

## Relationship with knowledge and gender: a typology of successful behaviors at school based on the characters of J. K. Rowling

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### Abstract

*The purpose of this article is to generate plausible interpretations of the reasons and motives that young men and women establish a different relationship with the educational institution, which has led -women in more advanced societies to surpass men in education. It is based on a review of the main aspects of the theory of "relationship with knowledge", as developed by Bernard Charlot. Although Charlot's theory constitutes the conceptual framework of analysis, it is made to dialogue with the contributions of other theorists such as Max Weber, Margaret Archer and Michael FD Young. Methodologically, the analysis is based on the typology of the behavior of characters in a work of fiction aimed at young audiences. It concludes by showing aspects of the teaching situation in modern educational institutions, which favor the generation of a relationship with more positive knowledge in women than in men.*

### Key words

*Relationship with knowledge, Gender, Education, Inequality.*

### Résumé

*Le but de cet article est de générer des interprétations plausibles des raisons pour lesquelles les jeunes hommes et femmes nouent une relation différente avec l'institution éducative, ce qui a amené les femmes dans les sociétés plus avancées à surpasser les hommes en éducation. Il est basé sur un examen des principaux aspects de la théorie du "rapport avec le savoir", développée par Bernard Charlot. Bien que la théorie de Charlot constitue le cadre conceptuel de l'analyse, elle est amenée à dialoguer avec les contributions d'autres théoriciens tels que Max Weber, Margaret Archer et Michael FD Young. Méthodologiquement, l'analyse est basée sur la typologie du comportement des personnages dans une œuvre de fiction destinée au jeune public. Il conclut en montrant des aspects de la situation de l'enseignement dans les établissements d'enseignement modernes, qui favorisent la création de relations avec un savoir plus positif chez les femmes que chez les hommes.*

### Mots Clés

*Rapport au savoir, Genre, Education, Inégalité.*

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## Introduction

Women's school success, which is expressed in higher enrollment rates, higher grades and academic careers longer and more complex, was frequently belittled with reproductivist arguments. On the one hand, it was argued that, although education benefits women, the labor market discriminates them, so that the credentials they obtain do not translate into greater economic or social rewards. This argument is not sustainable. First, the school must be evaluated according to its own objectives. If your goals are to teach and produce "educated" people, in the case of women, they are well fulfilled. It is not correct to attribute to the school, inequalities generated by the market. Secondly, the inequalities in remuneration between men and women in the labor market that, as it is known, are directly related to the level of qualifications and the responsibility of the positions, are not usually perceived by women, who compare their income with which they would have generated if they had not achieved the educational qualifications they did. For them, the qualifications have yielded, in labor, economic and social terms, but, above all, in something about which men do not question or evaluate themselves: in terms of personal satisfaction and the independence they can achieve thanks to their qualifications, in comparison to those that could be obtained from the traditional domestic role or from unqualified work.

On the other hand, is still pointing to the greater influx of women into careers in care or letters, such as medicine or the humanities and social sciences, while men continue to dominate in the exact sciences and the Promethean professions, addressed to the transformation of the world, such as engineering and technologies. As a consequence, women, either by their own choices or by the long social and school conditioning, would waste their greater schooling in less prestigious and profitable professions than men, reproducing their traditional roles and their economic and social disadvantage. However, it is necessary to understand that *the social valuation of the professions is itself, also a product of the androcentric perspectives that hierarchize masculinity and its attributes.*

There are two arguments that support this hypothesis: 1) It is not easy to justify that feminine activities, such as pediatrics, are less valuable than masculine ones, such as engineering. Children's lives can hardly be seen as "secondary" compared to the construction of machinery, bridges, or dams. 2) Experience shows how typically feminine activities are "dignified" to the point of their symbolic transformation and

even in their designation when they are practiced by men: the cook becomes a “chef”, the hairdresser becomes a “stylist” and the dressmaker, a "designer". Men dedicated to female activities jump to fame, tell us how to raise children, how to feed us, how women should take care of their health and even their appearance. It is not, therefore, the activity that is most valuable in itself, but it is the masculinity that is associated with it, which re-signifies it and metamorphoses it into something superior and unique. Subordinated in the family, work, society, and politics, girls and women show in school their ability to predominate, both numerically and in the qualifications they obtain. School, sensitive to its capabilities and its efforts, despite all the arguments against it, rewards them, at least as students. As workers, namely teachers or researchers, it subjects them to the same discrimination mechanisms than any other employer. How can this phenomenon be understood? How to explain this historical process of conquering women in the school world? Is it possible to explain it through the interpretation of the behavior of these girls and young people and their relationship with school knowledge? Why men, better unemployed from the beginning of their lives, for the valorization of their masculinity, do not rely on self-confidence to provision the knowledge and knowledge offered, for all, the school institution in it as women? Why do women find in the school a less discriminating environment than that of the market, state, culture or politics?

