities of the two highest performing Institutes, LE and RP, and those of the lower-performing DE and JJ Institutes. While in the latter case, the absence of the element of leadership can easily be regarded as one of the main reasons for the two low performers' lack of initiatives in the area of extracurricular activities. In the former, slight differences in the personal commitment of staff members determined the variation in the degrees of exploitation of the window of opportunity for network promotion that the PIEE programme offered in both Institutes.

In effect, taking into account that both high performers benefitted from the PIEE as a supplementary initiative put in place by the local authorities to encourage and facilitate their use of the pillar, the differences in leadership or personal commitment on the part of key staff members, created subtle differences between the Institutes in the *degree of integration* that the PIEE monitor had with other Institute units. Indeed, although in both Institutes (LE and RP) the PIEE programme entails the presence of a

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<sup>196</sup> See chapter 6.

PIEE monitor exclusively dedicated to the extracurricular activities organised by the programme, the greater or lesser degree of integration of such a figure with other Institute areas significantly affected the extent to which the window was exploited. Having an isolated programme in the Institute did not produce the same level of activity in terms of network promotion (RP) as in the case where the programme was coordinated with other Institute actions (LE).

An additional finding from the comparative analysis highlights the significant role that the Institute staff's acknowledgement and understanding of the institute's autonomous margin for action plays in determining the extent to which the window will be used and developed. This is evident in the cases of under-utilisation of the window (i.e. RP and JJ in 'education in values' or RP in the window of 'coexistence')<sup>197</sup>, where the combination of a generalised lack of will to get involved on the part of Institute staff and a narrow view of such margins of autonomy were central to the underperformance observed. From this perspective, a preliminary insight is derived: in effect, the confidence or lack of it in the leveraging of the Institute's degree of autonomy in these windows constitutes a determinant of the Institutes' capacity to become social capital promoters.

### **7.3 Conclusions**

The overall objective of this chapter has been to carry out the analysis of the dependent variable by comparatively studying the responses to the opportunity structures across the four Institutes. As a result of the exercise, two predominant reasons for the lack of or low level of response to the opportunity structure stand out: while in some cases, the behaviour stems from the secondary Institutes' own attitude and understanding of the

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<sup>197</sup> See Table 7.1.

opportunity structure; in other cases, the weaknesses lie in the characteristics of the opportunity structures themselves and in the role of the regional governments. All in all, the findings and analyses indicate that the implementation of the national strategy for social capital promotion in Spain has yet to be fully operationalised. The chapter has pointed out the importance of the regional level legislation in creating the conditions for a more effective use of the opportunities for building social capital that was stipulated by the national legislation.

But the most important comparative finding of the study was the role of the two intervening variables—past experiences with finding solutions to local problems within the context of the opportunities provided by the Spanish educational system and the quality of the leadership within each institute and its ability to match the final objectives of the programme with what was possible within the local context. The results show that there is a considerable level of creativity and autonomy on the part of the four institutes and that in a majority of cases pro-active measures were taken.

A cautionary note needs to be provided here. The field work which provides the basis of this analysis took place one year after the programme was finalised through the formulation of the two respective ROSs. As we know from previous implementation studies (Hupe, 2011; Hill and Hupe, 2002); Goggin, 1990; Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984; and Bardach, 1977) it takes time to fully implement a new programme, especially one that is as complex and ambitious as the one set into motion by the NSCB strategy. It takes time to come into full compliance, and that process is evidently aided where the human capital on the ground with the responsibility for implementation has the will and way to get innovations and creative interpretations of the existing legislation under way. Thus, we have seen that the two intervening variables—past experiences and present creative capacity—in the last analysis provided the most important components in raising the quality of the dependent variable. The ROSs, on the other hand, could provide the potential for the two intervening

variables to make an impact, but they certainly were not in a position to guarantee the full implementation of the programme.

The time period involved did not allow for the ordinary control and evaluation process to take place. It is possible and very likely that subsequent evaluations conducted internally (as was the case with RP) or carried out by external evaluators can produce the necessary adjustments in both the scope and contents in the responses to the six pillars. If this is the case, then the time and resources for the adaptation to the policy can be provided. The question remains whether these control and evaluations will take place expeditiously or whether they will take time to be implemented. Whatever the case, the Spanish educational system has embarked on an ambitious and still unparalleled experimentation to change the values and activities of a significant segment of secondary school students.

In the next and final chapter, these findings are summarised, discussed and confronted with the study's overarching hypothesis and main research question. The focus of the previous chapters has been to show how the overall intentions of the national legislation on building social capital has been translated and filtered down to the institute level in two regions and four different case studies. What has been learned from these cases can be used to analyse the overall value of the policy and approaches that can be used to correct some of its shortcomings as the learning process gets into full swing after the initial implementation has taken place.

## **Chapter 8. Conclusions, policy implications and agenda for future research**

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This final chapter brings to a close the exploratory study undertaken in this thesis and attempts to clarify its significance. The chapter focuses on the overall question of the challenge that Spanish secondary Institutes face in responding to the national NSCB programme. What has been achieved after the first year of implementation and what still needs to be done? The exploratory study has identified the impact of the various variables that have contributed to determining the performance of the four institutes in the regional samples in this regard.

The chapter is structured around four questions: What did the thesis do? What did it find? What do the findings mean? What are the implications of the findings for future research on social capital, policy implementation, and the more general problem of the relationship between policy outputs and policy outcomes?

Following this structure, the chapter first centres on summarising the analysis and comparisons undertaken. The second section focuses on synthesising the results obtained. Following this summary of the findings, the third section discusses their place and significance within and beyond the thesis in two subsections. In the first instance, the originally formulated conceptual framework and the hypotheses informing the thesis are revisited and confronted with the findings. Subsequently, the second subsection reviews the two-fold purpose of the thesis by re-engaging with the social capital and implementation literature and interpreting the findings in light of the Spanish NSCB strategy. The fourth section of the chapter draws out policy implications from the Spanish case studies, also by devoting attention to the national strategy for social capital building. It closes by offering indications for future research on social capital building strategies and the role that can be played by schools.

8.1 What did the thesis do? Summary of the analysis

The thesis has structured and analysed four case studies in two Spanish regions with different institutional legacies or levels of historical autonomy: Aragon and Castile Leon. The former has had a legacy of institutional autonomy while the latter was always tied to the Spanish crown. The Spanish context has been particularly appropriate for the study given the emphasis in the national legislation on the objective of promoting an increase in social capital through the country's educational system as a means for reinforcing democratic norms and social cohesion. With the purpose of empirically investigating the capacity of secondary schools to fulfil the role as social capital builders, the research has been presented within the context of seven chapters. The first four chapters respectively formulated the overall conceptual framework, reviewed the relevant literature, operationalised the multiple case study research design and assessed the Spanish institutional context. In the remaining three chapters, the thesis centred on the case-specific analyses, the reporting of

findings from the fieldwork, as well as on the comparative analysis of the four cases. What we will try to do here is to discuss their implications and significance beyond the Spanish context.

