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ADULT LEARNING, EDUCATIONAL CAREERS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

UNIVERSIDAD DE SEVILLA

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INTRODUCTION

This e-book is an intellectual and research product from a European research Conference. In this introduction, we will present origin, context and contents in relation to this e-book.

The Access, Learning Careers and Identities Network is one of the networks of ESREA (European Society for Research on the Education of Adults), a well-established association in the international landscape of Lifelong learning, adult learning and community education.

We held a research Conference of this network at the University of Seville (Spain) between 25th and 27th November 2015, organised by the convenors of the network (Barbara Merrill, University of Warwick, UK; Adrianna Nizinska, University of Lower Silesia, Poland; and Andrea Galimberti, University of Milano Bicocca, Italy), in collaboration with the University of Seville (José González-Monteagudo and Miguel Ángel Ballesteros-Moscosio). This Conference was attended by circa 65 delegates coming from 15 countries, mainly from Europe, but also from other geographical areas. The call of the Conference was focused on "Continuity and Discontinuity in Learning Careers: Potentials for a Learning Space in a Changing World". We stated in the call that economic crisis continued to be particularly dominant in the south of Europe. As a consequence younger and older adults were finding themselves in a labor market, which either offers no jobs, low paid jobs and/or jobs with zero contracts, which impacts on the self, identity and their communities.

New challenges as well as new threats are posed to adult education in such times which could both offer a potential way out of the crisis and an alternative to the dominant stories played out by the economic discourse. Within this framework continuity and discontinuity in learning careers are an interesting dimension to interrogate. In a complex way they can be conceived as two sides of the same coin, not opposite but complimentary and mutually generating and impacting upon the learning career and identity of an adult student. What individual and social choices do these processes involve and what meanings do learners give to them? What disorientating dilemmas do they bring to a person's biography? The idea of

continuity and discontinuity underlies the possibility (or the constraint) for a new personal and work life trajectory, which may represent a critical moment in a person's life. Some adults also actively choose to leave their study before finishing. Although it is a disrupted learning career it may not necessarily be a negative one. What factors at the micro, meso and macro levels come into play?

In a changing world what potential learning spaces – formal and informal-can be identified to encourage adults, particularly non-traditional adults, to learn in ways which are beneficial and positive to them as well as in ways which enables them to challenge the inequalities they experience in society?

This e-book presents some contributions from papers presented and discussed at the mentioned Conference. The papers address some of the following areas across the wide range of adult education contexts: the role and impact of learning careers in fostering continuity or discontinuity in learning biographies; developing potentials for learning spaces in a changing world; using concepts, theory, disciplinary and inter-disciplinary approaches to understanding continuities and discontinuities in learning careers; inequalities of class, gender, ethnicity and disability; methodological approaches to researching continuities and discontinuities in learning careers.

The e-book has three sections. Firstly we include six papers on Perspectives from adult learning and higher education. The second section includes six papers and it is organised around Perspectives from community and social education. The last section contents also five papers and it is focused on Perspectives from schools and e-learning. To be inclusive, we accepted final full papers in several languages, including, besides English, papers on French, Spanish and Portuguese. As coeditors of this e-book, we wish to thank all the authors who have contributed to this volume for their time, passion and efforts to produce a final high-quality paper.

We need to add that Sense Publishers will publish in Rotterdam a second book, that will include other papers of this Conference, within the ESREA Series. The Sense Publisher's book has been coedited by four of the coeditors of this volume.

Eventually, we express our gratitude to Andrea Marabini, who coordinated administrative tasks during the preparation and development of the Conference. He has also done the design and make up of this publication, with his usual high-level skills as well as full availability.

SECTION 1
PERSPECTIVES FROM ADULT LEARNING AND HIGHER EDUCATION

ANTONIO BOLÍVAR
MAXIMILIANO RITACCO

1

UNA DOBLE Y DISCONTINUA IDENTIDAD PROFESIONAL: LOS DIRECTORES ESCOLARES EN ESPAÑA EN UNA DIMENSIÓN BIOGRÁFICO NARRATIVA

INTRODUCCIÓN

Dentro del marco de la Unión Europea España ha compartido con Portugal (hasta 2008) un carácter singular y único de la dirección escolar: el director o directora es un *colega* elegido por sus propios compañeros. En este sentido, la *identidad profesional* se expone a una transmutación a medida que atraviesa una trayectoria provisional que pasa por el "estar como" o "ser" director/a (identidad como director/a), a volver a ejercer de docente que puede, con el tiempo, retornar a la dirección (4-8 años). A la "doble identidad" (docente/director) se le unen otras duplicidades: gestor/líder, representante de la administración/compañeros; responsable ejecutor de la normativa y el *primum inter pares* -representante del profesorado- (Viñao, 2004).

Tales particularidades, sumadas a la discontinuidad en la carrera profesional, hacen interesante el estudio de la identidad de los directores escolares desde una perspectiva biográfico-narrativa ya empleada en otras investigaciones (Bolívar et al., 2001; Bolívar, 2006).

Así pues, la identidad se *construye* en un proceso y en un espacio (relacional) que es, a la vez, una construcción subjetiva y una inscripción social (Dubar, 2010). Es común, por tanto, distinguir dos dimensiones: "identidad para sí" e "identidad para otros" (Dubar, 1992; Ricoeur, 1996). Ambas vinculantes, ya que son el resultado de un largo proceso de socialización, emergen de tres factores en interacción (Day *et al.*, 2006; Day, 2011): socioculturales; contexto de trabajo, y factores personales.

Desde esta perspectiva (identitaria), aquello que sea "la dirección" dependerá de cómo se es reconocido por los otros y, sobre todo, por los colegas. La relevancia en "sí mismo" en la dirección, como puso de manifiesto magistralmente Ricoeur (1996), no sería tal sin que "otro" la reconozca con su autonomía y capacidad para tomar sus propias decisiones. Por ello, en definitiva, la autonomía e identidad del

ejercicio de la dirección, paradójicamente, depende de los otros, dado que requiere su reconocimiento y aceptación.

Los tiempos actuales de individualización y desinstitucionalización (Dubet, 2006), propios de la modernidad tardía (*late modern age*, Giddens, 1995), han cambiando las reglas del juego recomponiendo los aspectos esenciales de la identidad profesional, del compromiso y del ejercicio cotidiano (Bauman, 2001). Estos procesos, ineludiblemente, tienen un impacto en la *identidad profesional* (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002) señalándola como un indicador de análisis de las prácticas (dinámicas) que adoptan los docentes para construir sus vidas y enfrentarse a su trabajo.

Merece, pues, estudiar, desde las voces de los directores-docentes sobre cómo vivencian identitariamente estas condiciones (duplicidad, discontinuidad, etc.) en su profesionalización y a lo largo de su carrera (Aspin, Chapman et al., 2012).

MARCO TEÓRICO

El concepto de *identidad* es complejo, porque no es una realidad objetiva, sino una construcción discursiva y mental que los individuos emplean para expresar un determinado modo de verse y sentirse en relación con su medio (espacios de representación y prácticas). Tal como hemos defendido en un estudio sobre el tema (Bolívar, 2006), entendemos la *identidad profesional* desde una conceptualización interaccionista de la profesión asociada a la tradición de la Escuela de Chicago y alejada del modo funcionalista de entender las profesiones. Desde un enfoque constructivista postmoderno se ha resaltado —frente a una perspectiva substancialista, estable o linear de la identidad— su multiciplicidad, discontinuidad, así como su naturaleza social (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011). Este enfoque dialógico del yo, vivido como múltiple, no es igual a la *duplicidad identitaria* en la dirección escolar establecida institucionalmente en España (el director pasa, tras 4-8 años, a ser docente). Junto a ella, el director/a puede vivir, a nivel de *identidad personal*, las caracterizaciones de las dinámicas actuales. El debate de la cuestión, diríamos, siguiendo a Day et al., (2007), si la "identidad situacional" (ocupar provisionalmente la dirección) se convierte (o no) en una *identidad profesional* estable.

Es el contexto donde acontece la acción el que incluye la definición de sí mismo y de los otros (Dubar, 2010). Dicho eje sincrónico al tiempo que define la situación, vincula al contexto con la acción (p.e. ejercer de director), sin olvidar que diacrónicamente el sujeto tiene una trayectoria de vida y profesional. Como señala Dubar (2010: prefacio a 4ª ed.):

"entre las definiciones 'oficiales', atribuidas por otro y la identificaciones 'subjetivas', reivindicadas para sí y sometidas al reconocimiento del otro, son posibles muchas combinaciones".

De esta forma, el objetivo de un enfoque sociológico de las identidades es elucidar las formas de identificación socialmente pertinentes en una esfera de acción determinada, a lo que Dubar (2010) llamo *'formas identitarias'*. En la arena entre estas dos atribuciones de identidad (convergencia/divergencia) se juega la "forma identitaria" que adquiere un grupo profesional (Dubar, 1992). Por estas razones, la *identidad profesional* se configura a través de la experiencia personal así como del papel que le es reconocido (colegas) en un espacio común compartido (individuo- entorno socio/profesional-institución).

Al respecto, una serie de conceptos pueden dar luz al fenómeno de la (re) construcción de las identidades. Se puede, inicialmente, entender por *identidad profesional* (Day y Gu 2015: 90):

"cómo los profesores se contemplan a sí mismos en relación con la comunidad de profesores a los que pertenecen. Incluimos en ello la identidad personal de los profesores".

Paralelamente, por la *identidad del rol* (Day y Gu 2015: 93): "cómo el profesor se ve a sí mismo en el papel concreto que juega como profesor en como miembro del equipo directivo".

Cabe aclarar que los roles suelen ser relativamente estables, mientras que las identidades tienden a ser variables, dependiendo de la negociación con los otros y con los contextos. Las personas pueden ocupar diferentes roles y sentirse con la misma identidad o, al contrario, tener múltiples identidades al ocupar distintos roles. En cualquier caso, como afirman Scribner & Crow (2012: 246): "La identidad proporciona la motivación para asumir y poner en práctica un rol".

Por último, se integra el factor personal. Ya que el ejercicio profesional está mediado por lo personal, se ha constatado que hay una inevitable interrelación entre la *identidad profesional* y la *identidad personal*. Como ha advertido Christopher Day (2011, p. 48; Day & Kington, 2008: 9):

"la identidad profesional no debe confundirse con el rol. La identidad es la forma que tenemos de dar sentido a lo que somos y a la imagen de nosotros mismos que damos a los demás".

Estos aspectos nos advierten que se puede ocupar el rol de director, sintiéndose primariamente como docente (por tanto, sin identidad de director), como el caso del director español que por haber sido nombrado obligadamente por

la Administración es altamente susceptible de añorar volver a ocupar el rol de docente. Igualmente, se dan casos en donde el rol se identifica provisionalmente con la identidad: sentirse docente, mientras se ejerce como tal; e identificarse como director, mientras se ocupa el rol. Roles e identidades, en el caso español, en efecto, no se identifican.

Referido a la profesión docente, Zabalza y Zabalza Cerdeiriña (2012) hablaban de la diferencia entre el "ser" y el "estar" en el ejercicio profesional. Aplicándolo a la dirección escolar, *estar* o *ejercer* de director es una cosa bien distinta de *sentirse* director, a vivirlo identitariamente e implicarse de modo comprometido e intenso en esa experiencia. De modo similar, en un estudio específico sobre el tema, Fernández (2011: 26-29) hacía referencia a:

> "-ser- el director o directora y sus relaciones con el –estar- en la dirección, con la gestación y desenvolvimiento de su identidad profesional en un contexto de cambio constante" [de este modo] la identidad profesional de la dirección se incardina en la manera en que viva su identidad personal y, como docente que es, su identidad docente".

En ese sentido, la complejidad del "caso español" se encuadra en la *transición profesional docente-director-docente* en donde los actores vivencian una interferencia identitaria que afecta a la imagen de sí como profesional y a la relación con el otro. Estas *transiciones profesionales*, según Balleux y Perez-Roux (2013: 100), podemos definirlas como:

> "un espacio/tiempo de pasaje inscrito en el corazón de un cambio, asumido o no, acertado o no, y que requiere del individuo la puesta en obra de estrategias de adaptación para gestionar mejor elementos de ruptura y (re) construcción de continuidades"

Dado el caso, las *transiciones profesionales* dan lugar a constantes recomposiciones identitarias que merecen ser analizadas.

Sin más, en el próximo apartado reflejaremos aquellos aspectos metodológicos que se han desarrollado en pos de analizar e indagar cómo la *duplicidad* y la *discontinuidad* propias del "modelo español" impactan en la identidad de los directores escolares.

METODOLOGÍA

El diseño del estudio se enmarcó dentro del enfoque cualitativo. Así mismo, un conjunto de decisiones metodológicas establecieron las pautas previas al trabajo de campo: a) Considerar el peso del *discurso* como fuente de información; b) considerar una *perspectiva cronológica e histórica* de las percepciones y valoraciones de los sujetos intervinientes; c)aplicar el *análisis del contenido* como técnica del proceso metodológico (Wertz, Charmaz y McMullen, 2011) [y] d) aplicar la *teoría fundamentada* como base para la construcción de un conocimiento emergente (Strauss y Corbin, 2002).

➢ CRITERIOS DE SELECCIÓN Y DISTRIBUCIÓN DE INFORMANTES CLAVE

Se seleccionaron 15 directores y directoras que debían haber: a) permanecido un mínimo de *4 años en el cargo directivo*; b) sido parte sido parte de *procesos de mejora educativa* [y] c) contado con *experiencia profesional en términos de innovación*.

En referencia a la selección de los centros educativos se consideró: a) contar con un mínimo de 15 centros de educación secundaria en la provincia de Granada (Andalucía); b) su *ubicación geográfica,* (cinco en el centro urbano, cinco en barrios aledaños al macro-centro y cinco en zonas periféricas y comarcales); c) el *índice socio-económico y cultural* -ISEC- proporcionado por la Consejería de educación de la Junta de Andalucía (cinco ISEC alto, cinco ISEC medio y cinco ISEC bajo); d) la *oferta educativa de los centros* (planes y programas); y e) que estén *financiados* con fondos públicos.

➢ TÉCNICAS DE RECOGIDA Y PROCESAMIENTO DE DATOS

Para el diseño metodológico se configuró un guión de *entrevista biográfica en profundidad* que integró las siguientes áreas temáticas referidas a la dirección escolar: a) el *desarrollo del liderazgo*; b) los *procesos de interacción profesional;* c) sus *funciones;* d) el impacto de su tarea en los *resultados de aprendizaje del alumnado* [y]; de forma implícita, indagar en el impacto en su *identidad profesional, personal, social, etc.*

➢ EL PROCEDIMIENTO DE ANÁLISIS Y CATEGORIZACIÓN DE LOS DATOS

La reducción de los datos, se realizó inductivamente a partir del *análisis de contenido* (Charmaz, 2004; Strauss y Corbin, 2002; Wertz, et al., 2011). Su categorización y estructuración se inició con el *análisis de la información*. En un primer momento, los datos fueron *extrayéndose* de las fuentes de información y *organizándose* en *unidades de registro* (UR) que, sucesivamente, se reconvirtieron en *indicadores* (I). Continuando con la reducción de los datos, luego de un "1º vuelco" los *indicadores* (I) lograron conformar un conjunto de *pre-categorías*. Con un bajo nivel de concreción, las *pre-categorías* emergentes pudieron ser organizadas en grupos. A posteriori, un "2º

vuelco" permitió la reorganización de los *indicadores* (I) en una serie de *categorías* emergentes ya consolidadas.