This work will attempt to answer these questions, based on the assumption that the theoretical constructions that continue to sustain gender reproductivism, privilege the constrictive aspects of the structure, rather than the recursive ones, and belittle or forget the role of human subjects in the interpretation and transformation of their conditions and vital perspectives. Regarding the school, this agency capacity can be seen in the theoretical perspective of the "relationship with knowledge", as conceptualized by Bernard Charlot (2001, 2008, 2013, 2016) in the sociological aspect of the theory (Cavalcanti 2019).

### **Theoretical approach: The relationship with knowledge**

The theory of the relationship with knowledge has known several different approaches. Following Cavalcanti (2018), a distinction is made: a) the didactic-anthropological aspect developed by Yves Chevallard; b) the clinic / socioclinical / psychoanalytic, of Jacky Beillerot and the Saber team and relationship with the knowledge of CREF7; c)

the sociological / micro sociological one developed by Bernard Charlot and ESCOL8 team.

It is this last approach, that of Bernard Charlot, which will be followed in the article, and will also be put in dialogue with some other British theorists, such as Anthony Giddens, Margaret Archer and Michael F. D. Young. For methodological aspects, it will be used the construction of types in the Weberian sense.

From the theory of the relationship with the knowledge of Charlot, it is interesting to highlight some aspects that are particularly relevant to the problem we have proposed.

In the first place, and distinguishing itself from the theories of a psychological nature, Charlot argues that the human subject is, above all, a product of his species, rather than the parental or filial relations which he or she comes from. Unlike other species of animals, human breeding is born unfinished, and does not become properly human if he or she does not appropriate, with the help of others of its kind, that "humanity", which is, at first, outside the individual (Charlot 2008:57). In Charlot's words:

“l'enfant naît inachevé et, par l'éducation, il va s'approprier une partie de ce que l'espèce humaine a construit au cours de son histoire et, ainsi, advenir à la fois comme humain, sujet et membre d'une société et d'une culture. En ce sens, «le petit d'homme est obligé d'apprendre pour être». (Charlot 2006)

The unfinished human subject is born, however, with the desire to learn, in order to be. It is important to distinguish here "learning" from "knowing." The child learns the social practices, cultural values and local patterns with which he comes into contact through others, but also generates a peculiar learning relationship, of a proactive nature, which is specifically school. The relationship he establishes with that kind of knowledge is what it is called, in Charlot's theory, the relationship with knowledge. Learning is, therefore, a broader and more comprehensive phenomenon than knowledge, which has its own rules - institutional and cultural - its own relevance criteria - the best expressions of human culture - and its own means of expression, which are mainly language and abstraction.

Without establishing relationships that would deserve a more profound analysis, it is convenient to attend to the *cognitive turn* that this theory starts in the educational field, putting knowledge at the center of school work, and distancing itself from the sociological theories that, since the sixties have focused on school as a mechanism of reproduction and legitimization of social inequality (Bourdieu, Bernstein and Althousser among others). Michael F. D. Young himself, a disciple of Bernstein, who in

Knowledge and Control (Young 1971) argued that school knowledge could be seen as a ruling-class construction designed to ensure working-class children failed, has turned back. In 2008, in “Bringing Knowledge back in”, he argues that the specific aspect of the school is no longer to serve the powerful, but to provide all students with “powerful knowledge”, that is, academic and disciplinary knowledge. Ten years later, already aware of Bernard Charlot's work, in an interview with *The Guardian*, Young argues: “We shouldn’t be differentiating the curriculum saying some kids do this, some that. All children are born with a desire for knowledge. Teachers should think about how they can enhance that desire” (Wilby 2018).

In addition, that child, driven by his desire to learn, exercises an activity that is born of himself: he moves towards the object of his learning and his knowledge. Mobilization goes beyond the intentionality of consciousness; It is a significant activity, whose sense is to appropriate that knowledge and makes it his or hers own. The mobilization, internal to the subject, is thus distinguished from motivation, which comes from outside it. If parents or teachers can motivate children, only they can mobilize their abilities and undertake an activity aimed at acquiring that knowledge.

In this active process of mobilization, the subject establishes a relationship with meaningful knowledge, which implies for him a triple process that must be developed throughout life: that of hominization, it is to say, that of becoming a full member of the human species; that of socialization, by which he or she becomes a right-handed member of his society, and of individuation or singularizing, by which he or she becomes a singular person, with his or hers own and defined characteristics, different from any other member of the species, and of society. By the very nature of desire, it cannot be satisfied, so the subject remains mobilized in his relationship with learning to be human, belonging to a society, and developing his uniqueness. In his words: “To be complete would be to become an object. In that sense, education is endless, it will never end.” (Charlot 2008 57).

However, introducing the subject as the center of the process of education -from a pre-existing humanity, but from an inner movement-, in this triple operation of becoming human, social and singular, inevitably brings the consideration of how the relationship with the others affect and model the characteristics of the activity that the individual develops to complete himself.