The thesis focused on the research carried out in a country characterised by comparatively low levels of social capital and a rich and differentiated regional institutional structure, in which historical legacies coexist and engage with the country's Multi-Level Governance (MLG) system that is used to manage important policy sectors. After reviewing and discussing the Spanish MLG context, the thesis identified a nationally formulated strategy for social capital building in secondary schools —i.e. an attempt to maximise the school's role in furthering civic and social norms and network structures-- stemming from the changes introduced in the national education legal framework in 2006 in response to the change in government and the bombings in 2004. The legislation that came into effect in 2006 sought to make significant changes in the country's level of social capital by promoting democratic attitudes and civic norms among the country's student population between 14 and 16 years of age attending secondary schools and accompanying the programme with structural reforms designed to promote the creation of networks and student participation in the activities of the schools.

The 2006 national reform through the formulation of the NSCB strategy was predicated on a basic assumption that thesis was not able to test: i.e., that the changes in the curriculum to enhance values associated with social capital and social cohesion and actions undertaken by the institutes to promote student participation and networking within the schools and the community could lead to an increase in the level of social capital present initially within these age cohorts and eventually among the general population. This is a classical problem of how policy outputs are linked with policy outcomes (Barca and McCann, 2011; Stiglitz et. al, 2008; Perrin, 2006). In our case, the policy outputs that have been analysed are the changes in the curriculum and activities of the schools as provided by

the national NSCB strategy, the regional ROSs, and the individual initiatives of the institutes in complying with the national and regional legislation. But the thesis has not been able to provide a measure of the impacts of these outputs on levels of social capital or the middle to long-term objectives of the original policy. These outcomes could only be analysed through a longitudinal methodological framework which this thesis could not carry out.

The research carried out in 2009 was proposed as an initial realistic check of the first phase of implementation or the point of departure of repeated iterations in the future as part of the 'virtuous cycle' in implementing the national programme for creating social capital through the instrument of the country's secondary schools. The starting point in the Spanish social capital building strategy was the national NSCB programme that was then operationalised at the regional level through appropriate legislation. The regional legislation has been referred to as the 'region-specific opportunity structures' composed of two sections: first a strategy to create 'substantive' social capital in terms of norms and behaviour patterns based on three pillars that have been integrated into the schools' curriculum and the second of three additional 'structural' social capital pillars in terms of networks and supplementary activities that see the schools as the chief protagonists. The regional policy, in turn, left room for initiatives to be taken at the local and school levels. Therefore, it was important for the thesis to be able to take into account what was done at various levels in the policy making and implementation structure in being able to account for differences between the regions and between the schools covered by the research.

From the analysis of the strategy at the national level (research question 1), the study turned to answering research question 2 addressing the modality of the translation of the national opportunity structure at the regional level in the two selected regions: Aragon and Castile Leon. It then carried on to engage with each of the four case studies where, after

providing a brief profile of each school, it devoted its attention to the way and extent to which each secondary school was using the opportunities contained in the regional opportunity structure (research question 3). This analysis paved the way for the carrying out the analysis of the dependent variable, that is, the secondary schools' capacity to build social capital,

In the appraisal of the dependent variable, the differentiated school responses to the opportunity structures were contrasted in two different comparative assessments. While a first assessment focused on the scope of the response (research question 4)—that is, how extensive and intensive was the use of each pillar of the strategy in each school, research questions 5 and 6 were addressed via the comparative analysis of the dependent variable and the assessment of the institutional and operational context's *adequacy*. This last task (research question 7) entails the re-engagement with the independent and intervening variables in the thesis (the opportunity structures, the schools' quality and past traditions on one hand and the pro-active nature of the leadership in implementing the social capital building strategy) following the results of the analysis of the dependent variable and what the Spanish case can tell us about the likelihood of using secondary schools as instruments to advance the creation of social capital in other national contexts.

8.2 What did the thesis find? Synthesis of results

In the logic of the thesis, the behavioural analysis of the four secondary schools, through the lens of their response to the opportunity structures contained in the regional legal framework within which they operate, determined the way and extent to which they could potentially intervene in the 'virtuous circle' of social capital generation and become social capital builders in their own right. In the first analysis —that of the dependent variable or the capacity of secondary schools to operate as social capital builders—, the results confirmed a current medium level of performance in

all schools in relation to the components of the national NSCB programme.

The study found significant variations across the pillars and across the regions in terms of how the four schools operationalised the six potential pillars for social capital creation. However, it did not find an example of complete non-compliance in any of the four schools nor did it find complete and perfect compliance. In contrast to Pressman and Wildavsky's Oakland, California (1984) in Zaragoza, Aragon and Valladolid, Castile Leon the schools did respond in 2009 to what Madrid had legislated after the 2004 bombings. That response varied from one school to another, but during the beginning stages of implementation the national programme had succeeded in focusing the attention of the four secondary schools in Aragon and Castile Leon and probably in the rest of the country on the changes that needed to be undertaken in the curriculum and activities within the schools. Therefore, the schools were responsive to the changes in the national and regional legislation by undertaking significant efforts to comply with the new educational requirements.

One clear front runner in our four comparative cases was the LE in the region of Aragon. The other three schools were overall found to be clustered around a medium capacity in responding to the national programme, and each had their own pillar 'of excellence' based on the background of the school's behaviour prior to what the new programmes required and to the nature of the leadership present in the schools. The implementation process was not found to be uniform in nature. It tended to vary from the three substantive (norms and behaviour) to the other three structural (network formulation) programmatic pillars. Variations were also found in each school within the two sets of pillars. Variations over time in the implementation process was not possible to measure given the limited resources available and the exigencies of completing the dissertation, but there were indications in place that the schools were beginning on what would probably become a long learning process in meeting the goals of

the original policy. Even if not everything was in place in 2009 when the fieldwork was carried out, indications were present that the beginning of a learning process was underway.

In effect, focusing on the assessment of scope, two out of the four schools in the study--each located in a different region-- consistently presented lower levels of performance. Their levels of response to the six pillars were not consistent both in terms of the content and scale of their implementation. At the same time, only one of the remaining two schools had consistently aggregate scores at the top of the scales in using the opportunities for social capital building that the national and regional strategies provided.

The scores obtained across the cases in the assessment of internal coherence were not always in line across the three pillars. In two cases the ability to perform was impeded by external factors (i.e., legal actions) that prevented the schools from continuing on what had been fairly successful extra-curricular sports programmes. It needs to be remembered that in Spain's MLG system the schools represent the last link in the implementation chain that starts at the national level and then goes down through the regional and local levels before it arrives at the schools. In our study, the four institutes represent the last and final level in the implementation of educational policy within the Spanish context. What they do as street-level bureaucrats is not entirely dependent on their own decisions but is instead mediated by the initiatives taken at the other levels of the policy chain.