➢ LAS CATEGORÍAS EMERGENTES

En relación a los resultados del estudio se hace referencia a las siguientes categorías emergentes: a) *Identidad personal*; b) *Identidad profesional (perspectiva interna)*; c) *Identidad profesional (perspectiva externa)*; d) *Identidad social*; e) *Profesionalización*; [y] d) *Doble identidad.*

Contando con los fragmentos extraídos del testimonio de los entrevistados, en el próximo apartado, se desarrollaran cada una de las categorías emergentes del estudio.

RESULTADOS

En este apartado presentamos los resultados del estudio acompañados de los fragmentos extraídos de las entrevistas realizadas a los directores de los centros. Dichos fragmentos al tiempo que representan las unidades de significado emanantes del análisis del discurso, suponen el fundamento empírico contenido en las sub-categorías emergentes.

➢ IDENTIDAD PERSONAL

Como definen Demazière y Dubar (1997, p. 304) la identidad es: "un proceso de construcción y de reconocimiento de una definición de sí que sea satisfactoria a la vez para sí mismo y validado por las instituciones que le enmarcan e inscriben socialmente.

Por el contrario, en otro contexto, el director se reconoce anti-autoritario, porque estima que debe crear un buen clima de centro, que tendrá su impacto en la enseñanza:

> "cuando tu utilizas un modelo de dirección muy autoritario, muy ordenado, muy piramidal en el que digo lo que se hace y deban hacer lo que dices; cuando se utiliza ese tipo de modelo, mi experiencia me dice que las relaciones personales se vician mucho y que al final el profesorado, que es el agente que más importante y los que tienen que llevar el peso todo lo que es la educación, eso les perjudica mucho a nivel humano y profesional".

De este modo, comenta otra directora, se logra implicar al personal: "ya luego nos vamos extendiendo al resto de la comunidad escolar…vas implicando a gente poco a poco…luego el grado de implicación es bueno".

➢ IDENTIDAD PROFESIONAL (PERSPECTIVA INTERNA)

Ejercer un papel de liderazgo implica tener unas metas o propósitos que contribuyan a conseguir los objetivos deseables para el centro e implicar a los demás a seguirlos. En esta línea de liderazgo pedagógico uno de los entrevistados entiende que su misión es ser núcleo generador de propuestas: "una de mis funciones es orientar, canalizar, llevar propuestas y, en base a ellas, sin partir de 0, crear". Otro señala, "la iniciativa de "vamos a hacer" surge del equipo directivo, generalmente, luego se implican muchos pero esa iniciativa, surge en el 90% de los casos de la dirección".

Se suelen reconocer como eje de las iniciativas y modelo:

"siempre estamos yendo por delante y arrastrando mucho desde la junta directiva con el ejemplo y parece como que si tú das un paso pues los demás lo dan, es muy difícil decirle a alguien que dé un paso si no te ha visto hacerlo".

Algunos de los directores y directoras entrevistados se reconocen, de modo mediado o indirecto, que contribuyen a la mejora de los resultados de aprendizaje, ya sea coordinando, organizador, creando un clima de confianza o de convivencia: "para generar un buen ambiente de trabajo, primero tenemos que mejorar otros ámbitos e, indirectamente, coordinados con todo lo demás, ahí es donde está nuestra labor".

En la misma línea, otro se reconoce, del mismo modo indirecto, factor de mejora de los resultados de aprendizaje del alumnado:

"el director es uno de los factores clave, indirectamente, y lo he dicho muchas veces, estoy siempre un poco por detrás, pero con el objetivo de contribuir a mejorar los rendimientos académicos y darle calidad a nuestros alumnos".

Los directores y directoras entienden que su labor principal es convertirse en mediadores, coordinadores o canalizadores: "nosotros mediamos, coordinamos, proponemos, animamos, encauzamos, es decir soy alguien que quiere ayudar para buscar la vía".

En otros casos se ven como un gestor de un equipo humano y recursos en pos de la mejora y desarrollo del alumnado:

"el director lo que hace es gestionar un equipo humano, recursos, medios, pero cuyo único fin es que mejore el alumnado en cuanto a actitud, comportamiento, rendimiento, y para eso necesitamos la colaboración de todos…".

En otros casos se resalta que: "como director lo que haces es un poco coordinar eso y sacar lo que vale y poner a cada uno a trabajar en su lugar".

En cualquier caso, la tarea principal es lograr la cohesión del trabajo del profesorado:

> "mi objetivo desde siempre ha sido ir todos en la misma dirección, consensuar proyectos, líneas de trabajo, mecanismos, intentar ir todos a una y que la gente se lo crea e ir en la misma dirección".

> ➢ IDENTIDAD PROFESIONAL (PERSPECTIVA EXTERNA)

La autonomía exige, como contrapartida, la responsabilidad por su uso. Así dice un director: "No puede haber autonomía sin rendición de cuentas, porque yo manejo un presupuesto de dinero público, y soy consciente de ello".

Normalmente esta rendición de cuentas se hace ante la inspección educativa:

> "tenemos reuniones periódicas en las cuales tratamos de justificar esos resultados, entonces esas diligencias que la propia administración nos indica nosotros está claro que tenemos que responder a eso".

El Proyecto de Dirección, reclama otro, debiera verse como una especie de contrato-programa:

> "Ahora que voy a presentar un Proyecto de Dirección para 4 años y si me comprometo y la Consejería me admite, yo entiendo que a mí la Consejería me tiene que exigir los objetivos que he propuesto, por los que me tiene que evaluar; pero ellos tienen que facilitarme los procesos para esto".

> ➢ IDENTIDAD SOCIAL

La identidad se concibe como la auto-percepción de un sujeto con respecto a otros, a lo que corresponde –a su vez– al reconocimiento y la aprobación de los demás. Como tal, no es una esencia, un atributo o una propiedad intrínseca del sujeto, sino que tiene un carácter intersubjetivo y relacional. Claude Dubar (1992) ha señalado que la identidad social es resultado de la articulación de estos dos procesos de socialización: 1) la atribución de la identidad dada por instancias y agentes con los que interacciona cotidianamente, a modo de "etiquetado"; y 2) la interiorización de la identidad por parte de los propios individuos. Estos dos ejes de biografía y relación se combinan para definir, como señalábamos antes, lo que Dubar llama "formas identitarias", es decir, formas sociales de identificación de los individuos en

relación con los otros. El director percibe que los demás lo ven socialmente como aquel que soluciona problemas y "apaga fuegos!

La dirección escolar estima que, socialmente, se la identifica como un agente que soluciona problemas de convivencia, apuros del profesorado, conflictos basados en el aquí y en el ahora:

> "la concepción es que el director es muchas veces la persona va apagando fuegos sobre la marcha, tengo un problema… que venga el director y me lo solucione. Pero, todo el trabajo que hay detrás, todo el trabajo administrativo, pedagógico…de reuniones… que es mucho…pues eso no se ve y yo creo que es generalizado[…]En mi centro [comenta otro] más que vernos como una autoridad ni pedagógica, soy la persona que dirige pero sobre todo la persona que tiene que ir solucionando las cuestiones, mediando, apagando fuegos sobre la marcha […] Si tú no lo has resuelto de forma satisfactoria pues puedan poner en duda tu capacidad como director".

En muchos casos reconocen la dificultad y las reticencias de ser percibido como "fiscalizador" de las tareas que deben hacer sus colegas, en una imagen negativa:

> "esta es una situación muy dura y muy tensa porque, al fin de cuentas, se trata de demostrarle al profesorado que su trabajo no ha dado los resultados. La gente es muy reacia a que le digan "esto no está bien" o "es mejorable".

En muchos casos se les percibe: " como si fuésemos parte de la administración".

La dirección escolar en España está en un "cuello de botella" entre la Administración que lo ha nombrado para ser su representante y sus compañeros que lo han elegido para defender sus intereses, Una especie de modelo "cautivo, que expresa bien este director:

> "…a veces nos encontramos entre la espada y la pared…puesto que a nosotros se nos exige como directores y equipos directivos una serie de aspectos que deben funcionar en el centro y nosotros tenemos que exigirles al resto de compañeros y a veces no se nos reconoce esta labor. Estamos entre la Administración y el propio centro y nos ven como una prolongación de la administración cuando también estamos con el profesorado".

Un director o directora debe contar con un amplio conjunto de competencias, pero prioritariamente debe ejercer una dirección pedagógica, es decir un liderazgo pedagógico en los procesos de enseñanza-aprendizaje que se desarrolla en el centro: "por eso, este tipo de dirección pedagógica es muy compleja, adaptada a personas y más aún a personas que no tienen una formación específica".

De este modo, comenta otro:

"los directores cuando llegan al cargo son gestores administrativos, porque no están preparados y, luego, con el tiempo, quizás en los segundos mandatos, es cuando empiezan a desplegar todo aquello de lo que son capaces".

Sin tener claro por dónde debía ir una profesionalización, reclaman una formación o carrera diferenciada que precede a la docencia:

"yo creo que la dirección, independiente de cómo se haga, es una carrera profesional, sin que quiera decir un cuerpo distinto, ahí no voy a entrar, pero una carrera profesional diferenciada del profesorado".

En cualquier caso se demanda una formación específica:

"si yo tuviera que presentarme ahora mismo a director, pues no lo haría, porque evidentemente para ser director de un centro hoy, no me sirve que yo lleve en las enseñanza X años y que sea buen docente, entiendo que sin un máster de de preparación donde se aborde toda esta temática…no se le debía nombrar".

➢ PROFESIONALIZACIÓN

La identidad profesional docente se caracteriza por el conjunto de saberes y competencias necesarias para practicar el oficio de la enseñanza y que, como tales, son reconocidas socialmente. Las características generales que identifican una profesión, a su vez, se concretan en lo que es la identidad profesional docente, como algo común a todos los docentes, pero también fruto individual de una construcción particular, mediada por identidades profesionales diferenciadas, como es el caso del profesorado de Primaria o de Secundaria. "Si yo soy director y lo voy a ser 4 años mas será porque el profesorado está de acuerdo conmigo", afirma uno.

Pero el director no puede ser sólo un representante del profesorado, por eso reclaman una profesionalización. Aparecen en las voces de los directores continuas críticas al sistema actual de selección: "esa elección, en principio está

viciada…mientras se bareme la formación de un director por lo 'viejo' que seas o por méritos ajenos a lo que es una dirección del centro".

En otros casos se refieren a cómo el mecanismo de elección por el Consejo Escolar puede no ser objetivo, dependiendo de la micro-política del centro: "en un Consejo Escolar un profesor me dice que mi actuación ha sido mala, porque días anteriores le había llamado la atención".

➢ DOBLE IDENTIDAD

Un colega elegido por sus colegas genera una cierta "cautividad": entre las demandas de la administración, que requieren una autoridad formal y las tensiones con el profesorado, del que formas parte y volverás en el futuro. Así lo expresa un director:

> "Es que eso entronca con la concepción del modelo de dirección que se tiene en este país, un modelo muy institucionalizado y manipulado políticamente, es que eres cautivo, es el modelo cautivo".

Una directora reconoce la complejidad y enajenamiento identitario, que diluye la autoridad:

> "lo primero que impide es esa relación que tenemos con nuestros compañeros y los seguimos llamando compañeros es muy curioso pero yo sigo siendo 'compañera de…' de cualquier profesor, claro que –además- soy la directora".

En palabras de otro director, se vive una cierta contradicción:

> "yo soy un representante de profesores, por lo que he sido elegido, para representar al patrón de los profesores, y –al tiempo- decirle al profesorado lo que tiene que hacer…, esto es muy complicado!".

Más grave es que esta situación suele impedir el ejercicio de la supervisión pedagógica para la mejora:

> "nosotros no tenemos capacidad para influir en lo que cada profesor haga en su aula, porque vuelvo a lo de antes, el director y el equipo directivo están de paso y la autoridad que tiene es limitada…"

DISCUSION

La complejidad del modelo español de dirección escolar merece ser analizada desde la cuestión de la *doble identidad* de los directores escolares. La *duplicidad* no solo se

manifiesta en el complicado y simultáneo ejercicio del rol "docente-director-docente", sino también en las tensiones que genera ocupar un posicionamiento intermedio entre las demandas de la administración y las negociaciones con sus "colegas" del profesorado. Esta "encrucijada" se agrava si se tiene en cuenta el itinerario de ida y vuelta –transeúnte- por el cargo y su sistema de elección, ciertamente corporativo.

En este sentido, fruto de las contradicciones, el impacto en la *identidad profesional* no se hace esperar. Los directivos no niegan la pérdida del ejercicio de autoridad formal. A cambio, se requiere del desarrollo de habilidades socio-personales en pos del logro progresivo de un tipo de autoridad "moral" que encuentra sus límites en las aristas de la cultura escolar, dícese, por ejemplo, en la supervisión pedagógica.

Sin remedio a estas cuestiones, la *identidad profesional* de los directivos define un perfil identitario en una serie de posicionamientos. Reconocerse cómo un núcleo generador de propuestas e iniciativas, cómo un coordinador que organiza los recursos humanos, un mediador de conflictos, un agente para la cohesión y el logro de una buena convivencia (clima de trabajo positivo)..., no son más -ni menos- que la expresión de un conjunto de *formas identitarias* que se expresan más allá del rol formal y dentro de los limitados márgenes del "modelo cautivo".

Sin más, queda pendiente el proceso de profesionalización de los directivos escolares. El estado de la cuestión no debate en si es más o menos formación, sino en que marco y/o coordenadas se inscribe. Al respecto, no hay dudas que la complejidad de las cuestiones reflejadas deberá ser revisada profundamente si se pretende el desarrollo y consolidación de una *identidad profesional* de los directivos a la altura de una dirección escolar para la mejora educativa.

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2

NARRATING EMERGING ADULTHOOD AT UNIVERSITY

TRANSITION TO UNIVERSITY AND THE NARRATIVE-BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

So as to gain a better understanding of university trajectories, the final stage of the project has focused on describing with hindsight the life events that figure in those trajectories in order to analyze and identify the life patterns within them. For this purpose we used narrative research methodology based on multiple autobiographical stories.