Relationship with others is never a relationship that is limited to the social. At the same time that learning relationships are established with the social world, relationships are

established with the objective world and with the subjective world. In the interaction, that unfinished child will learn how the social world in which he moves is, how the others are, but also how the world is, and how he or she is.

To put it in usual sociological terms: The subject is immersed in a socially structured situation in which he acts reflexively; transforms and is transformed by it. The social structure provides both rules and resources that, although limiting their action, also enable individual agency. How do subjects perceive these rules and resources and conduce their activity towards knowledge? Are there tensions and contradictions in the perceptions of obstacles and opportunities by the subject and others? What kind of contradictions and with what entity? How do these contradictions affect the perception of the subject of the himself and the ability to mobilize capacities and efforts in the relationship with knowledge?

These questions are of interest for the interpretation of the behaviors of children and young students within a structured social and school space. As Charlot warns, it is not about generating categories of students, defined by the existence or lack of something, and in particular, a relationship with knowledge. But it can be said that, in that same structured space, different young people can establish different "types" of relations with knowledge, because the meaning they attribute to it is different. This difference can also be interpreted from his previous experience at school, from the greater perception of limits or opportunities, and in any case, from the contradictions and tensions he maintains between how the subject thinks he or she is and how he or she projects to be. This is far from the construction of a theory of school predictions from the social. The subjects often behave in a surprising and innovative way, even transformative of the structure in which they move, and the reasons (understood as motives) are never entirely social. The individual subject, in his uniqueness, has everything to say about his choices and his behaviors, especially, in addition, because he is able to interpret, both his motives, and the material and social conditions in which he moves. That is why, although the notion of "desire" from psychoanalysis is undoubtedly useful in explaining the innate urge to learn from the child, that this relationship with learning later becomes a relationship with longer-range knowledge, also depends on what can be understood, from the subject's point of view, as a "project" of life.

In contemporary theory, Anthony Giddens has extensively developed the idea of a reflexive project of the self (Giddens 1984), with the understanding that "A sophisticated understanding of action and structure is needed no matter what problem

one is seeking to analyze” (Giddens in Bryant and Jary, 2001:230). Archer, on the other hand, emphasizes that the social structure is not an entity in itself, since its constraining and enabling powers do not act if human projects that challenge them in some way are not put into play. Without human action, without projects to pursue, the structure has no effect, and if the projects differ, the ways and intensity in which it exerts its influence, whether enabling or constraining, will also differ. To understand this better, let's change the word project and limit ourselves to the mobilization of a small baby to obtain food. While he is not hungry, there are no opportunities or limitations for it. But as soon as he becomes hungry, and mobilizes to get food, only then will the limitations (his mother is far away) and the opportunities (but his older brother can warn him) emerge. In longer-range projects, such as educational ones, where the subject has to sustain - because he wishes to do so and has proposed it - with effort, over time, the mobilization of his abilities, the regulatory and recursive properties of The structure will be challenged frequently. In Archer's words:

“In short, constraint and enablements derive from structural and cultural emergent properties. They have the generative power to impede or facilitate projects of different kinds from groups of agents who are differentially placed. However, the activation of their causal powers is contingent upon agents who conceive of and pursue projects upon which they would impinge. Otherwise, constraints and enablements remain unexercised” (Archer 2004:7).

To act as constraints or enablers, these properties must meet the following conditions: 1) they have to be in relation to human projects, 2) they must have a relationship of congruence or inconsistency with the project in question, 3) agents have to respond through reflexive deliberation to these influences which are not deterministic. In turn, the agents influence the structure when, in pursuit of their own project, they reflectively reflect their subjective concerns with the limitations or possibilities offered by the context. This can only be done through an irreducible property of the subject, which Archer places as the mediating element between the action and the social structure: the “internal conversation”, that is, the one that develops the subject with himself in the evaluation of the potential effect of the powers of the structure on courses of action outlined with a view to its own project, how they could be avoided, remedied or exploited, and what the internal changes themselves would be and in the concretion of the project from there.

These additional considerations to the theory of Charlot about the relationship with knowledge, facilitate the interpretation of ways of being in school of different types of students, and the explanation of how, even students who could be seen as belonging to different “categories” of students, they may have very different ways of being in school, and very different school results. Since they have their own projects and in their internal conversations they evaluate differently the obstacles and opportunities they have, in the light of their own concerns and dispositions, their courses of action and their school results are hardly predictable. In fact, they are often surprising and transformative, as is the case, here, of women.

### **The relationship with knowledge and the construction of ideal types**

Following Charlot, the problem of the relationship with knowledge implies a certain methodology, based on the identification of processes and the construction of constellations, configurations, and ideal types, which distance this perspective from quantification strategies and categorization of individuals according to their social or family origin (Charlot 2001:22). For the analysis of the different ways of being and being in school, the construction of ideal types in their Weberian version is shown as a methodological resource of particular relevance. Let's see.