The relative uneven results obtained in the analysis of the dependent variable means that in the current situation, Spanish Institutes are not yet fully capable of implementing the national strategy. Changes need to be made in operationalising the six pillars as well as encouraging the schools to become more pro-active in their implementation. These changes need

to be encouraged by national and regional incentives so that the schools can come fully into line with the policy procedures and objectives.

The results obtained in this examination of implementation were revealing. Behind the variation of performance across the schools, differences in the independent and intervening variables affecting the adequacy of the institutional and operational context were found. To begin with, the regional translations or implementation of the national strategy in both regions –the ROS--, lacked an adequate provision of financial incentives to facilitate the schools' full operationalisation of the pillars. In addition, the absence of an adequate leadership component within the schools was, in some cases, a strong contributing factor in not fully exploiting the strategy. Without an adequate institutional commitment on the part of the school and personal drive among its leadership and staff in achieving the ultimate programme objectives the task of taking full advantage of the ROS became difficult.

All in all, the findings of the thesis lead us to conclude that in the current setting or one year after full implementation began, Spanish secondary schools have not fully adapted to the objectives of the nation NSCB programme. Further tweaking of the national legislation is necessary along with the provision of greater financial incentives and guidance from the regional level. It would have been unusual if such an ambitious educational and social programme had achieved all of its goals the first time that it was implemented. In 2009 the programme still had to be adequately implemented in all of the schools. The difficulties encountered speak to the inherent problems associated with implementation and the comparison between the expectations generated by a policy and the concrete achievements of the policy as highlighted by DeLeon (1999). In a parallel fashion Hanf and Toonen (1985) point out the difficulties of programmes based on "steering from above" will inevitably discover implementation problems associated with the "sub-optimisation" of programme objectives, at least during the initial stages of the policy which

is the condition that we have documented in the case of the four secondary schools. The 2009 fieldwork presented a clear sign of sub-optimisation in the case of the four secondary institutes, and this is what should have been expected. Only through a constant process of evaluation and adaptation could the behaviour of the schools and the outputs of the educational programmes come into line with the expectations of the national and regional policy..

8.3 What do the findings mean? How are they to be interpreted within the thesis and beyond?

8.3.1 Revisiting the conceptual framework and hypotheses

As detailed in the first chapter, the thesis looked at whether the national NSCB strategy --given an adequate institutional and operational structure in the secondary schools—could make a significant impact on the ‘virtuous circle’ of social capital generation¹⁹⁸ thus transforming the secondary schools into effective social capital builders. In the specific case of the Spanish secondary schools, their capacity to become builders of social capital depends on the emergence of fully aligned national and regional provisions based on a strong capacity on the part of the schools to fully implement the programmatic provisions of the legislation. For this to be done, it is necessary as Stoker (1977) has written to provide for an approach to policy implementation based on “cooperation” capable of sharing and diffusing public authority for the implementation of specific policy objectives among the national, regional and local levels. In addition, it requires that both legislative levels (i.e., national and regional) as well as all levels assigned the responsibility of implementation share the capacity to learn from both programme failures as well as successes. The existence of a strong and dynamic evaluation and policy adjustment

¹⁹⁸ See Figure 1.1 in chapter 1.

process are fundamental to the improvement over time of policy implementation.

The findings from the case studies showed how secondary schools can operate as social capital builders when the six pillars of the social capital building strategy are in alignment. Thus, the main research question of the thesis (are secondary schools in Spain capable of operating as social capital builders?) has received a positive response as is the case with the relevance of the overall conceptual model that informed the thesis. After analysing the relative state of the dependent variable across the four cases, the analysis of the independent and intervening variables found that they are important in finalising the outputs. Where the region provided incentives for the emergence of certain outcomes, these came about. Where the incentives were missing, the results were more problematic and depended on the individual initiatives of the Institute's leadership core. In the institutes with creative track records and pro-active leadership, the new programmes were launched with greater conviction and overall success vis-a-vis where these qualities were missing. In these cases the formal requirements were met, but little else happened.

On the external front, the findings concerning the regional implementation of the strategy –defined in the thesis as the regional opportunity structures (ROS)-- revealed two clear examples of regions with different styles of implementing the national strategy and of approaching the MLG structure. Taking into account the MLG model in the Spanish educational system, it follows that regional governments assume a significant role in the implementation of the strategy for social capital building; in effect, the regions act as translators and implementers of the national legal framework and overall policy objectives.

The research demonstrated that the regional governments (meso level institutions) are in a position to shape the impact of the pillars and determine how the schools can play the key role that is at the heart of the

strategy. The differences in approach to this task between the two regions in the study revealed a case (Aragon) in which the awareness of this responsibility and of the need to interact with schools as a lower layer led the regional government to play a more proactive role in the establishment of incentive mechanisms in facilitating the consolidation of the schools' new role. Conversely, in the second region in the study, Castile Leon, the region was less present in providing an integrated set of incentives for the secondary schools in achieving the objectives of the national policy, especially with regard to the structural social capital or network side of the equation. In Castile Leon the regional strategy allowed for the greater part of the burden in determining acceptable outputs to fall directly onto the schools rather than remaining with the region.

Turning to the remaining two corollary hypotheses of the thesis, as in the case of the conceptual model, the findings validate their frameworks. In effect, the schools' tradition and experience prior to the launching of the national strategy as well as the importance of the leadership element present in the staff were found in several instances to determine the quality of the implementation. The consequences of these findings enhance the relevance of the logic of the conceptual model of the thesis: the internal aspects within the last level of implementation (i.e., the schools) are as important as the original objectives and in the last analysis determine the eventual success of the policy. The schools have been conceived in this thesis as institutions responsible for educational policy implementation and therefore in a position to contribute to the adjustment of the policy to local circumstances as conceptualised by Scheirer and Griffith (1990) in their study of micro-implementation. The schools in this case do not represent mere executioners of the national policy; instead, they play the role of creatively contributing to the quality of the operational response.

8.3.2 Contribution to the social capital literature and interpretation of findings from the point of view of the NSCB strategy

Overall, the thesis centred on studying a favourable setting from which the schools could operate as important social capital builders. In doing so, the thesis located itself within the *constructability* strand of social capital theory and sought to contribute to enhancing its relevance. It did so by concentrating on an innovative Spanish approach to the development of new context-specific strategies for social capital building by focusing on the role of secondary schools. Adapting Putnam's 'virtuous circle' of social capital generation (Putnam et al, 1993), the thesis hypothesised and set out to empirically investigate the potential for intervention of secondary schools in such a process by focusing on four case studies in Spain given the country's 2006 law to build social capital through the educational system's secondary schools. The identification of secondary schools as important social capital builders and the empirical assessment of Spain's 2006 NSCB programme have represented a novel contribution made by this thesis to the literature.