In the field of research into the transition to university, the importance of understanding student trajectories in all their complexity in order to improve the students' integration into university, their persistence, the achievement of their goals and the construction of their identities as university students and future professionals has led researchers to move closer towards qualitative approaches. We have therefore reviewed studies that use these to explore the construction of those student and professional identities (McAdams & Guo, 2014). Meanwhile the narrative-biographical approach is being developed on an European level in transition studies to look at guidance throughout life (Johnston et al., 2009; Barabasch & Merril, 2014; CEDEFOP, 2014). Papers such as those by Merriam (2014) and Santos & Cardenal (2012) use various arguments to encourage the use of biographical methodologies. Despite still being a minor line of research, the studies carried out have produced some interesting results (Grube, Cedarholm, Jones & Dunn, 2005).

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AS A PARADIGM OF EMERGING ADULTHOOD

This paper focuses on students aged 18-22 who gained admission to the University of Barcelona in 2010. By their ages, we can place these students in the emerging

adulthood (18-30), recently identified by evolutionary psychologists as having its own particular characteristics (Guichard, 2013). The concept of emerging adulthood, coined by Arnett (2000), means a lengthening of the exploratory stage of life, a stage previously linked to adolescence but which nowadays appears to extend beyond youth. This new perspective allows us to understand some key facts. Thus the strategies with which young adults confront life and their options will clearly differ from those of previous generations. Their early plans will be considered on a different basis and they will have other keys to finding their places in the professional and social world.

Career planning processes are constantly under review from this paradigm, possibly because the inputs resulting from their multiple life experiences make it possible to discover new interests (in line with Savickas, 2013). The emerging adult plans more for the short term, exploring possibilities, discarding and redefining plans (about work, personal decisions, relationships) with a speed that makes older generations dizzy. In some roles they assume a degree of independence, but not in others.

They place more value on free time and their other identities have a similar weight to their professional identity. The transition to university is just one of the different transitions in which they construct multiple identities. Inviting these students to narrate their passage through university may help us to understand their academic and life histories in the frame of reference of emerging adulthood.

METHODOLOGY

This paper presents an analysis of the first phase of the transition stage as related in interviews by students of Education. We focus on one specific academic context, the Education degree, and this enables us to capture the specificities of the context so as to attribute meaning to the students' life trajectories. We also analyse their trajectories at a specific moment in time, marked by the significant institutional and academic changes brought about by the implementation of the Bologna Process.

Selecting people to interview (sample) is one of the trickiest tasks in the field of narrative research. Gudmundsdottir (1996) advises that those with higher narrative competence should be chosen because this makes interviewing easier and results in a better told story. Generally speaking, however, those selected tend to be those who are willing to participate and motivated to speak about their life at university. In our case, we asked for volunteers to represent the enrolled students as a whole. Some students came forward on their own initiative.

A total of 15 cases were selected that included graduates in Education and in Business Administration and Management, a mix of successful trajectories (completing their studies in the expected time) and delayed trajectories (taking longer

than the theoretical time). In the case of Education, a total of seven students (5 women and 2 men) participated. Two of the women gained admission after taking a CFGS (higher vocational training certificate). Of the others, who came straight from secondary school (bachillerato), two people were late in finishing their secondary studies and one changed courses after making a wrong first choice. Of the group as a whole, five finished in four years.

The interview had two main objectives. The first was to discover and understand how the students lived and experienced their passage through university, while the second was to understand and analyse the development of university student identity and the professional self. In this regard, the interview aimed to be a narrative of professional identity and in particular its initial construction, thereby bringing us closer to the concept of narrative identity described by McAdams & Guo (2014). Two autobiographical interviews were carried out. In the first, each interviewee was asked to bring an object that represented their experience as a student. The second interview was used to complete, qualify and check the findings of the first.

The narrative is arranged in chronological order from start to finish because the aim of the research is to observe the evolution of life experienced as a university student. Apart from the chronological and temporal aspect, the interview script was based on key moments from the academic trajectory linked to context (situations or events relevant to the university context) that the students experienced before finishing their studies. The essential elements of the interview script therefore focused on general biographical details, the meaning and significance of the object brought to the interview, chapters in the life of the student, key points from the chapters and a narrative of a future chapter.

The interviews were analysed by devising categories along the lines of Patton & McMahon's (2006) systems theory framework of career development accompanied by a procedural analysis (outlining the stages/chapters identified in the narratives).

RESULTS

The evolution of vocation
A common element to all those interviewed is that Education was not their first choice of degree, although they all chose to continue until the end of the course, some finding meaning in the degree in terms of their vocational interest and others being driven by the belief that leaving would mean failure or a sign of personal weakness.

When choosing what course to do, we observe in some interviews that the priority was to go to university over and above any other option and regardless of

having to study something unrelated to their vocational interest. This comes across clearly in the cases of Daniel and Neus. Daniel came from an environment that places a high value on a university education, as experienced by his father (a teaching degree). For Neus, there was never a possibility of other educational options because they were seen as being of a lower level, having less prestige and not providing what she deserved as a good student. This view of university does not even allow for the possibility of doing a higher vocational training certificate (Vocational Education and Training courses) as the first step on an educational pathway ultimately leading to a teaching degree. With hindsight, Neus acknowledges that this could have been an alternative.

> "It was go to university or get working and try again the following year" (Daniel).
> "I'd already made a huge effort. I'd always been very good academically and I looked on CFGSs as being beneath me, not much of a qualification" (Neus).
> "If I'd done a one-year course I'd have had a qualification and I could have gone to university the following year instead of beginning a degree course that didn't actually teach me much" (Neus).

In other cases it is not so much the education provided at university that is valued so much as the chance of acquiring new experiences in a setting where one can also obtain a qualification. Biel, for example, places less value on the academic training than on the acquisition of experiences (both formal and non-formal) offered to him by learning things that enable him to respond to social problems.

> "The experience I had at university, you can get that in other ways. University, a training course or any other course can mean the same thing. Being in a social environment, I used it to develop a project in a youth club, to apply all the techniques I'd learnt, but I think that a higher or intermediate vocational training course or a basic professional qualification program would have been just as valid as university. Would I recommend university? As much as I'd recommend other academic or training options, whether training courses or private courses somewhere else" (Biel).

A factor present in some of the choices and also linked to the idea of having new experiences is related to the exploration of new contexts, accepting the uncertainty and the fears that that involves. This is Irina's experience. The reason she gives is that the qualifying mark for gaining admission to university in the city where she finished the higher vocational training certificate was very high. The way

she saw the situation, it was not about the possibilities that universities in other cities she considered could offer but more a process of self-reflection.

> "I fancied a change of scene. I thought about going to Barcelona, which I'd always liked (…). Experiencing the different cities I could go to and discovering why I liked one more than another" (Irina).
> "…fear of the unknown, but fear of where I am, what I've got myself into. When I got on the train to come to Barcelona I said to myself, 'What are you doing? Think how good it would be in Z, studying any degree course with your family there, having your mother making you lunch every weekend" (Irina).

In other cases, going to university is part of a constant process of searching accompanied by dissatisfaction and contradictions. This can be observed in the case of Gisela. This student is a great lover of dance, although this was put aside to allow for university studies. Gisela openly admits that she defines herself as a student who puts in the minimum amount of work, yet in dance she disciplines herself to the point of exhaustion. She chose to study Education without being too clear as to why, and therefore she finds herself dissatisfied and even annoyed with her studies in particular and with university in general. This situation remains unresolved, although she does value the idea of obtaining a qualification that offers her security.

> "I could have done some other course that would have helped me to develop more on a personal level, but I chose without really knowing what I wanted to do and in the end I decided to finish it (…). For me it is very satisfying to have the qualification. You feel secure, and that's not because of what I've learnt but because I've got a qualification that gives me a wider choice of possible employment. That's also useful. It's practical" (Gisela).

Choosing a course connected to education is mainly due to an interest in solving the problems that arise in this area, and some of our interviewees warn of things that can go wrong that they have experienced at first hand. In doing these courses they seek to find the knowledge and the tools to help them make sure that other students do not have to live through the same experiences they did.

> "More than anything it was realizing that in secondary school there is a problem with both orientation and professionalism, or with teacher training as I saw people who were not ready to be teachers. I understood later on, but it awakened my interest and I wanted to find an answer because it affected me a great deal" (Biel).

This concern is also at the root of vocational interest reorientation. Although Neus's initial choice was to take a degree in Teaching, she decided to stay in Education because she discovered it gave her the chance to find an answer to a distressing situation she experienced as a student at school.

"When I discovered the figure of the careers advisor, I thought of what I needed before I went to university and linked it to my experience, and it was like, 'I have to be the person who helps other students not to feel "alone" like I did at a critical time'. That for me was my biggest moment of self-discovery on a professional level" (Neus).

"When I chose the course I took into account what had happened to me, bearing in mind that I didn't really know what to do. On the basis of that experience, I developed more interests that made me find the strength to retake the Bachillerato (High School Certificate) and decided to do a degree in some way linked to what had happened to me, which was Psychology or Education. And from then on I followed the pathway I'm on now, related to careers advice" (Biel).

We also come across cases like Ivana, who throughout the interview avoids commenting on her interests. She studied Education without asking herself what meaning it had for her, saying that, "I'd be happier if I were a hairdresser because I'd be working". This lack of self-exploration led her to keep exploring different study options (CFGS in Administration) and jobs. She showed a certain interest in occupations that involve helping people (Physiotherapy was her first choice). For her, university was just a way of getting a "better job", a view she picked up from her family.

Finally we have the case of Montse, who says she made the wrong choice because of a lack of information and a belief in myths which, once she started the degree, began to disappear. Nevertheless, she refused to change trajectory because that would have meant abandoning what she started and, the way she sees it, that would mean "failure".

Contact with Education and interaction with the life experiences of those interviewed opens up new fields of vocational exploration. Gisela, for example, took Education without being very sure what it could bring her. After being in contact with one of the first-year teachers and reading Summerhill, she discovered she was interested in changing education, and this became more obvious after she became involved with the 15M (anti-austerity) movement. However, she became demotivated when she saw that the Faculty of Education itself did not match her

idealized view of education, and this led her to become annoyed and then to seek alternatives such as meditation outside the university.

Neus's professional interest is being built around experience, which enables her to explore options other than those she initially thought were her most genuine vocation. Indeed, although she considered transferring from the Education degree to Teacher in Primary Education, she decided to stay when she discovered she was interested in areas other than teaching.

> "In the first and second years I didn't even consider anything that wasn't teaching. I didn't look and I wasn't interested in anything else… until something I thought of changed everything. You see the possibilities that Education opens up, you see other areas, you think about it and end up wondering if teacher training is what you want or not, or whether it was just a game that you enjoyed when you were little but isn't what you really want to do" (Neus).

In other cases Education is associated with the possibility of bringing about social change. Biel, for example, falls into this category. However, those interviewed say that learning this is more likely to come from their extracurricular experiences at university.

> "Part of the experiences that I find with these life experiences, with the youth club dynamic based on participation, self-management, personal involvement, when I go to university I look for this kind of place where there's participation and I find myself with the student representatives" (Biel).

Some justify remaining in Education because of its many professional openings. This is the case with Daniel, who makes one feel that he is reasserting himself from today as regards his original decision to study Education, and thus he comments:

> "(the educationalist) can work in lots of places, and while it's true that the labour market might not provide places for everyone who graduates in a year, if you keep working at it you can find a job doing what you want. It depends on the person, on the level of performance and competencies, both transversal and technical…" (Daniel).

Trajectory markers

We see in all cases how the different perceptions the interviewees have about themselves and the reality they live, with all its margins for error, mark their decisions and trajectories both consciously and unconsciously. The object chosen by each student to bring to the interview is in each case highly representative of the place of their personal identity and the markers that guide their perception of reality.

Neus's chosen object is her photocopier card. It alludes to when she joined the Education degree after giving up other university studies. It represents her need to feel protected and accompanied by her group of fellow students and friends as a safeguard against the insecurity her own self-imposed standards generate in her – the need to keep up the role of "good student". Neus experiences all the times that she cannot live up to this role of good student as distressing personal failures. Her inability to accept mistakes as part of life's experience generates feelings of guilt and shame that she hides from her fellow students and from herself (she preferred not to speak about it). She sees her family as an important emotional support but also the reason behind her feelings of guilt and shame and for her academic "failures". Even today it is difficult for her to accept what she perceives as a mistake, something she has still not come to terms with.

> "(You didn't like talking about it)… No, I didn't… personal failure. The thought that your fellow students were starting the courses they wanted and you weren't, that you'd failed as a student at the vital moment, that you were going to finish your studies a year late instead of following your path as it had been laid out… That's what was unbearable for me at the time" (Neus).

For that reason she needs a lot of support and emotional protection that she finds in her family and her group of friends (and hence the object).

Also quick to validate her identity as a good student is Montse, who takes how she compares to her fellow students as her yardstick. Her chosen object is the Education degree sash she was given on graduation day. She sees her passage through university as a success because she graduated in the expected four years and she feels proud when she compares herself to others who have still not finished their studies. Deep down we see the idea of persistence at any price, even at the cost of her own feelings of stress. This crops up a number of times in the course of the interview. The object she brings also shows the value she places on her fellow students, who serve to spur her on and successfully finish her studies (with a competitive edge).

> "Well, that, having finished the degree…The effort and sacrifice of being at university with other people that you become linked with.

For me, having finished is satisfying because there are others who still haven't. In the end I did it in four years, which is what I expected, and that was great" (Montse).

This same sense of pride and the need to validate identity through the recognition of others can be seen in Daniel. The object he chooses is his class graduation photograph. He tries to convey an image of security, of seeing his failures as positive experiences, of facing challenges... but there are moments in his discourse when he reveals his fears and frustrations ("I'm positive and I approach things willingly, but if something isn't clear and I don't think it'll be very good, I tend to think it'll end in failure"). It is only when he is able to affirm that his trajectory has been positive that he looks back to reconcile himself with that Daniel who "wasn't up to scratch" and feels proud of having overcome all the obstacles he came up against in his academic trajectory. He continued to study Education despite being frustrated by the degree's lack of prestige compared to others because he is "someone who finishes what they start". He looks for reasons that will convince himself and others that he has a clear academic and professional plan and that the decisions he made were the right ones.

Irina's object is a packet of cigarettes whereby she wants to represent her strength of character and the social relationships she established during her university trajectory. She is driven by the perception that it is her duty to overcome challenges and that she grows when challenged by others, especially her family ("I've based my whole life on challenges. Coming to Barcelona was a challenge, getting my degree in four years was a challenge"). Thus she decided to study in a different city, somewhere she had to find a place to live, establish new relationships, learn a language, find work to pay expenses… Her vocational interest lies in attention to diversity and she herself chose to move to study in a context in which she felt different. Validating this difference, at first it was hard to feel integrated with her fellow students and she even felt rejected in her surroundings, but then she found a group of friends with whom she felt protected.