While it had been used by historicist and neo-Kantian proposals, it is the formulation of Max Weber, which gave pure or ideal types their peculiar status in contemporary sociology. In his methodological writings, when Weber was still interested in the interpretation of great historical phenomena, the ideal type served the task of formulating concepts sufficiently abstract to encompass the plurality of practices associated with them, and as univocal as possible, in order to distinguish them from other apparently similar phenomena, but theoretically and with very different practical consequences. According to the epistemological assumption that it is the set of cognitive interests that guides the theoretical and methodological constructions of an investigation, the ideal types must be defined according to the specific interests of the research. The type is elaborated by emphasizing those distinctive features of the phenomenon in question, to bring them together in a consistent "ideal" framework. (Weber 1971:62). This results in “a mental construction for the measurement and systematic characterization of individual relationships, that is, significant for their uniqueness” (Weber 1971:74). Here, the task of the researcher is to study what type of

phenomenon constructed can be attributed to the emergence of another concept that is also typologically constructed, which allows to clearly distinguish the phenomena from the concepts that represent them, thus avoiding the risk of reification. In this sense, types are always means and never ends in themselves.

Later, in *Economics and Society*, Weber adopts a sociological and generalizing approach that leads him to delineate the ideal type as a "pure" type, built both to conceptualize great historical phenomena and the relationships between them, and to account for the particularities of the social behaviors of specific actors. Its typology of social action, built on the maximum purification of its underlying meaning (rational according to purpose, rational valuation, affective and traditional) is, in this sense, exemplary of this constructive method. Within it, the role of purely rational action stands out for purposes as a parameter in which to interpret the concrete behaviors influenced by irrationalities of all kinds. This is the approach that will be used in this article.

As constructs, types belong to the world of ideas and not of mere empiricism. They must, therefore, be constructed with precision and unicity, eliminating everything that can be seen as circumstantial or peculiar to delineate the type in its most "pure" form: the more strange the concrete manifestations of the phenomenon the type, the more fruitful will result. In Weber's words: "... sociology must, on the other hand, form pure (ideal) types of these structures, which show in themselves the most consistent unity of a sense adaptation as full as possible; that is why it is so infrequent perhaps in reality - in the absolutely ideal pure form of the type - as a physical reaction calculated on the assumption of an absolutely empty space" (Weber 1944 17).

Of the typologies elaborated by Weber himself, two are interesting here.

First, a type of education, according to its purposes, which includes in his essays on sociology of religion. In his perspective, educational and religious institutions share a common feature: they are hierocratic associations, that is, characterized by the power of the "cults", the "elect" or the "sacred": "By hierocratic association must an association of domination is understood, when and to the extent that psychic coercion is applied for the guarantee of its order, granting and refusing goods of salvation" (Weber 1944:54). School, like churches, promise the "salvation" of its faithful, that is, the enjoyment of rewards that can only be obtained if a lifestyle characterized by sustained effort and observance of the rules is adopted, which they are seen as unbreakable. Churches promise paradise; School, the honor of being consecrated through a university degree.

This typology comprises three types of education: the charismatic, only accessible to a few, which in itself cannot be transmitted but only propitiated; the general directed to the wide cultural formation, in principle accessible to all; and the specialized, also universalist and which is aimed at the formation of "useful" subjects for specific functions.

Secondly, the types of social action developed in Economy and Society, not because their use is relevant in all cases, but because it is particularly suitable for this analysis. On the previous basis, a conceptualization - and a typology - of the successful ways of being, and being in school will be rehearsed here, which allows us to interpret the ways in which certain men and women are placed and oriented in the school space; what kind of relationship they establish with knowledge, and what is their attitude towards the school institution and its norms. It is understood that the interpretation of behaviors through types - as appropriate methodology to the theory of the relationship with knowledge - allows highlighting those characteristic features of each category, in order to capture the distinctive core of the behavior logic of each of the actors within the constellation of reciprocal relationships that characterize the school, the rules that guide them and the resources they have available.

### **The typical modern school**

To make the typology plausible, it is not enough just to show the relevance of the interpretations that it allows in specific institutional, local or national spheres. If there is talk of school feminization and the success of women in school, about the anthropological assumption of the relationship with learning and with knowledge - that is, that all humans are born incomplete - it is necessary to show the character potentially Universal phenomenon. In other words, the conceptual construction must be the result of a process of abstraction and accentuation of such characteristic features that could be recognized as such in any school around the world. In Charlot's terms, it is about including all the fundamental aspects of the "teaching situation", that is, of the "universal": "characteristics that are related to the nature of the activity and the teaching situation, whatever that are, and, in addition, the social, cultural, institutional specificities of that situation" (Charlot 2008:77).