For the first time the schools have been conceived as the central actors in the process of the building of social capital rather than the context within which pre-existing social capital is manifested or determines educational achievements as was the case with Bourdieu and Coleman (1991). In this thesis social capital has been analysed as the by-product or outcome of specific educational policy set into motion by national and regional legislations and built upon by local institutions and the schools themselves. Even though at the end it was not possible to undertake a measure of the social capital produced by the NSCB strategy, the thesis has clearly defined the cause and effect relationship upon which the policy is predicated.

Moreover, accounting for the fact that the study has spanned across two Spanish regions which differ in their historical legacies of self-government and against what the *endowments* strand of social capital literature would have predicted, the thesis has shown that there is no significant difference across the two regions in terms of the process of configuring different forms of regional opportunity structures for social capital building in the schools. In effect, both regions displayed both problems and innovations in the implementation of the policy. The study of the four schools' behaviour has not provided evidence in support of the *endowments* strand. Both from the perspective of the schools' level of response to the opportunity structures and from the perspective of their backgrounds and experiences, there were no major structural differences between the schools that could be derived from their location in one region vis-a-vis the other. Thus, the differences were found within the schools themselves, irrespective of the regions within which they were located. This conclusion places the emphasis on determining the performance of the schools in response to the NSCB strategy on the intervening variables rather than on the independent ones.

The role of the intervening variables points out an interesting relationship between the contribution of what we have referred to as institutional capital embedded in the past experiences of the schools and the human capital currently present in creating the conditions for a more viable response to the ROSs. In the MLG system existing in Spain each institutional level has its own allocation of institutional and human capital to help in the full implementation of the educational policy. Where those two types of capital are present it is a lot easier to generate new ideas and solutions to ambiguities present in the implementation process.

The thesis also demonstrated the viability of the implementation literature which has cautioned from the very beginning the problems associated with implementation in a MLG setting and the need for constant interaction between levels of government in order to correct implementation with the

expectations of the original policy programme. In our case the implementation has to be corrected vis-a-vis the national programmatic objectives as well as the regional ones. In addition, we have seen that programme implementation by the schools has to be brought into alignment with the initiatives put into action by the local governments in the provision of extra-curricular activities and other appropriate community actions.

The thesis also engaged with the 'thinner' strand of literature within the social capital field addressing the role of education in the generation of social capital. The major contribution of the thesis consists in the novel study of schools as dynamic actors that can directly intervene in the social capital generation process, including a 'blueprint' of how such a role could be enhanced. Through the analysis of the MLG structure and the interaction between its meso and local levels, the thesis has produced in the Spanish context evidence for a strategy of intervention based on the 'virtuous circle' of social capital generation focused on secondary schools. The schools can operate as key components in the strategy to generate social capital as originally predicted by the national NSCB strategy.

The significance of this result lies in the testing of the conceptual framework in a future longitudinal study.¹⁹⁹ Does the result change over time as the schools adjust to their new role? In addition, can the regional incentives to make the policy fully operational be introduced on a piecemeal basis as policy makers and school administrators make the necessary adjustments to the existing policy based on an understanding of what has worked and what hasn't?²⁰⁰ As stated at the beginning of the thesis, the MLG system of governance requires constant adjustments and

¹⁹⁹ See last section of this chapter.

²⁰⁰ There is the question of whether the new Popular Party government headed by Mariano Rajoy will maintain this policy that was introduced by Zapatero. If so, consolidation could take place. If not, there would be a return to the status quo ante. Up until now, action has not been taken to change or reverse the policy.

the process of policy learning to take place in guaranteeing that the final policy outputs are in line with the initial policy objectives. For this purpose, policy evaluation has to be incorporated as an integral part of the policy process (John, 2012; Hupe, 2011; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993).

Furthermore, the investigation of the Spanish MLG structure, identified in the study as the model within which the opportunity structure at the core of the social capital building strategy is configured and created has provided the opportunity to explore various aspects of the public policy implementation process in the Spanish educational sector. In effect, through the lens of this body of literature (Knoepfel et al., 2007; Hill, 2005; Hill and Hupe, 2002; O'Toole, 2003; Stoker, 1991), the thesis' findings highlight how the interaction between regional government and schools has not fully guaranteed the complete coordination between the two levels in achieving a completely successful implementation of the national policy. That coordination requires time to be built as part of a trial and error process backed up by institutional and financial interventions on the part of the region. The national government must also step in periodically through inspections and evaluations of the policy to make sure that the national objectives are being met by the regional translation of the strategy.

From the public policy implementation perspective, the findings of the thesis provide further evidence of the inherent difficulty in the interactions between levels of government during the initial implementation process and the relevance of the street-level bureaucrat's capacity to build on successive achievements in policy implementation. In our four cases the differences outlined in the schools' response to the regional opportunity structures, in the last analysis, depended on "internal" factors that distinguished one school from another. We have highlighted the role of the internal leadership in providing pro-active responses in resolving immediate implementation problems, but we have also pointed out how past leadership inputs defined as the past traditions and experiences-- which can be conceived of as an internal "institutional capital" --developed

by the individual schools to resolve previous problems have left a reservoir of learned behaviour or institutional capacity that can be drawn upon in the formulation of programmatic solutions. This process is also aided by the fact that a number of provisions incorporated by the national NSCB programme were based on pre-existing educational initiatives taken by previous national governments that were voluntary in nature but which after 2006 became mandatory as part of the school curriculum. Therefore, an adequate fusion between past practices and current requirements provided the basis for an adequate response to the programmatic objectives of the NSCB strategy.

8.4 What next? Policy implications and future research agendas

8.4.1 Policy implications: The limits of the Spanish scheme

With the objective of drawing policy implications from the analysis presented above, this subsection discusses how the traits of comprehensiveness and sustainability have been present in the current operationalisation of the national social capital building strategy on the part of secondary schools in Spain. The discussion therefore engages with what a consolidated role for schools as social capital builders entails and how policy can be best implemented in a MLG operational context.

This quality of the role is not defined in terms of the social capital results produced –which is outside the scope of this thesis--; rather, it is discussed in terms of the characteristics of the strategy that envisages a specific role for the schools. Conclusively, two traits of the strategy are deemed necessary for the role to be considered a success: its comprehensiveness and its sustainability. In effect, the social capital building strategy needs to address the concept's dual dimensionality; the strategy needs to be *comprehensive enough* to address both the

substantive and the structural dimensions of the concept. At the same time, the role can only be confirmed if the strategy behind it spans over a long period of time; the strategy needs to be *sustainable* and *sustained* over time with the necessary structural components and material incentives. Implementation must be continuous and supported by the necessary resources in order to bring it into compliance with expectations.