"A lot of people in my family said, 'you'll only last two days there what with the distance and the language and everything' … and that was also something that made me say, 'I'll do it if it kills me" (Irina).

In Biel's case too we see that the need to prove to his family that he has the capacity to successfully finish his studies carries much weight. His actions are also marked by the need for social recognition and the search for survival strategies (contact networks, opportunities for learning, for work …), and this leads him to get involved in a multitude of activities to the point of saturation. The object he brings is a T-shirt commemorating the 20th anniversary of the *Casal de Joves* where he

volunteers. The slogan reads "I'm young and modest", a phrase he identifies with. The T-shirt represents not only his interest in the volunteer sector but also the fact that, once he had started working with the youth club after abandoning his studies, he began to discover his own interests, which according to him meant "the start of my academic and personal life". Having dropped out while doing his Bachillerato, he decided to go back to his studies and took it as a challenge to prove to his family that he was capable of finishing them successfully and that "there's more to me than you think". His personal experience of "failure" led him to take up volunteering and education as a form of "activism". It was then that he brought into play all the resources available to him through his "go-getting" character, his survival skills, in order to overcome the obstacles in his path. His need to survive drove him to become involved in extracurricular activities that would enable him to widen his network of contacts and open up opportunities for work. Indeed it is precisely this type of activity, which he combines with volunteering, that he values most about university.

> "getting involved in meetings, in the student council, or with associations like 'la Carbonera', which was here before, or … the Mundet Campus assembly that we developed later. Talking about our demands regarding prices and … and the second call to convene, with…" (Biel).

In other cases we see that the need to be in control is what marks people's movements, either as actions or as reactions when it is not possible to exercise control. This is the situation in which we find Gisela. The object she brings is a diary that represents both her need for control and the stress she felt during her passage through university (precisely because of that desire to control what might actually be uncontrollable). The diary was also of use in enabling her to assess her controlling attitude towards life. When perceiving reality, Gisela judges how far it corresponds with her own beliefs, ideals and values. This means she experiences frustration, anger and annoyance when reality does not develop as she perceives it should. She is therefore neglectful of her involvement on an academic level, although she seeks strategies to get by with a minimum response, and she commits herself to social movements like 15M in her search to find a substitute for what she feels she lacks. As part of this process she stopped participating in 15M and got involved in activities in search of inner peace (meditation).

> "The really important thing is for people to be comfortable with themselves in order for it to spread to everyone else. This is where we should all try to say, 'let's change the way we think, let's find peace, let's find it because we don't know how to manage our

emotions. Let's breathe, let's be calm, let's spread peace and not conflict'. I couldn't understand so much artifice in the intellectual field" (Gisela).

The object brought by Ivana is a pen, and the reason she gives ("I thought it was funny") highlights her lack of concern about university studies and about asking herself what it means to be doing them. Her interest is in the most basic level of survival, to *"be better prepared"*, although this seems to be more of a family aspiration than her own. She says that what matters to her is simply to "have a job", which she believes she can access without the need for university studies. Her priority is work, and this becomes clear when she says: "I enrolled for the 60 credits, but later I reduced it to half because it was a lot of work and I wanted to have a social life and I wanted to work and I took it all more calmly". To feel comfortable in the university context, she looked for fellow students with characteristics similar to hers (living outside Barcelona, mixing studies with work…).

"They're people more like me. They live and work nearer me. When you work with people from Barcelona they always want to meet in Barcelona or the university, or in the morning and not in the afternoon. Obviously with this group we didn't have to go that far and that means a lot. I felt very comfortable" (Ivana).

CONCLUSIONS

We are now in the final stage of analyzing the results, which indicate the importance of narration as an element for making us aware of the factors that have an effect on the ups and downs of university students' academic and life trajectories. We can also see the importance of developing one's own identity as a student and how one's actions remain faithful to this identity, which acts to motivate and restrict at the same time. The results point to elements that can be used in careers guidance in the university area, including narrative procedures. Along with Alheit (2009), we believe that observing and becoming aware of how people manage and negotiate their different transitions could encourage people to find the meaning of their career biographies. Narrative here can act as a "transition bridge", as suggested by Ashforth (2001).

Before we present our conclusions, we would like to make it clear that the explorations referred to by the concept of emerging adulthood that we have used in our study are influenced by limitations in educational and occupational opportunities (Arnett, 2000) and cannot therefore be generalized.

Some of the conclusions reached on the basis of the first analysis carried out involve the aspects summarized below.

➢ The importance of the value placed on going to university by the social and family environment, sometimes to the point where it blocks consideration of other possible learning pathways more appropriate to and consistent with the actual vocation. In earlier studies, students explained how important going to university was for their personal and professional development (Figuera, Torrado, Freixa & Dorio, 2015; Freixa & Dorio, 2015). For some it was a personal achievement, while for others it meant continuity in their education. It was also established that the process of academic and social adaptation and integration into the university context was not experienced in the same way by all students, especially non-conventional students.

➢ How difficult it is for these people in emerging adulthood to discover their vocation, or their "element" as Robinson (2011) calls it. It is therefore important to deal with this stage of emerging adulthood as a time of exploration with all its margins for error, when people need to learn to work through these "errors" and open themselves up to the possibilities available.

➢ The weight given to past experiences perceived as negative, which need to be offset in the hope that one can stop the same thing happening to other people.

➢ Characterizing as "failure" any experience that does not match the expectations generated on the basis of the social and personal patterns that guide a person's life decisions. This reflects how hard it is to accept mistakes as being part of life and an opportunity for learning and for personal and professional growth. We would stress the importance of the work that can done using the narrative approach because of its value in identifying significant life issues for biographical career development (Brown & Bimrose, 2015), bearing in mind that the template a person constructs as part of their identity is the one they apply to everyday realities in order to guide them in different social contexts (Savickas, 2011, in Brown & Bimrose, 2015).

➢ How difficult it is for people to explore and accept their own vocational interests. We even see people "running away" from this through fear of giving shape to something that does not fit the social or personal template assumed.

➢ Among the people interviewed, we identify how in this stage, as Arnett (2000) points out, educational choices explore the different possibilities that will prepare them for different types of work in the future and how this exploration continues until at least one's mid-twenties.

➢ The evolution of interests and professional identity in line with extracurricular experience and the influence of the teaching staff's motivational skills.

➢ To summarize the results obtained as regards the factors marking the career development process in the emerging adult, we observe in the people interviewed the places occupied by markers such as the need for survival, for protection, for comparison-competition and for the search for what is missing outside the configuration of the trajectories

➢ The perceptions people have of their own identity, the need for social recognition (family, friendships, people in the immediate surroundings…), the difficulty in accepting mistakes as part of life, the need to "form part", the need to control even the uncontrollable… these are just some of the subjects that appear in the narratives analysed.

Working on these subjects through the use of narrative can, as Brown & Bimrose (2015:252) maintain, be "an opportunity to elicit messages and meanings with a fresh slant on their current position".

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3

REPRESENTAÇÕES DE PERCURSOS FORMATIVOS DE LEITORES UNIVERSITÁRIOS

Quem é realmente o leitor?

INTRODUÇÃO

Este artigo apresenta a sistematização de um recorte de um projeto de pesquisa (Souza, 2008), cujos resultados e pesquisas adicionais vêm sendo apresentados ao longo dos últimos anos (Souza, 2007; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2014) e que procurou descobrir quais os modos de representação de percursos formativos surgiam quando os entrevistados eram questionados sobre seu pertencimento ou não à categoria leitor.

Neste artigo, em especial, se procura compreender, a partir de um debate sobre o conceito de representação em suas facetas filosófica, histórica e psicológicas, o que emerge das narrativas dos leitores como imagem estável de seus percursos formativos como leitores, condição por vezes negada pelos sujeitos, que imaginam que para ser leitor é preciso algo para além da capacidade de ler e que se inscreve em preconceitos de base social, econômica e elitizantes que são disseminados em todo o Ocidente como verdades. Mas, antes, vejamos o que entendemos por Representação.

A REPRESENTAÇÃO: HORIZONTES TEÓRICOS

Definir representação, seja como instrumento conceitual de uso da História Cultural seja da Psicologia Social, não é um objeto de consenso. A Psicologia Social tem o conceito em grande conta, mas até hoje só estabeleceu entendimentos diante da impossibilidade de uma definição, o que para o chamado grupo do *Midi*[1] reduziria o

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[1] Região do sul da França. Aqui a expressão é tomada de Sá (1996), que a usa em relação ao lugar de onde se originaram as discussões mais atuais na perspectiva da abordagem estrutural sobre Representações Sociais.

seu alcance como instrumento. O que interessa nas representações é a sua complexidade, pois os processos de constituição de uma representação nunca se dão em ambientes nem em situações completamente idênticas, por isso seu produto será sempre múltiplo (Sá, 1996).

Por seu turno, a História Cultural, que toma o conceito de representação da tradição filosófica, parece não ter tantos problemas em propor sua definição, já que não pretende que a representação delimite o seu campo de atuação – o que ocorre com o campo das Representações Sociais, oriundo da Psicologia Social, que toma o conceito como a base para os sistemas que constrói, ao mesmo tempo em que este conceito nomeia a abordagem proposta por este grupo (Sá, 1996) – nem parece ver problema em sua relação com o conceito de imagem, propondo-o como conjuntos de imagens que dão significado ao presente (Chartier, 1990). O que não é propriamente uma definição, aproximando-se muito mais de um conceito.

A constituição deste trabalho percorreu esta cena dupla sobre representação, que por um lado, alinha-se com a História Cultural, com as devidas adaptações que respondem ao objetivo proposto para este estudo, já que este campo trata do conceito de Representação das Práticas Culturais de Leitura, representações estas produzidas num tempo passado. O que nos propomos a estudar aqui está no presente, com um grupo de pessoas que estão vivas e cujo pensamento não está cristalizado num espaço-tempo passado, estando impresso por dinâmicas e conjunto de fatores atuais e que foram colhidos *in loco*. A Psicologia Social, neste trabalho, apareceu como uma tentativa de responder a esta contemporaneidade, pensar a Representação não como um processo a ser restabelecido, mas a ser encontrado na dinâmica das relações sociais que se imprimem atualmente. Mais abaixo aponto como compreendemos esta conceituação e como ela deve ser entendida na leitura deste artigo.

A representação enquanto instrumento conceitual filosófico[2] remonta à escolástica, momento em que este conceito emerge das discussões acerca do que seria representar alguma coisa, ou seja, como produzir um elemento que contivesse a semelhança de algo que existe ou que pode existir e, também, dos acontecimentos. Tal entendimento suscitou três noções distintas de representação.

Na primeira noção, representar significa o meio pelo qual se conhece determinada coisa ou fenômeno. Neste sentido, representar seria o mesmo que produzir conhecimento; a segunda noção representaria o modo pelo qual se conhece a imagem daquilo que se pretende conhecer; na terceira noção, a representação e o objeto não se distinguem, o conhecimento que a representação produz é o mesmo que o objeto. Foi partir de Descartes que este conceito tomou força dentro da

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[2] Aqui, neste ponto, não estamos tratando dos conceitos de idéia, imagem ou conceito que aparecem de maneira recorrente como sinônimos de representação, mas guardam suas especificidades e usos próprios, além de remontarem a períodos históricos mais antigos em suas origens.

filosofia, com a noção de representação enquanto imagem da coisa, que foi problematizado por Leibniz como a mônada[3]. Mas foi Kant que se ocupou mais deste conceito, "considerando-o gênero de todos os atos ou manifestações cognitivas, independentemente de sua natureza de quadro ou semelhança" (Abbagnano, 2003, p. 853) e com essa roupagem o termo passou a ser amplamente usado em filosofia.

De certa forma, e imerso num momento mais complexo da história da racionalidade ocidental – que é o quadro que se imprime na contemporaneidade, o da crise do paradigma científico, na qual problemas e conceituações tidos como estabelecidos são retomados e problematizados à luz e necessidades dos tempos hodiernos[4] – a Psicologia Social questiona a compreensão kantiana de representação, ora vendo-a como um conjunto de proposições e explicações originárias da vida comum, ora uma forma de conhecimento elaborada e compartilhada socialmente e, também, como o produto de uma atividade mental com a qual o indivíduo significa o real tal como este se lhe apresenta (Sá, 1996).

Nas ciências humanas, de uma maneira geral, o que ocorre com este conceito não é uma proposição exclusivista, de propriedade mesmo, que aponta um único tipo de abordagem desta noção. O que acontece é muito mais próprio da dinâmica que se imprime na contemporaneidade, que é a da multiplicidade de usos, onde cada campo, diante da necessidade, lança mão de uma maneira de se operar uma determinada conceituação.

É nessa maneira de operar o conceito que se observa a diferença do entendimento proposto pela História Cultural, mais especificamente na compreensão de Roger Chartier acerca do conceito de Representação em associação com o conceito de Prática Cultural de Leitura, que, com as devidas adaptações, pois este não é um artigo do campo da História, ajudaram-nos a compor este estudo. Dos trabalhos de Roger Chartier emergem três perspectivas de abordagem das práticas de leitura, que, em certa medida, caracterizam e delimitam o campo de estudos.

A primeira perspectiva, de natureza essencialmente histórica, propõe-se a levantar as maneiras de ler que já não ocorrem no presente, construindo assim um apanhado de atitudes ancestrais não mais em uso, que se prefiguraram em um tempo, estabelecendo as marcas de leitura que diluíram no espaço-tempo da história (Chartier, 2001). Chartier propõe que se busque nos textos elementos estáveis, que evidenciem o *modus operandi* de quem os produziu. Para isso, deve-se procurar investigar, com base nos vestígios deixados pelos autores, os protocolos de leitura, divididos em dois tipos. O primeiro protocolo diz respeito às intenções de condução

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[3] Para Leibniz toda mônada é uma representação de um ponto de vista sobre o mundo, a totalidade das mônadas forma o universo. Este ponto de vista é desprovido de partes, mas contém infinitos graus de clareza e distinção.

[4] Neste sentido ver Santos, 1998; Duarte JR, 1997; Derrida, Jacques. 2005; Deleuze, 2000; Baudrillard, 2001, entre outros.

da leitura pelo autor do texto. O segundo diz respeito à organização editorial e tipográfica do livro, cujas opções determinarão o tipo de público que o texto poderá atingir (Chartier, 2001).