Instead of building a typology based on the empirical information surveys that have been carried out, it has been decided to analyze this universal phenomenon, of the

relationship with knowledge as characteristic of the human being, from an empirically preexisting object, detached from any concrete national reality and, nevertheless, universally accepted within the common sense of people from different countries and different cultures, as expressed by the global scope of their consumption as a cultural object: the school universe described by HJ Rowlings in the first volume of the Harry Potter saga (Rowlings 2001). The book itself is not analyzed, through its purpose, which is the entertainment of the youth audience, but as a conceptual construction of the school institution that is presented in the book, and that can be interpreted as an “universal” school, and “universal” ways of being in school, embodied in typically female and male characters.

This is a choice that needs to be grounded. 1) It is a cultural object whose acceptance expresses its usefulness as an interpreter of the world of meanings, social and gender relations that the school represents as a modern institution (Charlot 2008:118). 2) It gives an account of different ways –all successful- of expressing the relationship with school knowledge, which does not allow to analyze cases of “failures” within this social world of the school. 3) Although this is not its purpose, it describes characteristic modes - not in the sense of more frequent, but more "typical" - of male and female behavior in the classroom. 4) It shows how the explicit universalist norms of the school coexist within the school space, with the non-explicit social hierarchies of the extracurricular world. 5) The worldwide success of the saga, shows that the typical behaviors of the characters in the school, respond to experiences of a child audience that, regardless of cultural boundaries, are reflected there their vital experience within the school institution. 6) The most controversial edges of the first novel were eliminated in subsequent deliveries due to critical comments. That is why the analysis will be limited to the first book - *The Philosopher's Stone* -, in the understanding that it was the only one written from the author's common school sense.

### **Hogwarts: the universal of modern school**

The scenario of the saga consists on what is described as the best school of magic: Hogwarts. In every possible way, Hogwarts expresses what can be expected in a modern school, rationally organized and surprisingly, devoid of magic:

1) It is based on universalist principles that apply both to the selection of its students and to the evaluation of their merits within the institution. The school is open to all,

even those who do not belong to the world of magic, as shown in the case of Hermione Granger, which we will refer later. "Diversity" is the principle (Charlot 2008 119).

2) It is aimed at teaching school-type knowledge. Everything in his description is aimed at showing us the school character of the magic academy, in particular, his School Song: "Hogwarts, Hogwarts, Hoggy Warty Hogwarts/ Teach us something please/ Whether we be old and bald/ Or young with scabby knees/ Ours head could do with filling/ With some interesting stuff/ For now they're bare and full of air/ Dead flies and bits of fluff,/ So teach us things worth knowing/ Bring back what we've forgot,/ Just do your best, we'll do the rest/ and learn until our brains are rot" (Rowling 2001 95).

3) It has egalitarian mechanisms that seek to eliminate the display of social privilege. The description of the uniform and the supplies underlines the spirit of matching the students and their starting points within the school. The list, for first-years students, include: "1) Three sets of plain work robes (black). 2) One plain pointed hat (black) for day wear. 3) One pair of protective gloves (dragon hide or similar). 4) One winter cloak (black, silver fastenings)". Reaffirming the "standard" and "common" character of all tools, it is clarified: Please note that all pupil's clothes should carry name tags (Rowling 2001 52). The same thing happens with books, and "other equipment": 1 wand, 1 cauldron (pewter, standard size 2), 1 set glass or crystal phials, 1 telescope, 1 set brass scales (Rowling 2001:53).

4) The school is organized bureaucratically. It is constituted by a hierarchical system at the apex of which a director is. Below, the faculty presents a division of labor based on disciplinary specialization, although they differ widely in their pedagogical skills. The teaching is based on collective classes, by a teacher, who teaches the fundamentals of his discipline and presents practical problems that must be solved by the students. In addition to the work in the classroom, the evaluation of the learning is carried out through year-end exams based on the demonstration of spells and enchantments that have to be studied, as any student in any other school would. In Hogwarts there is a double evaluation system: the individual evaluation of the student according to his progress, and that of the different "houses" or "fraternities" that rival each other.

5) The main extracurricular activity is the practice of a sport (Quidditch) in which mainly men are involved. Together with the scores obtained in academic activities, the result of the annual championship between the different fraternities helps to resolve the competition between them. This allows all students to have the opportunity to stand out and recognize, whether in intellectual or sports activities.

6) The previous points delineate Hogwarts as a hierocracy (domain of the saints, or elected) in the Weberian sense of the term: it is based on a system of rules that must be met in order to make the "elected" develop or manifest those qualities that allow them to access the elite of the world of magic.

7) The school institution, defined by the set of values and norms that govern it, does not settle on nothing. It is built on a society structured according to common and characteristic rules and resources of that given society, where different types of economic inequality, power relations and prestige govern. These socially constructed hierarchies and recreated in the interaction over time, are only partially perceptible to the subjects, who move in them mainly making use of their practical consciousness, and much less frequently, of their discursive consciousness. This level of implicit social norms is challenged by the establishment of school institutions, which explicitly bases its claims of legitimacy on the values of equal opportunities among all, on the merit of school activity and on the competent acquisition of knowledge. academic that is characteristic. This ends up constituting the school as a relatively unstable force field, where the two systems of norms - the social implicit and the explicit one of the school - compete with each other generating, in the fracture lines, outcrops of social hierarchies and symbolic struggles over the qualities that must prevail in school. Therefore, success in school can be seen as a function of success in the field of academic effort and knowledge -types of the school-, in the field of taking advantage of the advantages of cultural heritage and valuing the hierarchies of the socio-economic, political, sexual, or racial order, or both. The way in which the actors are guided by relatively coexisting systems of norms cannot receive a priori responses, but rather is the object of concrete empirical analysis.