The comprehensiveness of the opportunity structures

The trait of comprehensiveness entails the inclusion in the opportunity structure of regional pillars addressing the two dimensions of social capital: substantive and structural. Aiming to intervene in the ‘virtuous circle’ of social capital generation, the strategy’s level of comprehensiveness plays a fundamental role in the definition of the manner and specific moments in which the strategy can contribute to the process. The evaluation hereby has gone beyond the reporting of the formal existence of a pillar. Rather, it has reported on the degree to which the area of action that the pillar addresses has been met and operationalised in the local context. In other words, the comprehensiveness of the strategy is analysed in terms of the *realised* – as opposed to mere *formal*- operationalisation of the fully fleshed out regional opportunity structure in each school. And in this manner the differences among the institutes and the problems associated with programme implementation have emerged.

Indeed none of the four schools was able to uniformly or comprehensively make use of the regional opportunity structures, but all of the institutes did provide positive examples of how the objectives of single pillars could be maximised. The relative performance in this regard ranges from the two lower performers (JJ and RP) to the two best performers (DE and LE) that made significant contributions to four or five of the social capital pillars. However, in all four cases there were examples of internal learning taking place that bodes well for the future adjustment of the programme within

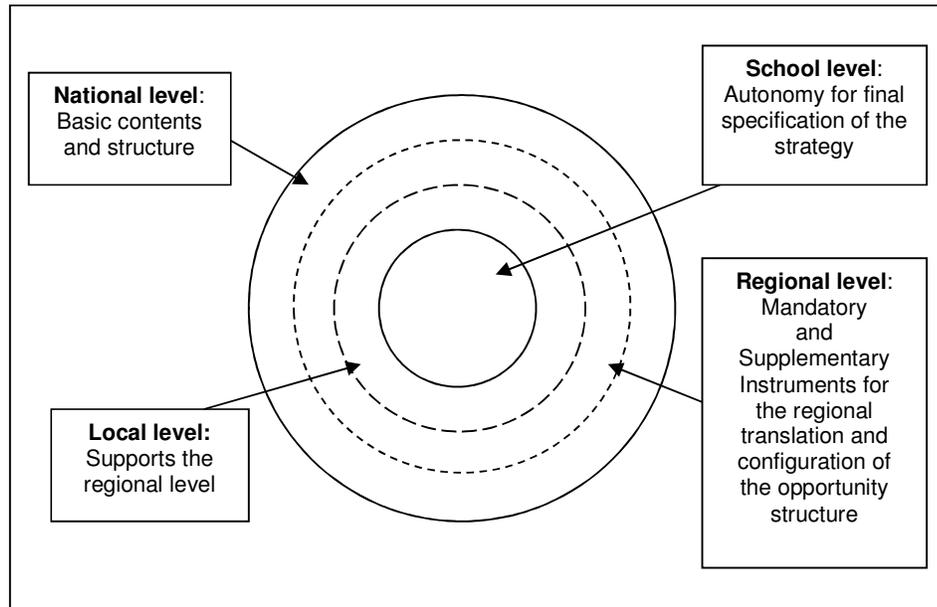
the schools so that it can reasonably achieve the expectations and objectives.

The sustainability of the opportunity structures

The role of schools as social capital builders is also predicated on the sustainability over time of the strategy. In turn, this relates to the coherent functioning of the MLG structure in terms of both the satisfactory fulfilment of responsibilities on the part of each institutional partner and of the appropriate interactions across the different levels in the multi-level structure. The continued existence of the regional opportunity structure rests on the capacity to empower and raise the schools' awareness levels as new institutional stakeholders, as well as on the importance of the mandatory and supplementary components in the regional strategy. All of these elements need to be brought together in the repeated interactions required by the virtuous cycle in developing social capital discussed in the first chapter. If the cycle is not repeated over time, then the social capital building process can be stopped or even reversed.

Figure 8.1 below illustrates how the MLG system in the schools could be structured at the different levels. The proper functioning of the MLG in the future relies on each level working properly and responsibly, with each level fulfilling its clearly stated tasks. In the current educational setting in Spain, schools are beginning to come to terms with their full responsibilities in the task of building social capital. Consequently they are searching for the means by which they can play a more active role in the configuration of the strategy for social capital building.

Figure 8.1 . Levels of the MLG structure for education in Spain



Source: Author's formulation

The sustainability in time of the strategy is dependent on the correct interaction between levels in the MLG structure. In the current setting, the region's responsibility in terms of developing the appropriate incentive schemes (supplementary component of their development of the 'windows') to engage schools as co-implementers and co-protagonists in the final configuration of the opportunity structure is crucial. Some of the pillars are weakened due to the absence of adequate incentives such as programmes or initiatives from the regional or local governments in relation to extra-curricular or supplementary programmes. Conversely, there are positive examples where, precisely *because* of the existence of such supportive schemes, schools have in fact been enticed to getting involved in exploiting the possibilities provided by the pillars to operate as an active tier in the MLG structure responsible for the final specification of the strategy.

There is also the question of the spill-over of learning from one level to another. In the Figure presented above it is evident that policy learning can

take place within one each circle, but what are the probability of policy learning spilling over from one level to another? The interviews in the field also left open this possibility that institutions can learn through experience and the diffusion of best practices across institutional lines. This would serve to reinforce and accelerate the process as part of the virtuous cycle of policy learning in the building of social capital.

To conclude, the establishment of the role of secondary schools in Spain in the current setting is still short of comprehensiveness and sustainability. The corrective measures to reinforce these two traits are necessary in overcoming the existing limitations in implementation. This can be done by promoting the empowerment and awareness of schools as active partners in the MLG structure, as well as the region's use of both mandatory and supplementary schemes in the configuration of the opportunity structures.

8.4.2 Future research agendas

There are at least two important lines of research stemming from this study: one is to build longitudinally on the four case studies, and the other to extend its spatial scope beyond the two regions of Aragon and Castile Leon. The production of both is based on the provision of a 'map' for the analysis of the regional opportunity structures that are at the centre of the strategy combined with the establishment of a baseline for the measurement of social capital levels among the students –begun in parallel to this thesis but not integrated into it for purposes of scope--, can provide a unique opportunity for the pursuit of a study across time as suggested by Goggin et al (1990) to test the strategy's real effect on student social capital levels over, for example, two to four iterations in the medium term (two years apart).²⁰¹ Such a study would not be a panel

²⁰¹ The possibility of conducting an ex-ante (measuring the level of social capital in students that were entering into the social capital building strategy at 14 years of age) and an ex-post (those who had

study because students of secondary schools remain for only a few years. But it could be conducted with similar samples of students from the same school years. Focus groups with students and selected interviews with key respondents could also be systematically repeated.