A segunda perspectiva trata das apropriações que determinado leitor faz de suas leituras. A noção de apropriação tem um lugar particular e elucidador dentro da "sistemática" chartieriana, caracterizando-se de uma forma distinta do pensamento de Foucault, que a situa numa alusão à educação como grande plano de apropriações sociais do discurso, mecanismo que garantiria aos sujeitos travarem conhecimento de toda forma de discursos (Foucault, 2002); e da hermenêutica, que compreende a apropriação (*Aneignung*), como momento pelo qual, em contato com o texto, compreendemos a nós mesmos, momento em que a obra cria para seus leitores um *vis-à-vis* subjetivo (Ricoeur, 1977). Distinguindo-se destas noções Chartier afirma que:

> "A apropriação, tal como a entendemos, tem por objetivo uma história social das interpretações, remetidas para suas determinações fundamentais (que são sociais, institucionais e culturais) e inscritas nas práticas específicas que as produzem. Conceder desse modo atenção às condições e aos processos que, muito concretamente, determinam as operações de construções de sentido (na relação de leitura, mas em muitas outras também) é reconhecer, contra a antiga história intelectual, que as inteligências não são desencarnadas, e, contra as correntes de pensamento que postulam o universal, que as categorias aparentemente mais invariáveis devem ser construídas na descontinuidade das trajetórias históricas" (Chartier, 1990, p 26-27).

A terceira perspectiva trata das mais variadas formas de uso e apropriação do termo leitura, que por sua polissemia permite variadas possibilidades de abordagem sobre o mesmo objeto. Os trabalhos que se desenvolvem a partir desta acepção podem tanto construir uma negação do conceito de leitura vigente, problematizando-o, ou afirmar determinada compreensão de leitura atribuída a um dado grupo ou indivíduo.

O desafio posto é identificar o modo como em diferentes momentos e situações do vivido estabeleceu-se – ou estabelece-se, quando se trata de diferentes culturas ou grupos sociais em um mesmo tempo – uma forma de compreensão do real, como esta realidade foi pensada e lida por seus contemporâneos. Por isso compreender as práticas de leitura que se estabeleceram em diferentes momentos históricos é importante; não só para que se funde um novo espaço de pesquisa, mas para tornar inteligíveis as práticas culturais e sociais da contemporaneidade. É para dar sentido à dialética dessas práticas – figurando a leitura como fazer que estabelece significações, portanto determinante para o estabelecimento das percepções sociais – , que Chartier trabalha com o conceito de Representação das Práticas Culturais de

Leitura. As representações, para ele, são percepções da realidade produzidas num determinado espaço-tempo, refletindo os valores de um dado grupo social. São esquemas intelectuais incorporados pelos sujeitos, que criam figuras para significar o presente, permitindo a compreensão do outro e do mundo (Chartier, 1990). As representações do mundo social assim construídas, embora aspirem a universalidade de um diagnóstico fundado na razão, são sempre determinadas pelos interesses dos grupos que as forjam. Daí, para cada caso, o necessário relacionamento dos discursos proferidos com a posição de quem os utiliza (Chartier, 1990, p. 17).

Estas percepções não são de modo algum construções discursivas neutras, estão imersas em contextos sociais, cujas dinâmicas próprias de poder determinam o modo como se construirão as representações. Por isso esta investigação sobre as representações supõe-nas como estando sempre colocadas num campo de concorrências e de competições cujos desafios se enunciam em termos de poder e dominação.

Dessa forma, tais representações aparecem como matrizes do discurso constituído por um grupo, refletindo seus hábitos e sua "utensilhagem mental", incorporado sob a forma de categorias cognitivas. São as representações que informam as diferentes formas de apreensão do real: os signos linguísticos, os saberes mitológicos e os conceitos científicos e são estas formas simbólicas que constituem o mundo como representação.

A cada civilização, a sua utensilhagem mental; mais ainda, a cada época de uma mesma civilização, a cada progresso (quer das técnicas, quer das ciências) que a caracteriza – uma utensilhagem renovada, um pouco mais desenvolvida para certas utilizações, um pouco menos para outras. Uma utensilhagem mental que essa civilização, que essa época, não está segura da capacidade de transmitir, integralmente, às civilizações, às épocas que lhe vão suceder, podendo conhecer mutilações, retrocessos, deformações importantes. Ou, pelo contrário, progressos, enriquecimentos, novas complicações. A utensilhagem vale pela civilização que soube forjá-la; vale pela época que a utiliza; não vale pela eternidade, nem pela humanidade: nem sequer pelo curso restrito de uma evolução interna de uma civilização (Febvre *in* Chartier, 1990, p.36).

O que significa dizer que não existem categorias universais de pensamento. Que mesmo os conceitos utilizados em uma determinada época não guardam a mesma significação que nos é própria no século XXI. Por exemplo, a dialética para um pré-socrático não é a mesma coisa que para Hegel, que difere totalmente da interpretação de um marxista em nosso século. Os conceitos, da mesma maneira que aqueles que os produzem e ressignificam, têm seu próprio devir e devem ser compreendidos levando em consideração a maneira de pensar de cada época.

Esta mudança no modo de operar conceitualmente está amparada pelo desenvolvimento técnico e científico, nas reinvenções históricas das formas de organização da prática humana e das construções discursivas produzidas em

determinado momento histórico. Dito de outra maneira, a forma de pensar de uma época depende do diálogo entre o fazer humano e a produção intelectual de um determinado tempo. Além disso, seria necessário romper com a idéia de que "existe um progresso contínuo e necessário (definido como uma passagem do simples para o mais complexo) na sucessão das diferentes utensilhagens mentais" (Chartier, 1990, p.37).

Cabe ao pesquisador que faz uso dessa ferramenta conceitual procurar estabelecer como um sujeito em determinado tempo histórico pode ser compreendido pelos seus contemporâneos.

Há, também, neste estudo, o trabalho com a noção de percurso. O percurso pensado como devir, o desenvolvimento do sujeito diante do tempo e do lugar a que está referenciado. Mais especificamente, é compreendida como um processo de significação utilizado pelo sujeito para compreender o mundo que o cerca, processo este ao qual atribui sentidos e imprime valores.

Sintetizando, mais uma vez, nossas aproximações. Compreendemos como representação do percurso de formação do leitor literário toda produção, seja em nível simbólico, conceitual, propositivo, explicativo ou imagético, originada da vida cotidiana, numa tentativa do sujeito de significar um tipo de realidade social compartilhada, que, neste caso, é a da leitura literária.

Mais abaixo, a partir das narrativas dos sujeitos sobre suas trajetórias de formação como leitores, discutiremos os sentidos e as possibilidades que tais constructos carregam e permitem, na medida em que são potências, uma reflexão sobre os modos como nos relacionamos com as práticas culturais de leitura.

SOBRE A PESQUISA

Para a apresentação dos trechos das narrativas desta pesquisa, escolheu-se não nomear os sujeitos por seus verdadeiros nomes, informando suas narrativas a partir de pseudônimos (Benedita, Justina Bojuda, Manon Lescault, Mavis, Penélope e Raskolnikov). Os seis entrevistados, de idades variando entre 60 e 19 anos, não foram objeto de seleção, muito menos podemos dizer que houve um critério muito claro de escolha dos colaboradores. Foram estes e unicamente estes que se dispuseram responder as entrevistas. Todos eles foram estudantes da Universidade do Estado da Bahia, entre 2006 e 2012 e participaram de um mesmo projeto de formação de leitores, o Rodapalavra[5]. Apesar de oriundos de um mesmo projeto de

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[5] O Rodapalavra é um projeto de formação de leitores da Universidade do Estado da Bahia, Brasil, sob coordenação de Verbena Maria Rocha Cordeiro. Todos os sujeitos da pesquisa são oriundos de seus Círculos de Leitura. A atividade formativa de leitores através de círculos já desenvolvida por autores como Yunes (1999) Souza (2012; 2014) e Gonçalves (2014). O

formação de leitores, o Rodapalavra, os sujeitos, no entanto, não reduziram as narrativas de suas trajetórias constitutivas como leitores literários ao universo deste grupo, problematizaram seus devires como leitores, considerando os fatores outras possibilidades de trânsito e formação, inscrevendo a leitura como experiência (Larrosa, 2015), ou silenciando-se sobre eles, além de outros, muito particulares, que não responderiam ao objetivo deste estudo.

Estabelecemos um questionamento final, comum a todas as entrevistas, que funcionou como síntese das questões e problemas levantados pelos sujeitos em suas narrativas. O último desses questionamentos dizia sobre a forma como esses sujeitos, diante das considerações construídas acerca de suas trajetórias, acreditavam que tinham se constituído como leitores literários. As respostas a essa proposição tentaram reconstruir toda uma vida de contato com a leitura, apresentando conjecturas autobiográficas dos leitores em questão. Para que estas formas de narrar não se reduzissem a fragmentos pouco representativos, todos as repostas aparecem na íntegra, sem recortes, exceto quando estes fazem parte das narrativas.

REPRESENTANDO PERCURSOS FORMATIVOS: AS VOZES DOS LEITORES

As possibilidades formativas dos leitores são inúmeras: dentro do universo familiar, na escola, por influência de amigos na adolescência, em contextos de amplo letramento, em famílias muito pobres e sem nenhum livro em casa. As possibilidades são muitas, tão diversas quanto as experiências humanas costumam ser. Não podemos acreditar ou esperar que os sujeitos se formem de uma mesma maneira em diálogo com uma cultura, até onde se pretende controle, como nas escolas militares ou nos sistemas totalitários, linhas de fuga aparecem, dão a ler e transformam-se na relação com os livros. Os leitores aqui retratados, de certa maneira, ao não apresentarem respostas prontas, oriundas de expectativas outras, nos oferecem um pouco desta incerteza, não sabemos quem são os leitores, como se formaram até lhes perguntarmos como isso se deu.

Benedita atribui sua experiência constitutiva como leitora literária, exclusivamente, ao universo escolar, mais precisamente, ao ambiente das atividades extraclasse da Escola Parque[6]. É nesse momento, vaticina, que descobre a literatura.

projeto Rodapalavra já foi objeto de estudo de Cordeiro (2005) e Souza (2008) e Cordeiro, Gonçalves e Magalhães (2010).

[6] A Escola Parque é um projeto de Anísio Teixeira, educador e teórico da educação brasileiro, colaborador de John Dewey que, nos anos de 1940, quando era Secretário de Educação do Estado da Bahia (Brasil) concebeu uma escola que atuasse como centros de formação popular ofertando, além da educação regular, formação em arte, prática esportiva, formação profissional e alimentação, funcionando em turno integral (o termo educação

"Eu acho que foi justamente pela questão da imaginação, da necessidade de ter um momento de prazer, de aproveitar o que não parecia ser um ócio, mas que para mim acabava por ser um ócio. Teve esses momentos na escola Parque na minha iniciação como estudante e como leitora, porque foi lá que eu descobri o mundo dos livros, das palavras, da poesia, da imaginação, da criatividade. Então, é nesse momento em que eu descubro o colorido, as cores e as texturas das palavras" (Benedita).

Ela utiliza metáforas para representar aquilo que vivenciou de maneira muito intensa no ambiente escolar: a arte como experiência – proposto pelos escolanovistas[7] –, que não aparecia para o aluno como um dado, ou um artifício didático que proporcionasse um melhor aprendizado de uma determinada matéria. A arte, incluída a literatura, era um espaço a ser vivido, uma experiência irredutível às outras pelas quais passavam os alunos no ambiente escolar.

Na experiência artística, vivemos algo que diz respeito a nós mesmos, a sociedade e aos acontecimentos dos quais somos protagonistas, coadjuvantes, figurantes ou espectadores. A arte nos coloca em várias posições, em contato com outros pontos de vista, nos desloca geograficamente, provocando novas formas de perceber o mundo, de ver o outro, quando experimentamos o que é fazer e ter experiência no mundo. A experiência estética proporciona um espaço de jogo frente ao vivido (Innerarity, 2002), onde o sujeito brinca com a potencialidade da existência.

Experimentar a literatura despida do processo didático do ensino de língua materna, marcou sua experiência com a leitura literária, a ponto de servir como marco para sua constituição como leitora. Viver a arte, no sentido proposto pelos discípulos de Anísio Teixeira, é aprender algo sobre nós mesmo e o sobre o universo que nos cerca. Para ela isso inseria algo que estava para além do aprendizado, era o refúgio, um momento de prazer, em que cessavam os rigores da educação cristã de seu pai.

Para Benedita, a sua constituição como leitora literária deu-se no espaço escolar, e ela não leva em consideração outros fatores que aparecem em sua entrevista: a proibição da leitura literária por parte de seu pai (a proibição como fator de sedução para o jovem), as leituras bíblicas (numa compreensão do livro sagrado

integral, no Brasil, significa, em termos práticos, que a criança entra na escola no início da manhã e fica na escola até o turno da tarde – entre as 07h a.m e as 5 p.m).

[7] Escola Nova é um dos nomes dados a um movimento de renovação do ensino que foi especialmente forte na Europa, na América e no Brasil, na primeira metade do século XX, também conhecido como Escola Progressista ou Escola Ativa. O grande nome internacional do movimento foi o filósofo pragmático estado-unidense John Dewey.

cristão como objeto literário) ou os seus hábitos de consumo livreiro (ela afirma ter uma relação muito íntima com os espaços de consumo do livro. Sempre que tem um problema ou alguma demanda, corre às livrarias), como dados a serem considerados em sua história como leitora.

Para ela, talvez, devido a sua formação em Pedagogia e sua atuação como professora, o constituir-se leitor, sobretudo, de literatura, estaria ligado ao universo da escola, mesmo, que fora de sala de aula, o que a faz desconsiderar outros trânsitos, outros espaços e vivências de leitura literária.

Já Penélope, mesmo não se considerando uma leitora literária, por não atender a exigências que ela acredita serem necessárias para a obtenção desse "*status*", constrói uma atenta narrativa, rememorando espaços, lugares, personagens que contribuíram em seu processo de constituição.

> "Isso... eu... pela resposta que eu dei de que o leitor é aquele que lê as coisas do ambiente, eu não sei dar uma resposta pra isso, talvez por ser introspectiva e olhar para o mundo, para o meu ambiente, eu acho que isto estimula você ser mais investigador, ter um olhar mais clínico das coisas [...] Mas, meu percurso como leitora parte primeiro da... eu sempre fui uma boa filha, o que me "tendenciou" a ser uma boa aluna, em querer sempre corresponder às expectativas de meus pais. Eu sempre tive muito claro que era muito importante estudar, não estudar por obrigação ou para ter boa notas nem nada. Sempre, meu pai e a minha mãe alimentaram isso em mim, "você tem de estudar pra ser alguém na vida e ter uma condição melhor", partiu disso, d'eu tanto querer ser boa aluna e gostar de estudar surgiu a leitura, a vontade de querer ler, sempre fui muito boa no português, talvez por ser uma leitora do português. Meus livros viam juntos, gramática e literatura, eram um livro só e a professora articulava literatura com a aula de gramática, mas eu achava que era tudo muito junto, não sei se era porque os livros que eles escolhiam tinham este perfil. Tinham texto de página. Você pode dizer que texto de livrinho de escola é muito pequeno, mas este tinha textos enormes e todo mundo se queixava pra ler, mas eu era a primeira a ler em voz alta. Eu acho que foi esta fome mesmo de estudar, de estudar, por eu ser ótima em português e gostar de português, principalmente, mas eu acho que foi a partir daí, comecei ler a partir dos próprios estudos. Hoje é que eu já tenho uma outra visão de me constituir em um outro tipo de leitor, por saber que isto vai acrescentar à minha vida. Não uma coisa do tipo só leio por causa disso, eu sei que isso tem uma importância X. A constituição se deu ao natural, na vida escolar e acadêmica" (Penélope).