Within this typical school, student behaviors that can be considered "typical" are also exhibited, which respond, with surprising fidelity, to four types of social action characterized by Weber. The four types of students represent "successful" ways of being in school, and each of them is embodied by one of the most prominent characters in the saga: the charismatic, traditional or routine type, the one oriented by knowledge as value in itself, and the goal oriented.

### **The universal types of students.**

**The charismatic type.** Abundant in mythological and fantasy literature. In general, it is an exceptional subject, destined to fulfill a certain task or to occupy a certain place of relevance, which does not know its origin and destiny. It is revealed in an initiatory instance in which the subject has the opportunity to "show" his unique quality to the world. King Arthur, more recently Neo, the character of the Matrix film saga, and within Hogwarts, Harry Potter, are cases of young men whose existence was foreshadowed and who have been expected to perform a mission or a unique destination, due to the possession of unique qualities, supernatural type. The "charisma" that characterizes both the type of education that advocates it and the subject that owns it, cannot be taught, but only propitiated:

"The charismatic discipline of the ancient magical asceticism and the heroic tests that sorcerers and warrior heroes undertook with the boys, aimed to help the novice in the acquisition of a "new soul" in an animistic sense, that is, to a rebirth or reincarnation. In our language, this means waking up and testing a faculty that was a purely personal funny gift. But a charism can neither be taught nor instilled. Its germ is there, it is infused through a miracle of magical rebirth, but if not, it is unattainable (Weber 1983:334).

Harry Potter belongs to this type. The mark of his uniqueness and destiny are written on his forehead, with a lightning-shaped scar that accompanies him since he and his parents were attacked by a powerful wizard. His parents died in the attack and Harry, due to his early age, has no memories of that encounter. His brand, which goes unnoticed in the world of ordinary people in which Harry lived, is recognized by everyone, teachers and students, in the magical world of Hogwarts:

"Potter, Harry!

As Harry stepped forward, whispers suddenly broke out like Little hissings fires all over the hall.

*¿Potter, did he say?*

*The Harry Potter?" (Rowlings 2001:90)*

"Whispers followed Harry from the moment he left his dormitory next day. People queuing outside classrooms stood on tiptoe to get a look at him, or double back to pass him in the corridors again, staring (Rowlings 2001).

Charisma is not necessarily associated with intellectual qualities. What is valued depends on the qualities valued in the community in question, but if it is charismatic, it is always the non-transferable, impossible to teach and learn. As synthesized "the Sorting Hat", when perched on Harry's head: "Difficult. Very difficult. Plenty of courage, I see. Not a bad mind either. There's talent, oh my goodness, yes –and a nice thirst to prove yourself, now that's interesting... So, where shall I put you? (Rowlings 2001 90).

The expression "not a bad mind" shows the relative importance of the intellect. In addition to the courage he already has and the charisma he also has, Harry is going to look at the school for the opportunity to prove himself. The school is the propitious environment so that the charism, which is already in it, has the opportunity to express itself. Harry is an "elected" and is treated as such by the entire school. No one remains indifferent to Harry Potter. The feelings of the teachers themselves, sometimes of hostility, but most of the time of open sympathy - and even favoritism - are expressed openly, without anyone appearing to be astonished by it. Nobody really expects teachers to be impartial. Using a metaphor of physics, it can be said that the power of the "chosen" charism gravitates over all the subjects with which it interacts, curving the school space, attracting the eyes, exceptions and acknowledgments. That is the strength of the hero's unique charisma.

**Guided by tradition:** Characterize all actions whose origins are lost in time. For the subject, the very meaning of the action appears diminished, sometimes indiscernible. He was born in the middle of that tradition and simply follows it, without expecting any surprising results from his behavior. This is the case of Ron Weasley, whose five brothers have already studied at Hogwarts, and whose parents, both magicians, develop perfectly statutory and routine activities within the world of magic: the father is a poorly paid bureaucrat in the Ministry of Magic, and The mother is an affectionate housewife, but too busy with her domestic obligations and the difficult administration of the scarce resources she has. There is nothing magical, exceptional or stimulating in Ron's arrival at Hogwarts, as this dialogue between Harry and Ron shows:

"The Weasleys were clearly one of those wizarding families the pale boy in Diagon Alley hat talk about. (...) Wish I had three wizard brothers.