At the same time, the identification of the strategy's 'blueprint' specific in two regions in Spain, offers an additional line of research in which the same approach can indeed be replicated in other regions and hence deepen the understanding of the variation in the MLG structure in the educational sector in Spain. In our study, we took regions placed in the mid-range of the social capital indicators. In subsequent studies, it would be necessary to expand the sample to regions at the top and bottom of the social capital scale to verify the results obtained in this study and to build a better understanding of how the MLG structure operates in the governance of educational policy in Spain and whether the final objectives of the national NSCB strategy have been met across all regions.

The final question that needs to be answered is: has the social capital building strategy initiated by the national government in 2006 been successful? Is there a relationship between the educational policy (input) put into place by the NSCB strategy, the operationalization of that policy at the local level (outputs) and the building of social capital (outcomes)? It is too early to provide a definitive answer. What the thesis has tried to do is to provide some empirical indication of the connection between the inputs and outputs associated with the policy. Even in this case evidence needs to be collected over time. Policy implementation requires time to provide the basis for judging the overall success of the policy. Time was not a factor that was available for the analysis carried out by the thesis.

participated in the strategy after two years of study) phase was not possible due to the gap between when the policy was initiated in 2008 and when the fieldwork was carried out in 2009.

In addition, time is necessary in order to analyse the relationship between the outputs and the outcomes. Has the Spanish government been on the right track in its attempt to build social capital? We do not know for sure, but this question can be answered on the basis of further research carried out on the four schools analysed and on a wider sample of educational institutions. The basis for answering this question have been established. It is now up to us to carry this type of research forward.

What has been accomplished in this thesis is not only providing the basis for future research on social capital, but it has also significantly contributed to the analysis of how policies are made and implemented in an MLG setting. The thesis has highlighted the fact that in an extensive MLG structure as the one that exists in Spain it is not only important to understand what goes into the policy process at the national level but also what is contributed to the policy at the meso and local levels and, in the final analysis, what is brought to policy implementation by the street level bureaucrats which in our case are the administrative and teaching staff in the individual schools. In the case of the NSCB strategy, one year after the policy was initiated the schools were gearing up their curricula and programmes to meet the requirements of the policy and some were, in the last analysis, more successful than others. However, all of the schools had made substantial efforts in trying to implement the national programme according to its regional components.

Do these results represent a successful example of implementation of the policy? Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) would probably have no problem in responding positively to this question given their analysis of the Oakland experience. We could be more critical in analysing the final outputs, but we lack a comparable example of educational policy implementation in the Spanish or any other national context. Therefore, we need to be satisfied with what we have because at least it presents a beginning in understanding the complex nature of policy implementation in the attempt to build social capital.

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Royal Decree 1631, 2006 which establishes the minimum contents for compulsory secondary education following the LOE.

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Academic memoirs in the four schools

Coexistence Plans of the four schools

Educational projects (PECs) of the four schools

Internal code of conduct (RRI), Institute 'Ramon Pignatelli'

PIEE Memoirs, Institutes 'Los Enlaces' and 'Ramon Pignatelli'

Tutorial Action Plans (TAPs) for the four schools

State School Council Report on the state and situation of the Educational System, Course 2004-2005.

State School Council Report on the state and situation of the Educational System, Course 2005-2006.

Annex I. Methodological annex

Interview guides

a. School Directives

Issue/Topic	Question(s)
Questions on NSCB's policy pillars	
<i>EDUCATION IN VALUES</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are 'education in values' treated in the school? • Aside from that specified in the PEC, are there other ways in which the transversal themes are being treated in your school? • If so, for how long have they been in place?
<i>TUTORIAL</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the main objectives in the school TAP? • How are social norms addressed?
<i>COEXISTENCE</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is the school advancing in the development of norms on coexistence? • Can you describe the concrete structures in place within the school? • Can you specify the time this has been in place? • In your opinion, do students engage with your actions on this topic?
<i>EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concerning after school activities, what kind of activities does the school's offer? • How many children participate? • How engaged are students?
<i>PARTICIPATION PRINCIPLE</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are there any student associations in the school? • In your opinion, how do students see their associational rights? Do they exercise them? • How is student participation in the student council? Does the school facilitate their participation? • How is student participation in the School Council?
<i>OTHER PROGRAMMES</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are there any other programmes being implemented in the school addressing social norm enhancement or network promotion? • How long have they been in place? • How many students take part in them?
Questions on school profile, context and background	
<i>School profile and background</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Account of school's history and mission • Can you describe the community the school caters to? • Size of school; how many students and how many teachers • Level of diversity among students • Levels of promotion of students to higher education; How many students continue with an academic strand? How many leave school for vocational training?

b. Coexistence coordinator(s)

Interview guide with Coexistence coordinator(s)	
<i>Pillar's formalisation and structures</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you describe the school's approach to Coexistence? • Does the school have a Coexistence Plan in place? • Are there any structures or roles created to monitor coexistence in the school? • How long have these structures and roles been in place?
<i>Detail of actions in pillar</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which activities are being promoted to increase harmony among students? • Have your actions been successful? Which ones succeeded, which ones failed and why? • Are there any additional future actions for the improvement of coexistence?

c. Head of the Counselling and Guidance Department

Interview guide with Head of the Counselling and Guidance Department	
<i>Pillar's formalisation and structures</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you describe the school's philosophy behind its TAP? • How does the Department interact with the coexistence structures (coexistence plan, coexistence monitor, etc)?
<i>Detail of actions in pillar</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are social norms being addressed by the Department's actions/TAP? • How many children are addressed by the TAP? • If so, in your opinion, have these actions been successful? Which ones succeeded, which ones failed and why? • Are there any additional future actions addressing social norms and integration being planned?

d. Extracurricular activities coordinators

Interview guide with Coordinators of extracurricular activities	
<i>Pillar's formalisation and structures</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you describe the school's level of offer of extracurricular activities to students? • How are they organised? • How long have they been in place?
<i>Detail of actions in pillar</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you describe the different types of activities? • How many students and from which grades participate? • Is there additional encouragement from the school for students to participate? • Are these activities valued by the students?

Student focus groups detail

Focus groups with younger students	
Questionnaire part	No questionnaire was used with younger students.
Word game part	<i>This exercise sought to gather information on the success/failure of the school initiatives for social norm and network promotion. Students were provided with cards with words relative to both, such as trust, distrust, generosity, solidarity, cooperation, rights, duties, team effort, etc. They were asked to describe them within their school and to point out which were the most relevant in their opinion.</i>

Focus groups with older students	
Questionnaire part	<i>Due to the limited amount of time, the questionnaire used with older students contained four hypothetical cases in which social norms were relevant. The hypothetical cases were formulated as typical examples of situations that present themselves in daily school life. They each referred to a different window of opportunity: participation within the school, education in values, coexistence, extracurricular activities, and tutorial actions. The follow up questions sought to establish the students' opinion on the way the school was managing those areas.</i>
Word game part	No word game was used with older students.