Daí se depreende que a leitora considera o processo de ensino-aprendizagem da disciplina Português determinante para a sua assunção como leitora num sentido mais amplo, como espaço onde se percebe lendo, diferenciando-se dos colegas nesta prática. Lia, o que se oferecia de literatura nos livros didáticos: alguns fragmentos de romances, pequenos contos, poemas ou textos encomendados pelas editoras. Porém, mesmo exercitando este tipo de leitura, sua visão do leitor literário está longe de se reduzir a este universo dos fragmentos didáticos.

Para ela, o leitor literário é uma figura que não apenas lê o texto, mas tem uma vivência no ambiente literário, alguém que vê necessidade em conhecer os pormenores da vida, obra, contexto cultural e histórico dos autores. Por não se interessar por estes detalhes, ou melhor, por ter um interesse recente por estes dispositivos que compõem o livro, ela não se vê como uma leitora de literatura, uma categoria que implica um modelo de leitor ideal, um erudito, cujo capital cultural ela ainda não logrou alcançar (Cordeiro, 2006).

O paradoxo de sua resposta aponta, justamente, o conflito entre a autoimagem como não-leitora e o processo iniciado após sua entrada no grupo de formação de leitores literários, onde os aspectos de sua constituição como leitora foram levados em conta, sem a preocupação com o tipo de leitura que faz, quando teve de historiar seus hábitos de leitura para uma atividade do grupo[8], nesta produção, e no contato com outras trajetórias leitoras, muito provavelmente, suas preconcepções foram portas em xeque. O preconceito que parecia desconsiderar todo o contato com livros e literatura em sua vida – lembramos que ela tem uma biblioteca em casa e sempre teve contato com livros desde a mais tenra infância – começou a ser questionado, tendo em vista uma concepção de leitor mais ampla, que contemple outras formas de ler, além das canonizadas pela academia.

Neste mesmo sentido, desqualificando-se como leitora literária, aparece Justina Bojuda, que se apresenta como uma leitora de hábitos poucos frequentes, apesar de se confessar uma leitora de literatura infantil.

> "Não vou dizer que eu estou lendo com muita frequência, até porque estou numa confusão de final de curso e tal, então, continuo me qualificando como uma leitora não tão frequente. Agora se você me perguntar no que diz respeito a literatura infantil, focar nesta área da literatura infantil, eu vou dizer que sou muito freqüente sim, eu sou fominha mesmo, eu leio, eu procuro, eu pesquiso, eu gosto, eu compro, mas as grandes obras, os grandes clássicos eu ainda não me considero uma leitora literária ainda neste sentido" (Justina Bojuda).

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[8] As práticas formativas do grupo já foram abordadas em outras publicações de um dos autores deste artigo. Ver Souza (2012; 2014)

Tal atitude mostra um certo constrangimento, ser leitor literário é uma condição de quem lê as obras canônicas, acredita. O pronunciamento do hábito de leitura de livros infantis aparece com ressalvas e, quando perguntada sobre se o status de leitor literário só é devido aos leitores de grandes obras, ela diz que não, que basta ler literatura para sê-lo, mas, ao tornar a falar de si, e mesmo desenvolvendo leituras e tendo hábitos de consumo de um tipo de literatura, não se vê como uma leitora literária.

A literatura dita infantil não é um tipo de leitura aceito pela *inteligentzia,* os intelectuais, eruditos e/ou acadêmicos, cujos gostos determinam o que deve ser tido e lido como literatura, ou ganhar o carimbo de clássico. Justina Bojuda divide-se entre os seus hábitos como leitora e o receio da não-aceitação expresso na frase: "não sei se eu estou respondendo ou estou fazendo besteira" (Justina Bojuda, divide-se, também, -tomando emprestado o trabalho de Abreu (2006) com as listas dos dez melhores livros - entre o gosto pessoal e o gosto pronunciável, que determina aquilo que deve ser lido e comentado, e, sobretudo, as leituras que não devem ser feitas, mas que, no entanto, se o forem, não devem ser declaradas.

Mesmo sendo uma leitora voraz de literatura infantil, tendo lido muitos – numa qualificação expressa por ela – textos teatrais no período em que fez parte de uma companhia, Justina Bojuda não se vê como uma leitora plena, cujo processo de constituição como leitora literária fosse falho por não atender à imagem senso comum do leitor como um sujeito que pratica leituras inacessíveis ao demais mortais.

De uma forma diferente se vê Mavis, para quem a condição de leitor, seja este de literatura ou de outros tipos de texto, é um estado de desenvolvimento do sujeito que busca o conhecimento.

> "Eu penso que eu ainda estou me constituindo. Eu não me vejo como leitora adulta, como leitora pronta, eu não me vejo assim, eu me vejo como uma leitora nova, que está começando a ler. Eu comecei a ler textos acadêmicos então é um novo ramo de leitura que eu estou começando a ver, que eu estou começando a descobrir. Eu me vejo como uma leitora bem recente, uma leitora bem nova, mas eu acho que me constitui partindo de uma inquietação minha. Fui instigada pelos outros, pelas pessoas que passaram pela minha vida, que me deixaram alguma coisa, pela minha vontade, pela minha predisposição a escrever. Eu acho que isto fez com que eu lesse mais, já que eu gosto de escrever faz com que eu leia alguma coisa de uma certa forma... Eu acho que eu vou me construindo assim, vou ainda, vou" (Mavis).

Ela é a mais jovem do grupo de entrevistados, apenas dezenove anos, e ressalta esta condição, que, para além dos conflitos e incertezas que marcam o início da vida adulta, é um estado de descobertas, onde tudo pode despertar uma inquietação, um momento onde não há certeza, exceto, talvez, a da própria contradição do ser jovem, que tenta compreender e se adaptar ao mundo em que vive. É assim que ela pensa que se forma um leitor literário, um sujeito que quer saber,

> "Inquieto, um leitor é uma pessoa inquieta de alguma forma... é, eu acho que a leitura vem muito da inquietação da pessoa, da inquietação para saber o que está acontecendo no dia a dia, até, inquietação para saber, para ler um grande autor" (Mavis).

Mesmo considerando em sua narrativa elementos como a escola (espaço onde descobre o prazer da leitura), a figura da irmã (incentivadora do hábito de leitura literária), o gosto pela escritura e as leituras teatrais, ela não retoma estas marcas quando tem que condensar seu processo constitutivo, prefere, talvez, pela própria juventude, momento em que as afirmações não soam muito bem, ver-se como sujeito imerso em um processo, no qual importa mais o estar-no-mundo como leitora, experimentando as várias facetas desta condição, do que o ser leitor como uma marca, ou um carimbo que se imprime, inexoravelmente.

Raskolnikov, por sua vez, reconstrói todo seu percurso constitutivo, rememora os espaços, trânsitos e as pessoas que de alguma forma contribuíram para que ele tivesse uma prática leitora. É somente na Universidade, que se descobre como leitor de literatura.

> "Como leitor literário... Como leitor num sentido mais geral, eu já falei de uma consciência minha de que era necessário que eu me tornasse um leitor, que eu lesse as coisas. Bom, eu acho que isto se deve em parte à minha mãe, embora eu tenha dito que ela seja analfabeta funcional, ela tinha esta clareza e exigia isto de mim. Então, eu acho que internalizei esta exigência e na adolescência eu acabei, na medida do possível para mim, por ler as coisas e buscar outras pessoas que tivessem os mesmos interesses. Outro fator, em minha biografia, foi a inserção em grupos de pessoas que tivessem interesses próximos, o que gera, sempre gera, um movimento no estímulo. Além da minha mãe, eu acho que tem a inserção na minha adolescência em grupos [teatro e da religião espírita].
> Como leitor literário, eu credito quase tudo ao grupo de colegas da minha graduação, quando incluo, eu incluo na verdade os colegas de

turma, bem como, pessoas que faziam parte de diversos grupos, inclusive o RODAPALAVRA, o grupo do movimento estudantil [...] A primeira coisa que eu acho, foi quando eu entrei na universidade. Isto foi antes de entrar no RODAPALAVRA, ter contato com pessoas que tinham uma cultura maior que a minha, um conhecimento maior sobre a literatura, uma vivência maior nesse sentido, isso abriu os meus olhos em relação as possibilidades, sempre a questão toda é estar em momento e situações que lhe apontem possibilidades. E, credito uma outra parte, aí já no sentido da literatura mais especificamente, ao RODAPALAVRA. Isto vem assim, ao mesmo tempo que é um ponto... é um ponto de continuação, ele marca, mas não define, ele não marca o início da coisa porque tem um movimento que o precede, mas esta participação no RODAPALAVRA trouxe talvez conhecimento sobre... não tanto sobre a literatura, mas talvez sobre os leitores, sobre o que é ler, sobre o prazer. A questão toda talvez seja essa, de ver como certas pessoas, particularmente, algumas pessoas dentro do grupo tinham um prazer grande de ler e demonstravam isso, então, dentro do RODAPALAVRA, esta questão do prazer ficou mais claro, talvez antes tivesse um interesse, um prazer de ordem mais intelectual, do conhecer as coisas, do descobrir e, no RODAPALAVRA, eu descobri a coisa do prazer em si, diria lúdica, do ler por ler, sem compromisso" (Raskolnikov).

Apesar de desenvolver leituras desde a infância, e, leitura literária desde a adolescência, é na Universidade, no contato com outros leitores, que há a percepção da condição de leitor de literatura por Raskolnikov, mais precisamente, na observação do comportamento dos leitores que encontrou neste espaço. Sujeitos que tinham prazer na leitura, que conversavam sobre isso, discutiam literatura de maneira profunda (em alusão direta ao Rodapalavra). Ele encontra ali uma ambiência literária, que ainda não havia experimentado, ou pelo menos, não tão intensamente, o que lhe provoca um sentimento de identificação com o universo, assim, podendo, também, dizer-se leitor, agora que compartilhava dessa experiência com outras pessoas.

O leitor marca a sua passagem pela Universidade e pelo Rodapalavra como ápice de sua constituição como leitor literário, momento de síntese de todo o seu percurso como leitor. É no contato com o outro, o outro leitor, que ele se reconhece.

Manon, de todos os sujeitos desta pesquisa, é a única que apresenta, na tentativa de síntese do seu percurso, o diálogo direto com a cultura letrada,

apontando toda uma sorte de referências, onde se incluem livros, jornais, revistas e gibis, numa tentativa de significar sua trajetória como leitora literária.

"É uma coisa que eu sempre penso, porque eu e meus irmãos nos criamos no mesmo ambiente, com as mesmas influências, mas eles não são leitores. Outro dia eu até fiquei feliz porque eu li O Poderoso Chefão e eu achei que o meu irmão mais novo gostaria de ler. Eu emprestei para ele, ele leu o livro e tentou fazer com que meu outro irmão lesse, mas ele não se interessou muito. Talvez, as revistas que minha mãe assinava, talvez por ter lido Turma da Mônica, o que eu gostava muito, vinham sete revistinhas e nós somos em três, a gente brigava pra ver quem ficava com a que estava sobrando, mas como eu era a mais velha, eu sempre levava a melhor e ficava com mais revistinhas do que eles. Teve a minha professora que me incentivou, ela era diferente das outras professoras, era mais jovial, não era tão tacanha quanto às outras professoras, tinha uma linguagem mais próxima da gente.

Teve também o fato deu escrever. Eu escrevia algumas coisas na infância, nisso eu sempre tive incentivo. Quando eu pensei em fazer jornalismo, meu pai disse que eu ia escrever pro New York Times, ele me influenciava pra escrever, mas pra ler...

Minha mãe também me indicou alguns livros, o Cem Anos de Solidão foi ela que me indicou, que é o livro que eu mais gosto, mas ela não tem nenhuma coisa do tipo estimular, valorizar. Teve a minha tia com os livros de espiritismo, mesmo sendo uma coisa que eu não queria ler, foi importante, porque descobrir o que a gente não gosta é importante.

Eu ganhei dois livros na minha infância. Ganhei a Arca de Noé de Vinícius de Moraes, porque eu escrevia poesia na época, eu devia ter uns oito anos, e ganhei O Menino do Dedo Verde [Maurice Druon] de um tio e eu gostei também. Minha família não tem o hábito de dar livros, mesmo eu achando os livros de Paulo Coelho e A Firma [John Grisham] eu nunca vi ninguém lendo. Na verdade, pra mim era um mistério aqueles livros estarem ali, porque eu nunca vi ninguém lendo, folheando nem se interessando.

Teve o RODAPALAVRA, mas não foi... eu achei que seria interessante pra mim, mas acabou não sendo. Eu via as pessoas falando tão bem, mas também tem a questão de que o ano em que eu entrei foi um ano muito devagar, pra mim também não foi bom, minha Vó estava doente, neste ano, e eu não pude me envolver tanto, mas não foi o que eu esperava não, não me trouxe nada que levasse a

procurar os autores, a gente leu muita coisa infantil e coisas que eram
tão interessantes" (Manon Lescault).

O diálogo com o impresso é tão marcante que define todas os seus espaços de vivência. Ela se vê como leitora literária no contato com o objeto literário, todos os sujeitos e situações que assomam de sua narrativa, aparecem associados a um elemento de cultura literária, o que mostra também a visão mais ampla que a leitora têm do que é literatura, já que sob o conceito de leitura literária, é contemplado por ela desde Turma da Mônica e livros de literatura infantil, passando por autores de Best-sellers como Paulo Coelho, até poetas e prosadores de grande penetração no universo erudito brasileiro, como Vinícius de Moraes e Gabriel Gárcia Márquez.

Tal visão mostra a consciência de sua trajetória como leitora literária, principalmente, a percepção de que tal condição se produziu no diálogo com o universo literário, e que não adianta ter incentivos para leitura sem o contato com os objetos impressos, e, agora, contemporaneamente, também, com as formas de leitura digital. Um leitor se produz socialmente, referenciando-se em construções de uma cultura. Não existe um leitor sem objeto de leitura, seja este livro, jornal, página da internet, rede social ou mesmo uma outra pessoa que lhe conte uma história.

CONCLUSÕES

Todos estes sujeitos se transformaram em leitores de literatura das mais diferentes formas. Chegaram ao espaço do Rodapalavra respondendo ao convite para participar de um momento em que poderiam se dedicar à sua formação como leitor literário, chegaram, a partir de uma imagem de leitor ideal, pensando-se não-leitores, ou acreditando-se leitores, por já terem hábito de leitura literária. Lá encontraram outros sujeitos, com trajetórias e hábitos de leitura diferentes dos seus e suas percepções foram ampliadas, desenvolvidas, afirmadas ou desconstruídas, após a sua passagem pelo grupo, pela experiência de ler com o outro.