Five, said Ron. For some reason he was looking gloomy. I am the sixth in my family to go to Hogwarts. You could say I've got a lot to live up to. (...) Everyone expects me to do as well as the others, but if I do, it's no big deal, because they did it first. You never

get anything new, either, with five brothers. I've got Bill's old robes, Charley's old wand and Percy's old rat".

Ron's lineage is recognized by the naked eye: he is redheaded and freckled "like all Weasleys," says Draco Macfoy, a character also prominent, but for negative qualities. Ron's recognition does not favor him like Harry: he is neither unique nor has any singularity marked on his forehead; It is one more of an extended clan of talented but poor young magicians, who must strive to be recognized in the eyes of their own parents who, still alive, are deprived of the redemptive character of the idealization that only death can provide.

**The relationship with knowledge as a value in itself:** Of the main characters, there is only one that expresses, in all possible ways, its valorization of the school as a place of provision of academic knowledge linked to magic: Hermione Granger, the only character Feminine receiving attention in the novel. His presentation leaves no doubt:

"She was already wearing her new Hogwarts robes.

-Has anyone seen a toad? Neville's lost one, she said. She had a bossy sort of voice, lots of bushy brown hair and rather large front teeth. (...)

-Are you sure that's the real spell? Said the girl. "Well, it's not very good, is it? I've tried a few simple spells just for practice and it's all worked for me. Nobody in my family's magic at all, it was ever such a surprise when I got my letter, but I was ever so pleased, of course, I mean, it's the very best school of witchcraft there is, I've heard – I've learnt all our set books off by heart, of course, I just hope it will be enough – I'm Hermione Granger, by the way, who are you?

She said all this very fast". (Rowling 2001 79)

At first glance, Hermione already expresses her desire to belong to Hogwarts: she is wearing a robe that nobody else will wear until it is absolutely essential, just a little before arriving at school. Before starting her first year of studies she has already read all the books of the course, and has even practiced spells. She takes pride in her work and her knowledge, what she exhibits without thinking about that pride can be, for others offensive or annoying. That's why Hermione is different. She does not belong to that world.

In all regards to her origin, it was not foreseeable that she would enter Hogwarts. Unlike the other protagonists of the story, she is a girl and, in the words of the author of the saga, the same type of girl she was: applied, hardworking, and keenly interested in school knowledge. But, above all, Hermione does not come from a family of magicians,

nor did she know the world of magic until the school itself, recognizing in it a unique talent, invites her to join the most famous school of Sorcery. With this the hypothesis on which this article is constructed is seated: The idea that the school as an institution can have effects on the modeling of the structural constraints and opportunities of the less favored or excluded. Although by personal or family origin it was not expected that Hermione acceded to a totally alien world, the school perceives in her qualities that no one else sees, offers her the opportunity to learn knowledge only of the school and promises, along with the membership that so much he yearns to gain recognition that only depends on his activity, ability to learn, and his effort. Hermione, take advantage, avid, the opportunity that only the school seems to offer. Her behavior and attitudes clearly respond to the desire to show that the school was not wrong with her.

Maybe that's why Hermione can't please. It lacks beauty and coquetry, two qualities indisputably valued in a woman. Her behavior according to school requirements, the desire to "know" and to be recognized for it, transgresses two norms of the implicit field that underlies the school: On the one hand, she ignores the implicit social hierarchy that orders students according to their Origin: Study, know, and don't mind getting better rewards than a Potter or a Weasley. For their purposes, only the explicit rules of the school govern; She is an equal in her own right, and her value lies in what she is able to learn. On the other hand, his activity in class, always successful, shows that there is nothing "inherited" in the knowledge that reigns in school. The "ideology of natural talent" of which Bourdieu spoke, to refer to the dilettante attitude of the heirs, is confronted "irreverently" and therefore, always impertinent, by the activity and effort of Hermione who, coming from the Nothing shows that knowledge is available to everyone. For these transgressions, the girl pays a high price: rejection.

Hermione rolled up the sleeves of her gown, flicked her wand and said ;Wingardium Leviosa!.

The feather rose off the desk and hovered about four feet above their heads.

-Oh, well done! cried Professor Flitwick, clapping. Everyone see here, Miss Granger done it!

Ron was in a very bad temper by the end of the class.

"It's not wonder none can stand her," he said to Harry, as they pushed their way into the crowded corridor. "She's a nightmare, honestly."

Someone knocked into Harry as they hurried passed him. It was Hermione. Harry caught a glimpse of her face -and was started to see that she was in tears

-I think she heard you.