Group discussions

Guide used for group discussions with teachers	
Details of school's use of windows of opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>In your opinion, how has the school managed the incorporation of the topic of coexistence into its daily routine and structures? What difficulties has it encountered, if any?</i> • <i>In terms of network promotion and encouragement of associational activities or team work, how has the school engaged in the task? Have you personally promoted them?</i> • <i>Talking about the transversal themes of the 'education in values', how has the school engaged with them? What treatment are they given with the students?</i> • <i>Turning to participation of students in school affairs, in your opinion, how easy/difficult is it for students to participate? Are channels of participation open and active?</i> • <i>In your 'tutor' quality, how closely do you follow the TAP? How central is it in your everyday engagement with the students?</i>
Characteristics and profile of students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Could you describe the group of students under your care according to the following criteria?</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Their engagement with the school;</i> ○ <i>Their trust in the school directives and school structure;</i> ○ <i>How they interact as a group;</i> ○ <i>Their respect for social norms;</i> ○ <i>Their levels of associational activities.</i>

Regional and local authorities interviewed

	Regional and/or Local Authority
Region 1 Aragon (Zaragoza)	Felipe Faci Lázaro Director General of Educational Administration, Government of Aragón
	Carmen Martinez Urtasun Director General of Education Policy, Government of Aragón
	Jose Luis Félix Fando Chief of Unit, Unit of Participation in Education, Directorate General of Education Policy, Government of Aragón
	Jose Luis Soler Chief of Unit, Unit of Tutoring and Guidance, Directorate General of Education Policy, Government of Aragón
	Ana Isabel Ayala Director of the Provincial Service, Department for Education, Culture and Sports, Zaragoza, Aragón
	Charo Viela Cardo Technical Manager, Youth Service Centre, Zaragoza City Hall
Region 2 Castile Leon (Valladolid)	Maria Juana Perez Blasco Chief, Unit of Educational Innovation, Directorate General of Quality, Innovation and Teacher formation, Consejería de Educacion, Junta de Castilla y Leon
	Leandro Gonzalez Marin Chief, Unit of Programme supervision, Quality and Evaluation, Directorate General of Quality, Innovation and Teacher formation, Consejería de Educacion, Junta de Castilla y Leon
	Jose Ignacio Recio Rivas Regional Observatory for the Coexistence, Consejería de Educación, Junta de Castilla y Leon.
	Amparo Ricote Muñoz * Chief Sports Unit for Children in Schools, Municipal Federation for Sports (FMDVA), Valladolid, Castile Leon.

* At the meeting with Ms. Ricote, she was accompanied by one of her colleagues working at the same unit. The name of this person was not recorded.

Detail of regional opportunity structure (ROS) in Aragon – Substantive windows of opportunity

	Legal development		Supplementary actions			Overall
	Level of specification	Level of compulsion	Incentives	Scholastic Material	Other resources	
Education in values	Very high. Specifies 10 lines of action in secondary curriculum.	Very high., Specifies how schools should include this in their documents and defines it as a central element of secondary education.	High. Legal precepts refer to experiments and innovation that schools are encouraged to pursue in every field.	Very Low. There are no materials available to schools.	Very high. There are several studies and guides at the disposal of the general public on the regional website for schools.	The region has been keen on maintaining the previous legislation (LOGSE) in this topic very much alive. In the development of the LOE, where the regional curriculum is adjusted, these transversal themes are clearly mentioned and included as objectives of secondary education. Promotes innovation in the area encouraging autonomy in schools. In addition, has specific events designed to support certain topics within the transversal themes. Schools also receive material in certain specific topics, but the big majority of themes must be taught transversally in their curriculum.
Tutorial actions	Mixed. It is by no means ignored but neither developed in detail concerning social norms. Detailed legislation is referred to students with special learning or socialising needs.	High. Absolutely mandatory.	Very Low. Not really any incentives available.	Mixed. There are materials , but for students with special learning difficulties and professional guidance for last year students.	Mixed. Availability only for students with special needs.	Main support in this area is not addressed at social norm reinforcement, but at academic achievement and students with special difficulties.
Approach to coexistence	High. There are several laws, decrees etc regulating harmonious coexistence since before the LOE. The regional coexistence strategy was for the 2005-2006 academic year. Very detailed with lines of action and specific actions.	Mixed. The coexistence plan was only ordered to be fully mandatory after 2010. It has been a suggestion since 2005.	Very high. Prize for good practices to be put in place after 2009.	Very high. Guidelines from regional authorities have been at disposal of schools since 2006 - Guides 'Count with me'.	Very high. Counselling, legal advice and support for students, staff and teachers is on offer since 2008. Permanent training was also agreed in 2008 (Nov).	The approach the region has had to coexistence is good but mixed. Although from an early time they were already working on the topic, providing clear objectives and guidelines to schools, they had not really incorporated the pillar as an important part of secondary

Detail of regional opportunity structure (ROS) in Aragon – Structural windows of opportunity

	Legal development		Supplementary actions			Overall
	Level of specification	Level of compulsion	Incentives	Scholastic Material	Other resources	
Extra curricular activities	Low. Extracurricular activities as autonomous actions to be carried out by schools are not really developed in the law. Possible reason for this is the development of the PIEE programme (under actions addressing autonomy).	Very low. Not being legally developed, no mandatory quality; it falls within autonomy sphere of action.	Very high. PIEE programme. Created and run by the local level (town hall) in 1986. Supported by regional level and by parents' associations. Financially supported with contributions from all these entities and minor contributions from schools and students.	Very low. Not really any material available.	Very high. As part of the programme, an instructor, employed by the local authorities, is assigned to the school. This person is responsible of everything related to the offer of extracurricular activities in the school.	The regional set up of the window of opportunity in Aragon is very well developed and organised. It provides incentives that are difficult for schools to ignore. The relatively or apparent weak legal development is likely to be so due to the existence of the well-developed supplementary actions.
Participation principle	Very low. Aside from principles from national framework, almost no mention in the law - only in students' rights.	Mixed. Being part of the students' rights, yes there is a mandatory issue, but no further development.	Very low. There are no incentives for schools to promote participation within them.	Very low. There is no provision of material to encourage schools.	High. There are other resources for young people. There is a unit in the regional government dealing and supporting associational behaviour; it provides guidelines, support and even financial support for administrative costs, however this is not channelled via schools.	The situation is peculiar. The regional and local levels of government encourage youth associations in several ways, including financial support and guidance. However, schools are never foreseen as platforms or aides in this effort. At the same time, schools seem to ignore these incentives which they could somehow incorporate into their own school culture and their own teaching methods.
Other programmes	Mixed. Being the PROA a programme stemming from a cooperation agreement with the central state and having been implemented in all regions, the legal development is standard in every region.	Mixed. Participation from schools is not mandatory - it is dependant upon the presence of students with specific needs and the approval of the regional authority.	High. The main incentive is financial the subsidy implied in the programme.	Very low. There are no materials available.	Very low. There are no other resources available to schools.	The regional translation of the window of opportunity seems to be very straight forward and done in a minimalist way - following a standard procedure. There is no creativity in the way it is presented to schools and some of its secondary objectives, which would enhance network formation get lost. There is an over-emphasis on academic achievement.