Um critério, como o de ambiência, da proposta de Yunes (1999), contempla este espaço de produção de conhecimento, de onde assomam diferentes percursos leitores na tentativa de significar as leituras e as vivências dos sujeitos. No Rodapalavra, tal experiência permitiu aos sujeitos desta pesquisa o encontro com a subjetividade do outro leitor, alguém, que de modo diferente, relaciona-se com a literatura e significa sua experiência neste contato com o universo ficcional. Tal contato acaba por produzir uma experiência única com o objeto literário, que, afirma-se na multiplicidade de sentidos construídos em grupo.

Este tipo de atividade potencializa a condição do leitor, oferecendo-lhe, para além de sua relação pessoal com as manifestações da cultura letrada, um momento de mirada sobre suas concepções de leitor, leitura e literatura. Um Círculo de

Leituras é, também, um momento de crítica, resultando em reelaborações acerca das situações do cotidiano e dos objetos estéticos, à luz da ficção.

Os colaboradores desta pesquisa apontaram como a atividade dos Círculos de Leitura[9] resultou ou está operando alguma mudança nas concepções que o sujeito tinha construído acerca do que é ser leitor literário, até o momento de seu ingresso no Rodapalavra, onde, seja pelo contato com outros leitores, ou pelo próprio ato de produzir leituras, fomenta-se o hábito de discutir o que se lê, onde se afirma a diversidade de vozes, onde um não-leitor se descobre leitor, e àquele que se crê leitor voraz percebe-se como mais um.

Neste ponto, já podemos afirmar que numa atividade como a desenvolvida nos Círculos de Leitura não reduz as experiências leitoras nem tem o papel de uniformizar o discurso dos indivíduos que por lá passam, mas o de ressaltar as diferenças e acolher as diferentes trajetórias em um espaço de discussão, onde mais importante do que ler é viver a literatura.

Na experiência de nossos respondentes há o entrecruzamento dessas trajetórias, onde se reafirmam suas maneiras de lidar com o mundo e com a literatura. A complexidade de tais narrativas nos mostram como as leituras podem se dar de várias formas, tantas, quantos sujeitos existirem. Agora, essas histórias de leitura existem coletivamente, como experiências irredutíveis umas às outras, que se interpenetram no espaço deste texto.

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[9] Sobre os significados dos Círculos de Leitura, bem como sobre sua natureza e especificidade, ver Yunes (1999), Souza (2012; 2014)

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4

PROFILES OF ADULT STUDENTS IN BASIC VOCATIONAL TRAINING IN THE PROVINCE OF SEVILLE (SPAIN): SELF-EXPECTATIONS OF ACHIEVEMENT AND GENDER

INTRODUCTION

In the report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the twenty-first Century, coordinated by Jacques Delors (1996) and entitled "Learning, the treasure within", she highlights the idea of education throughout life as an educative strategy needed in the twenty-first century.

This concept goes beyond the limitations of the traditional distinction between early education and lifelong learning, so that the latter is conceived as broader activities of the adults' own conversion and professional development process.

The report also warns us that if the twenty-first century education should transfer a progressive amount of theoretical knowledge and technical expertise, it should also be attentive to the course of the projects of individual and collective professional development.

In another report on adult skills (OECD, 2013: 121) it warns that the low-skilled, can hinder the development of the required information processing skills, focusing on low levels professional functionality and therefore, lower the probability of employment.

The so-called "European Strategy 2020" which establishes a new framework for the coordination of economic and employment policies of the member states of the European Union, gives a role to entrepreneurship as an engine of smart, sustainable and inclusive growth.

This "European Strategy 2020" is based on six major economic policy guidelines of the Member States and the Union (Council Recommendation of 13 July 2010) and of the four employment policy guidelines of the Member States (Council Decision of October 21, 2010).

From the objectives set by the European Union EU for 2020, we can highlight that regarding employment, people from 20 to 64 years old will count for

75% of the population; regarding education, that at least 40% of the people of 30-34 years of age will have tertiary level studies, and with regard to the fight against poverty and social exclusion, will reduce at least 20 million people who are experiencing or are at risk of poverty and social exclusion in the EU.

Referring to social exclusion, gender discrimination in the labor and social field, they have led the adult female population, a decrease of resources and greater difficulty in accessing the labor market, in a significant number of women. It's because of that, the women in the Spanish Administration are considered "collective at risk and/or social exclusion", being preferred collective to attend specific training programs such as the "Employment Workshop" program (EW).

The EW program developed by Decree 282/1999, on February 22, emerges as one of the active employment policy measures to improve the employability and employability of the unemployed under the National Action Plan for Employment the Kingdom of Spain (1999) which was developed under the guidelines for creating jobs and increasing the quality marked in 1997 by the Heads of State and Government at the European Summit in Luxembourg.

These training projects EW combine actions of training and employment which led the group of unemployed twenty-five or more years, especially those groups with special difficulties in relation to new sources of employment in general and social interest and are promoted by public entities or private nonprofit entities. In them the learning and the skills alternate with productive work in public activities, social or craft work interest which enables the insertion through the professionalization and acquisition experience. In addition specific compensatory education programs for students who have not achieved the objectives of compulsory secondary education, in order to help them overcome the qualification as evidence of compulsory secondary education and / or access to training courses provide grade intermediate and advanced.

Employment Workshops (EW) have duration of minimum six months and maximum one year, which are divided into six-month periods. For projects with duration of less than one year the anterior sponsor entities request before the end of the initial period may be extended up to one year duration. Have a modular organization of training and regardless of the professional qualification to which it is intended the workshop is mandatory teaching of the following modules:

- Module computer literacy, which will last at least 30 hours unless the content of the project requires a shorter duration.
- Module prevention of occupational hazards, which will last 30 or 50 hours,
- Module environmental awareness, which will last 10 hours.
- Module for promoting entrepreneurial activity of 10 hours duration.
- Module gender equality of 10 hours duration.
- Module equality for disadvantaged groups of 10 hours duration.

Once the EW is finished, the students with viable projects to become self-employed workers will be a priority group in relation to the aid to strengthen the autonomous or self-work, sets the Administration.

Throughout the training process, students will receive guidance and counseling for job search, career and professional information and business training to improve employability.

In addition, once it's finished, for six months, the sponsor entity of Employment Workshop project will be responsible for providing technical assistance to the student worker, aiming at finding employment for others and also for entrepreneurship and for self-employment.

Meta-analytic studies have pointed out how personality variables may play an important role in the processes involving professional entrepreneurship and its subsequent success (Zhao, Seibert and Lumpkin, 2010). In relation to empowerment for entrepreneurship, relevant research to identify personal characteristics related to the development of entrepreneurial skills, showed that among these attributes, are the need for achievement and locus of control (Cromie, 2000), the efficacy entrepreneurial the variable that showed greater predictive power (Salazar-Carvajal Herrera-Sánchez, Wheel-Mendez, and Leon-Rubio, 2014).

In the theories of Social Learning of Bandura (1986), it's distinguished between: expectations of achievement, when it refers to an estimate of the person about their ability to perform a required behavior to produce a result and involving a judgment on their own ability to achieve a certain level of performance; and secondly, action-outcome expectations, based on the conviction that a person to successfully perform the necessary activities to get a result, taking into account the consequences that occur quite possible that implementation.

Self-efficacy as defined by Bandura (1989), is the belief that one is able to organize and execute courses of action required of achievement and management of specific situations or tasks. Bandura (1997) states that self-efficacy is constructed judgments about their own abilities. The hypothesis Bandura (1986) is that self-efficacy beliefs are acquired and modified through four pathways or sources. First, there are success stories, which are own experiences. Replays on specific tasks successfully increase self-efficacy, moreover repeated experiences of failure decreases self-efficacy. Second vicarious experiences, which are observations of the achievements of others, increase the beliefs of the observer. The third source of self-efficacy is the verbal persuasion or social persuasion, these positive evaluations and vocal criticism and encouragement, which increase self-efficacy. The fourth and final sources of self-efficacy are the somatic and emotional states, defined as the way people interpret the emotional and somatic states. Positive emotions increase people perceived self-efficacy and decrease the negative emotions.

Causal attributions refer primarily to three dimensions (Weiner, 1986).

The first one is the internal-external or locus of control dimension. The term locus of control comes from Rotter (1975) and emphasizes the subject stands where the causes of a particular outcome. Thus, while ability and effort are internal factors, the difficulty of the activity and luck or chance is considered external factors.

The second dimension is described by Weiner the stability – instability. It refers to the perception that the subject has, that the causes of performance is more or less unchanged or constant over time. This dimension is often correlated with expectations of success.

The third dimension refers to the perception that a cause can be controllable or uncontrollable. The degree of control that the student is assigned to a task is related to the amount of effort and perseverance that he or she spends on the learning activity.

Beliefs about oneself, about the personal productions and achievements, greatly influence the feelings of the learner, on the goals, the perseverance and ultimately, the learning outcomes (Coronado-Hijón, 2004).

In relation to those self-expectations, differences have been found in recent findings with regard to the self-expectations of achievement and gender (Angulo and Conde, 2015). These differences translate into gender inequalities that may have a significant negative impact on the professional development of women (Saletti-Cuesta, Delgado Ortiz-Gómez & López-Fernández, 2013).

METHODOLOGY

Quantitative study focused on the measurement and analysis of variables with a descriptive methodology. Random sampling for multistage cluster.

SUBJECTS

The total number of participants is 115 unemployed adults (26 men and 89 women), students of the Employment Workshops in the province of Seville (Spain). The sample consists of clusters of 20 people Workshop A "Empléate" belonging to the Sierra Norte geographical area; 30 people, workshop B of the geographical area set Environment Doñana, 19 subjects in the "Dynamic Workshop" (workshop C) students and 12 people Workshop D "Rice Island"; Area Bajo Guadalquivir two workshops job, "Ayday" (workshop E) and "To the table" workshop F, with 22 people each and Aljarafe also represented by 20 students from the workshop G surveyed, "Sustainable Gines".

The ages of the people who form the sample pool present an average age of 38'15 years old and a rate of 8.605 (Table 1) deviations.

INSTRUMENTS

A questionnaire prepared by "ad hoc", composed of closed questions on demographics and a final question on vocational preference with two possible answers: paid employment or self-employment.

The second instrument was a rating scale; Multidimensional Scaling Functions (Alonso, Montero & Mateos, 1992), hereinafter EMA II questionnaire, which assesses conferring styles in students. This scale consists of sixty-nine items that contain a number of statements about possible causes that are used to explain different types of results both in academia and in the context of interpersonal relationships. This study will evaluate only the powers in the area of academic achievement (Table 1).

With regard to the reliability and validity of the rating scale EMA-II, have been considered as valid for this study the internal consistency analysis conducted by the authors of the scale, those who calculated using coefficient alpha Cronbach for the values obtained for each of the scales built into the two areas of achievement. They can be considered acceptable values all appeared, although it should be wary of appearing below 0.6.

Table 1. Categories and elements in the area of academic achievement.

AREA DE LOGROS ACADEMICOS
ESCALA 1: ATRIBUCION DEL FRACASO A PERSONAS CON PODER
62. Con frecuencia, mis malas notas se deben a la escasa capacidad pedagógica del profesor.
50. La incapacidad de los profesores para definir de modo preciso los objetivos didácticos es la causa principal de que yo a veces haya tenido notas bajas.
58. A menudo las explicaciones de los profesores han sido tan deficientes que han dado lugar a que yo haya tenido calificaciones pobres.
30. Es frecuente, si saco malas notas, que sea porque el profesor no ha hecho interesante la asignatura.
46. Algunas de las veces que he recibido malas notas, lo único que reflejaban era la tacañería del profesor a la hora de puntuar.
65. Si los profesores hubiesen tenido criterios de evaluación más objetivos, no habría tenido las notas bajas que he sacado algunas veces.
ESCALA 2: ATRIBUCION DEL EXITO Y DEL FRACASO A CAUSAS ALEATORIAS

60. La mala suerte que tengo para muchas cosas ha hecho con frecuencia que no consiguiese unas calificaciones aceptables.

67. La casualidad ha sido la principal causa de que a veces haya tenido puntuaciones bajas.

32. Algunas veces, cuando mis puntuaciones son bajas, pienso que lo único que ocurre es que no he tenido suerte.

54. La suerte es, con frecuencia, el principal factor responsable de mi éxito en los estudios.

48. Es posible que algunas de mis notas se deban a la mala suerte, a haberme examinado de lo que no debía cuando no debía.

24. Creo que algunas de mis buenas notas dependen, en buena medida, de factores casuales tales como que me hayan caído en un examen precisamente las preguntas que me sabía.

16. Me parece que algunas de mis notas más bajas se han debido parcialmente a meteduras de pata casuales.

40. Pienso que algunas veces debo considerarme afortunado por haber sacado buenas notas.

8. Algunas veces mi éxito en los exámenes depende de haber tenido un poco de suerte.

ESCALA 3: ATRIBUCION DEL EXITO A CAUSAS NO CONTROLABLES

38. A veces saco buenas notas sólo porque lo que tenía que aprender era fácil.

22. Algunas de mis buenas notas puede que reflejen simplemente que las asignaturas en las que las he obtenido eran más fáciles que las demás.

6. Alguna de las veces que he sacado buenas notas en una asignatura ha sido porque el profesor daba puntuaciones altas con mucha facilidad.

24. Creo que algunas de mis buenas notas dependen, en buena medida, de factores casuales tales como que me hayan caído en un examen precisamente las preguntas que me sabía.

40. Pienso que algunas veces debo considerarme afortunado por haber sacado buenas notas.

8. Algunas veces mi éxito en los exámenes depende de haber tenido un poco de suerte.

ESCALA 4: ATRIBUCION DEL FRACASO A LA FALTA DE ESFUERZO

17. Si las notas que saco no son tan buenas como esperaba, normalmente pienso que se debe a una falta de esfuerzo por mi parte.

1. Cuando me dan una mala nota en una asignatura, normalmente pienso que es porque no he estudiado lo suficiente.

33. Lo que las malas notas significan para mí es que no he trabajado con suficiente dedicación.

ESCALA 5: ATRIBUCION DEL EXITO AL ESFUERZO

9. En mi caso, sacar buenas notas es siempre fruto directo de mi propio esfuerzo.

25. Siempre que obtengo buenas notas es porque he estudiado con intensidad.

52. Normalmente, cuando he trabajado de firme he conseguido tener éxito en los estudios.

ESCALA 6: ATRIBUCION DEL FRACASO A LA FALTA DE HABILIDAD

35. Si sacase malas notas pensaría que no tengo el talento necesario para cursar con éxito las asignaturas correspondientes.