"So?" Said Ron, but he looked a bit uncomfortable. She must've noticed she's got no friends. (Rowling, 2001: 127)

**The instrumental use of school:** This type is characterized by a rational pursuit of its own purposes for which, both objects and others, are seen only as conditions or means for achieving those objectives. The school, for the goal-oriented subject, is a means for your personal project, but it does not necessarily value what is specific to it, such as knowledge, but the opportunities it offers, as social capital, for the achievement of power. This is the case of Draco Malfoy, Harry's antagonist, and also heir to an important lineage of magicians, more feared than loved. Although Draco opposes Harry in the saga, he is truly Hermione's antagonist, since it is he who demands the validity and school recognition of implicit extracurricular hierarchies, which she completely lacks. Draco takes pride in his own lineage to the discursive level, the value of Harry's inheritance, Ron's open disregard for poverty, the stigmatization of Hermione's vulgar origin. He who refers to it, moreover, as "dirty blood" - expression that disappears in the following books - presents him as a supremacist in racial and sexual terms. The search for one's own ends, regardless of media, is well delineated by a unique character, the sorting hat, when reading his soul to be assigned to one of Hogwarts houses or fraternities: "Or perhaps in Slytherin / you'll make your real friends / Those cunning folk use any means / to achieve their ends" (Rowling 2001:88).

### **In conclusion: Types of students, relationship with knowledge and project of the self**

A closer examination of the relationships between the characters outlined above, offer an interpretation of the place occupied by the relationship with the academic knowledge of the school in the personal projects of the different types of students, and in particular, women's. The examination of the female character of the saga, in addition to its undoubted value as a fictional construction based on JK Rowling's own experiences, allows us to reveal a set of characteristic features that have also been found in real women, middle school students and university students, in the context of previous empirical research by this author. The greed for knowledge, the ability to detect and take advantage of the opportunities offered by the school, challenging the immediate limitations of its environment, and the willingness to make the necessary efforts to

appropriate that knowledge, are recurring aspects in many interviews and in discussion groups, as in Hermione's fictional life.

Women like her, take their academic work seriously. In initial levels, this is perceived through their performances; later, in the persistence within the school system for longer than their contemporary men, far exceeding them in university and postgraduate studies. Not only do they keep their relationship with school knowledge alive, but they make it part of life projects that sometimes reach remarkable degrees of complexity. Women seek to make formal studies compatible with paid work, marriage and partners, parenting and household tasks. Although sometimes they also seek knowledge unlinked from school, it is the latter that they prefer, because it is the one that offers them the opportunity to challenge the limitations of their social and gender status, while at the same time giving them recognition that the rest of society generally denies.

Because of this, it is not difficult to understand the peculiar mobilization towards the knowledge that women present. While the valorization of the masculine, which characterizes most of today's societies, is quick to give signs of recognition and satisfaction to the male baby, for girls it is a more complex process. For all, the feeling of "lack", of incompleteness, generates a relationship with the learning that is produced to the human, to the member of society, to the individual subject. But in that process, women are bombarded by devaluing messages in favor of an ideal - the "eternal" feminine, which only exists in a timeless imaginary world - against which every concrete woman can only fail. The search for beauty, body styling, and eternal youth, confront each woman with her own shortcomings - real or imagined - and impair the possibility of simply affirming herself, in what they are. To "become" what a woman "must be", all parts of her body must be treated: her hair, eyes, mouth, skin, torso, legs must undergo the application of creams, makeup, massages or surgeries. Your thoughts, desires and aspirations should also be accommodated in a way that is generically defined as "feminine," no matter what that means in particular, although you often understand important doses of renunciation and self-denial. Before these demands, women, even successful ones, face a paradox without resolution: their results obtained with such effort, although magnificent, do not carry any benefit or reward. In addition to being beautiful, women must be modest and selfless, that is, voluntarily renounce all kinds of recognition. None of these things will ever be enough

It is not surprising then that women throw themselves into the school field with an unequalled enthusiasm. The farther these women perceive themselves from achieving

the completeness that their nature asks of them, the more the rope will tighten that will mobilize their efforts to achieve it. The school, which receives everyone, rewards, especially the kind of effort that women - newly arrived and with an identity always under active construction - are willing to make to obtain, at the same time, the knowledge they need to self-affirm, and the recognition that only the school offers in an uncontrollable and objective way. University degrees, no matter how difficult it is to achieve them, are always easier to obtain than other possible rewards to which women can aspire in societies that only truly value the masculine. The field of knowledge as part of a vital project actively built and pursued, is the only one, in which they can be measured, as equals with men and with other women, obtaining greater and better resources for the construction of an independent, valuable identity. aware of your rights, and deeply authentic.

At the same time, the preference of women towards humanities, psychology and social sciences, could be also yield on the insecurity about their personal value, and so, interpreted as a means to self-fulfillment, as a way to complete themselves as persons, as social members and as human beings, in Charltot's idea of "completeness". On the other hand, men, perhaps more content with themselves because of the favorable messages from others since their birth, prefer to look in the objective world the kind of things that should be restored, improved or transformed, and thus, studied.

That is why it is incongruous that the feminization of the school system is seen, by a certain sociological theory and even by a certain feminism, as a way of reproducing existing inequalities. On the contrary, it is the way that women have found to become aware of the rules and resources that structure their context to use them, challenge them and, in short, transform and transform them through the silent global revolution that they have been successfully pursuing, for a century.

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