Detail of regional opportunity structure (ROS) in Castile Leon – Substantive windows of opportunity

	Legal development		Supplementary actions			Overall
	Level of specification	Level of compulsion	Incentives	Scholastic Material	Other resources	
Education in values	Low. Education in values is not found in specific legal precepts. Brief mention of transversal themes is made when referring to the contents of the Schools educational project PEC.	High. Yes, it is mandatory to be part of the PEC.	Very low. There are no incentives for schools.	Very low. There are no materials available for schools.	Mixed. Some punctual events are supported by the regional authorities for some transversal themes such as health, road safety, etc.	The development of this window in the region is rather small, leaving it completely in the hands of schools (autonomy). Incentives or support to that autonomous effort is only referred to certain topics. Almost no mention of Education in values in regional curriculum, and their importance in education is not explained or emphasised.
Tutorial actions	Very high. Since 2003 the Region has developed a Framework Plan for assistance to diversity and one of its pillars is Guidance. The Plan for Guidance is approved in 2006. Well organised and with 7 lines of action.	High. The approach is absolutely mandatory.	Very low. There are no incentives for schools.	Very low. There are no materials available for schools.	Mixed. Support is at the local level for heads of tutorial and guidance department but referred to students with special learning difficulties.	In development of a regional framework plan created in 2003 for the assistance to diversity, the region established in 2006 the Plan for Guidance, with 7 lines of action, among them tutorial actions and guidance actions for the educational community. Both these lines make reference to social norms but establish academic achievement as the main objective.
Approach to coexistence	High. Legal developments in this area since 2005 with suggestions for schools. In 2006 created the observatory and coexistence coordinator in schools. In end of 2007 details everything much more.	Mixed. The need for a coexistence plan in each school started to be mentioned in 2007, but with no specific level of compulsion at the time.	Very high. Since 2007 the region recognises good practices in coexistence and is creating a network of good practices.	Very high. Regional and local authorities provide support and guidance material for each of the lines of action within the regional plan for coexistence.	Very high. There is also training available for teachers and school staff dealing with coexistence.	The regional treatment of coexistence is very well structured and developed over time, with its history stretching back to 2005. The level of detailed regulation leads to the establishment of very useful figures even within the school structure such as the coexistence coordinator and the coexistence commission within the school council. There is a significant amount of support being given by the provincial and local levels in guidelines, materials etc.

Detail of regional opportunity structure (ROS) in Castile Leon – Structural windows of opportunity

	Legal development		Supplementary actions			Overall
	Level of specification	Level of compulsion	Incentives	Scholastic Material	Other resources	
Extra curricular activities	Very low. Traditionally within the schools' autonomy. Not much legal development.	Low. Not being legally developed, not much mandatory requirement; it is discretionary of schools.	High. There is an initiative of local authorities: the interschool games, to which teams can subscribe to, but there is no financial incentive, only the possibility of winning the recognition for winning the tournament.	Very low. No material available to schools.	Very low. No material available to schools.	Window which is really almost non-existent in the region. The attitude of the regional government has been very weak in addressing this issue, not even encouraging schools to use their autonomy.
Participation principle	Mixed. Since 2004, the region has the Programme for the training of families, and students to participate in the educational system. It has had two 3 year phases (04-07 and 08-11). It is detailed and has four 'blocks' of focus with one involving student associations encouraging participation in school affairs and in the educational system as a whole.	Mixed. It is not very clear, but it seems to be mandatory for authorities to work on this but participants are not compelled to attend.	Very low. There are no financial incentives for schools.	Very low. No materials available to schools.	Very low. Schools are not addressed or taken into account for the programme as actors in it.	Participation in the region falls into the sole autonomy of schools. The region has been carrying out efforts to engage students in participating, but has not really addressed or involved schools in this effort. The school has no incentives to involve their students in the activities promoted by the authorities in these programmes.
Other programmes	High. The PROA programme stems from a national framework and as such follows pretty much the same setting. Concerning other developments contrasting Aragon in terms of a Programme to improve the Quality of education in the region.	Very high. PROA - as in Aragon, once selected, mandatory. In the quality programme, schools are left to experiment and innovate, proving to authorities new methods or projects. Sometimes with successful projects, the region adopts it and increases the mandatory level.	Very high. PROA - financial subsidies to pay for special attention to students Quality - incentives are recognition; there are also prizes (subsidies) and the affiliation to a network of good practices.	Very low. There is no material available to schools.	Very low. There are no other resources available.	The regional landscape in terms of this window of opportunity is diverse and rich; the regional authorities are trying to activate the schools' autonomy in order for new ways of improving education and in so doing encouraging network formation.

Annex II. List of Acronyms

CIS	Centro de Investigaciones Sociologicas (Centre for Sociological Studies, Spain)
CP	Coexistence Plan
DE	'Delicias'
ESO	Educacion Secundaria Obligatoria (Compulsory Secondary Education)
ESS	European Social Survey
EU	European Union
EVS	European Values Survey
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IE	Instituto de Evaluacion (Evaluation Institute)
JJ	'Juan de Juni'
LE	'Los Enlaces'
LODE	Organic Act on the right to education
LOE	Ley Organica de Educacion (2006 Organic law (2) of Education)
LOGSE	Ley Organica de Ordenacion General del Sistema Educativo (Organic law on the general arrangement of the education system)
ME	Ministry of Education
MEC	Ministry of Education and Sciences (Ministerio de Educacion y Ciencias)
MLG	Multi-Level Governance
NSCB	National Social Capital Building Strategy
OCP	Open Centre Programme (Programa Apertura de Centro)
PAD	Plan de atencion a la diversidad (Plan for Attention to Diversity)
PEC	Proyecto Educativo de Centro (Institute's educational project)
PEI	Proyecto Educativo del Instituto (Institute's educational project; is the same as the PEC)
PEV	Plan de Educacion en Valores ('Education in values' Plan)
PIEE	Programa de Integracion de Espacios Escolares (Programme for the Integration of Campuses)

PROA	Programa de Refuerzo, Orientacion y Apoyo (Programme for the Assistance, Counselling and Guidance Support)
ROS	Regional Opportunity Structure
RP	'Ramon Pignatelli'
RRI	Regimen de Reglamentacion Interna (Internal Code of Conduct)
SC	Social Capital
SCB	Social Capital Building
SES	Socio-Economic Status
SNA	Social Network Analysis
TAP	Tutorial Action Plan
WVS	World Values Survey