3. Si sacase malas notas, dudaría de mi capacidad intelectual.

19. Si suspendo una asignatura es probablemente por no estar dotado intelectualmente para la misma.

ESCALA 7: ATRIBUCION DEL EXITO A LA HABILIDAD

43. Si saco buenas notas es por mis buenas aptitudes para los estudios.

27. Pienso que mis buenas notas reflejan directamente lo listo que soy para los estudios.

11. Mis aptitudes para los estudios constituyen el factor más importante a la hora de conseguir buenas notas.

For the data collection of the subjects, collaboration from the offices of reference of the Andalusian Employment Service of each employment workshop (EW) were requested, from there they made contact with the various workshops and were the ones who provided it could make the first contact via e-mail and telephone with the Directors / EW corresponding ace.

Due to the characteristics in terms of infrastructure, the specifics of the actual work and training days of each EW was agreed with each director about an appropriate time to pass the data collection instruments. These instruments were applied collectively, with a maximum duration for completion of 60 minutes. Previously the subjects of the study were asked for the informed consent.

The results were processed with statistical software SPSS 22.

RESULTS

Sex: shown in Table 2 of the 115 people in the sample pool, 26 are men and 89 are women.

Table 2. Distribution of frequencies for the gender variable

	Gender	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
Valid	Male	26	22,6	22,6	22,6
	Female	89	77,4	77,4	77,4
Total		115	100,0	100,0	

Figure 1 shows the percentages for each gender are specified, women being 77% of the sample pool and men being 23.

Figure 1. Results gender variable of the participants.
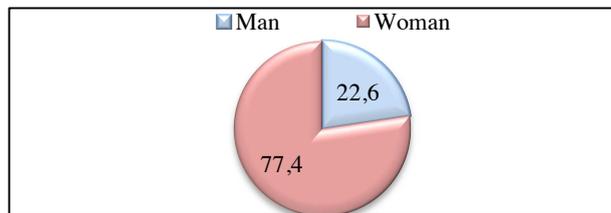
Age: 38.15 average, standard deviation 8,605 (Table 3).

Table 3. Descriptive statistics of mean age

	N	Minimum	Maximun	Mean	Standard deviation
Men age	26	25	58	36,65	9,291
Women age	89	27	58	38,58	8,399
	115	25	58	38,15	8,605
N Valid	115				

Preference for work or self-employment.

Table 4. Professional contingency preference and gender

			Gender		Total
			Male	Female	
Professional preference	Work	Number of cases	19	69	88
		Expected frequency	19,9	68,1	88,0
		% profesional preference	21,6%	78,4%	100,0%
	Self-empoyment	Number of cases	7	20	27
		Expected frequency	6,1	20,9	27,0
		% profesional preference	25,9%	74,1%	100,0%
Total		Number of cases	26	89	115
		Expected frequency	26,0	89,0	115,0
		% profesional preference	22,6%	77,4%	100,0%

Table 5 Professional gender preference
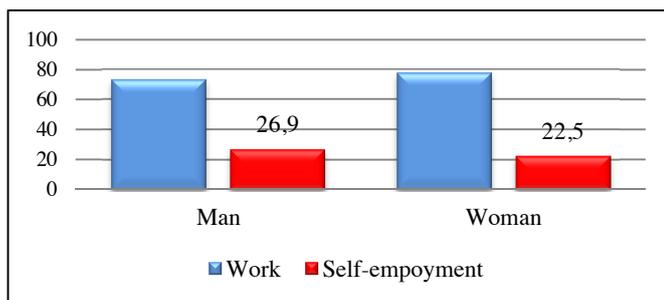
Study level reached (Table 6) 38.5% of men have primary education, 26.9% secondary school education, 15.5% and 19.3% baccalaureate higher vocational training. While women have 25.9% with primary education, 33.8% secondary school education, 14.6% high school, 8.9% intermediate vocational training, the training courses 14.6% degree and 2% college.

Table 6. Contingency table level and gender studies

		Man		Woman	
		Cases	%	Cases	%
	Primary education	10	38,5	23	25,9
	Secondary school	7	26,9	30	33,8
	High school diploma	4	15,3	13	14,6
	Intermediate vocational training	0	0	8	8,9
Degree	Training courses	5	19,3	13	14,6
	College	0	0	2	2,2
Total		26	100	89	100

The gender representation in each training specialty (Table 7) is 100% female in "home care" 5% male and 95% female in "child care", 40% male and 60% female in "sociocultural animation "70% male and 30% female in" kitchen ", 25% male and 75% female in" waiter ", 30% male and 70% female in" social care "and" tourism development agent ", and 10% male 90% women in "rehabilitative care of children", 20% male and 80% female in "home help", 16.6% male and 83.4% female in "restoration of degraded areas."

Table 7. Contingency table and gender training specialty

Training specialty	Man		Woman		Total	
	Casos	%	Casos	%	Casos	%
Asistencia doméstica	0	0	11	100	11	100
Atención a la infancia	1	5	19	95	20	100
Animación	4	40	6	60	10	100

sociocultural						
Cocina	7	70	3	30	10	100
Camarero	3	25	9	75	12	100
Atención sociosanitaria	3	30	7	70	10	100
Atención socioeducativa a menores	1	10	9	90	10	100
Ayuda a domicilio	2	20	8	80	10	100
Agente desarrollo turístico	3	30	7	70	10	100
Restauración áreas degradadas	2	16.6	10	83.4	12	100
Total	26		89		115	100

Powers of successes and failures. Area of academic achievement

Table 7. Descriptive analysis of the first-order factors Area of academic achievement
EMA-II sample of men

Area of academic achivement	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard deviation	Median	Mode
E1. Atribución del fracaso a personas con poder	26	1,00	3,17	1,9103	,54208	2,00	2,00ª

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E2. Atribución del éxito y fracaso a causas aleatorias.	26	1,00	3,11	1,9231	,42370	2,00	2,11[a]
E3. Atribución del éxito a causas internas	26	1,00	2,83	2,0513	,56129	2,00	2,00
E4. Atribución del fracaso a la falta de esfuerzo	26	1,00	4,67	3,3718	,83441	3,3333	3,00
E5. Atribución del éxito al esfuerzo.	26	1,00	5,00	3,4359	,81524	3,3333	3,00[a]
E6. Atribución del fracaso a la falta de habilidad.	26	1,00	3,67	2,0256	,59571	2,00	2,00
E7. Atribución del éxito a la habilidad.	26	1,00	5,00	2,9487	,80384	3,00	2,67[a]
N valid	26						

Table 8. Descriptive analysis of the first-order factors Area of academic achievement
EMA-II sample of women

Area of academic achivement	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard deviation	Median	Mode
E1. Atribución del fracaso a personas con poder	89	1,00	4,33	2,0581	,72304	2,00	2,00[a]
E2. Atribución del éxito y fracaso a causas aleatorias.	89	1,00	3,67	2,0674	,50852	2,00	2,11
E3. Atribución del éxito a causas internas.	89	1,00	3,67	2,1030	,55420	2,00	2,00
E4. Atribución del fracaso a la falta de esfuerzo	89	1,00	5,00	2,9513	,97124	3,33	3,00
E5. Atribución del éxito al esfuerzo.	89	2,00	5,00	3,8951	,92877	3,33	3,00[a]
E6. Atribución del fracaso a la falta de habilidad.	89	1,00	4,33	1,8801	,70576	2,00	2,00
E7. Atribución del éxito a la habilidad.	89	1,33	5,00	3,1348	,78128	3,00	2,67[a]
N valid	89						

CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS

The basic vocational training for the group of unemployed adults, conducted by the Employment Workshop (EW) programs in the province of Seville (Spain), is performed mostly by women: 77% versus 23% of men.

The group of women having an array of further education is 40%, while in the group of men is 34.8%, so a higher percentage of unemployment further education of women in the sample shown.

The training areas shown with the highest rates of female participation are those traditionally associated with the role of women, such as domestic assistance, child care, rehabilitative care to the children and the home support. Only in the training specialty kitchen we find a greater number of males than females, showing an important professional occupational gender bias. We find, in line with other studies, that the occupations most "feminized" have a number of features that are fairly consistent with the stereotypes that exist in society against women, such as his "delicacy and sensitivity" and its "ability to engage in caregiving "(Iglesias & Llorente, 2010).

Regarding the perspective of entrepreneurship into the future, the percentage of students with an interest in self-employment is much higher in men than in women. These data are consistent with those obtained in other studies in larger samples and nationally in Spain, as offered by the Report "Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) Spain 2014". This report, which is made from data obtained through the methodology for survey of more than 25,000 population subjects, conducted by 15 research teams from across the country, the main characteristics of entrepreneurial dynamics in Spain.

With regard to the attributional profile of the students and adult learners to the EW, we find that there are similarities and differences in the perception of achievement while not as significant as in other studies if stand a greater tendency for women attributing failure to people with power and success and failure to random causes.

We believe that it's important to progress in the future research focused on differences in expectations between men and women regarding professional development (Cortés, Olivencia & Mesa, 2012) that could help develop and improve programs Basic Training and Orientation entrepreneurship from interventions to improve them (Bandura, 2006). In this direction studies such as Movahedi & Yaghoubi-Farani (2012) on skills for entrepreneurship from a gender perspective, encourage the inclusion of training for entrepreneurship in the curricula within the same training programs.

The proposed research study presents the limitations of having a sample limited to the province of Seville (Spain) subjects, although the coincidence with

other studies with larger populations will provide a degree of matching relevant validity.

Studies and research about the expectations and perceptions are in a state of incipient creation and all results and findings indicate the importance of expectations towards empowerment and improving the quality of teaching-learning process.

Finally we quote Bandura (1997), regarding "the most important goal of formal education should be to provide students with intellectual tools, efficacy beliefs and intrinsic interest needed to educate yourself on a variety of occupations throughout his life. "And in this direction it suggests that students who develop a strong sense of self-efficacy are well trained to form themselves when they have to depend on their own initiative.

The field of research initiated by theorists efficacy is promising and proven applicable to the practice of orientation and psych pedagogical intervention.

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5

EDUCACIÓN FÍSICA EN EL DIÁLOGO Y LA FORMACIÓN CON LA EDUCACIÓN DE JÓVENES Y DE ADULTOS

¿DE CUÁL EDUCACIÓN FÍSICA HABLAMOS?

> (...) O direito ainda que profano
> Do mundo ser sempre mais humano
> Perfeição demais
> Me agita os instintos
> Quem se diz muito perfeito
> Na certa encontrou um jeito insosso
> Pra não ser de carne e osso
> Pra não ser carne e osso
> (trecho da música *Carne e Osso*, de Zélia Duncan)[10]

Al observar lo que se desarrolla en las escuelas, sobre todo encontramos la negación del cuerpo y el movimiento ("¿Por no ser de carne y hueso?") o la educación física como un campo de conocimiento "responsable" para tratar y educar el cuerpo y el movimiento. A su vez, la forma como selecciona los contenidos específicos, la relación que establece con las demás áreas del conocimiento, acaban valorando un determinado tipo de técnica (en particular, la excelencia de algunos gestos deportivos, en su forma competitiva) y negando otras experiencias, especialmente los que forman parte de los grupos socialmente desfavorecidos - ayudando así a excluir a las historias y memoria del cuerpo de aquellos que tienen sus historias y recuerdos "normalmente" eliminados y borrados.

En este movimiento, en el currículo escolar, el corporal ideal de alumno sigue siendo inmóvil, en silencio, joven, sano, limpio y disciplinado trabajando las

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[10] (...) El derecho a pesar de lo profano / del mundo ser siempre más humano / Demasiada perfección / Me agita los instintos / Quien se cree muy perfecto / Probablemente encontró una manera insulsa / Por no ser de carne y hueso / Por no ser de carne y hueso / (fragmento de la canción *Carne y Hueso*, de Zélia Duncan) [nuestra traducción]

actividades propuestas ... Cuando consideramos la anatomía y la fisiología con las relaciones de las condiciones sociales e históricas hablamos de corporeidad, que va

"(...) além das semelhanças ou diferenças físicas, [pois] existe um conjunto de significados que cada sociedade escreve nos corpos de seus membros ao longo do tempo, significados estes que definem o que é corpo de maneiras variadas"[11] (Daolio, 1995, p. 36-37).

Lo que invita a comprender que nuestras historias y marcas corporales están relacionadas con las diferentes formas de dialogar con la intensidad de nuestras relaciones. Los encuentros - que constituyen los procesos escolares - pueden ser alegres, críticos, la movilizadores de mi inconclusión (Gallo (2008), Freire (1971)). Por eso cuestionamos las comprensiones del cuerpo que lo define por instancias independientes y separadas: la mente (configurando nuestra razón, lógica, pensamiento), los sentimientos (formando nuestras sensaciones, "espiritualidad", deseos) y el cuerpo (formado por los huesos, los músculos y otros componentes anatómicos y fisiológicos). Junto a la lógica de la meritocracia y la jerarquía, tan frecuente en nuestra sociedad, aprendemos a considerar el cuerpo en un nivel de menor importancia, potencialmente en situación de pecado y degradación.

En el sistema educativo preponderante, impregnado por las reformas neoliberales de pensar la vida, muchas veces las prácticas pedagógicas se convierten en prácticas violentas, diciendo, valorando, favoreciendo un determinado camino de la existencia de cada persona. Porque

"(...) a atual reorganização global da economia capitalista assenta, entre outras coisas, na produção contínua e persistente de uma diferença epistemológica, que não conhece a existência, em pé de igualdade, de outros saberes, e que por isso se constitui, de fato, em hierarquia epistemológica, geradora de marginalizações, silenciamentos, exclusões ou liquidações de outros conhecimentos"[12] (Santos, 2001, p. 54).

Reconociendo que aún prevalece ese direccionamiento de la vida en sociedad - incluyendo la educación - también consideramos que hay otros caminos. Entre estos,

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[11] "(...) más allá de las similitudes físicas o diferencias, [por] un conjunto de significados que cada empresa escribe en los cuerpos de los miembros a través del tiempo, lo que significa que ellos definen lo que el cuerpo de varias maneras" [nuestra traducción]

[12] "(...) la actual organización global de la economía capitalista se basa, entre otras cosas, en la producción continua y persistente de una diferencia epistemológica, que no sabe de la existencia, en pie de igualdad, de otros conocimientos, y por lo tanto constituye, de hecho, en la jerarquía epistemológica, generando marginación, silenciamiento, exclusiones o asentamientos de otros conocimientos" [nuestra traducción]

nos acercamos a los marcados por la heterogeneidad, conflictos, contradicciones, rupturas – que contienen posibilidades de invenciones y cambios. Gallo (2003), al invitar a pensar en la "educación de la diferencia" por la diversidad y no por la unidad, también sugiere pensar los que están ante nosotros, por los encuentros. Pero para entender a los estudiantes por lo que dicen, y las formas en que el diálogo con las historias y las condiciones que forman - no por lo que se les dice - es una tarea compleja. Además de entender las prácticas pedagógicas como constituyentes de espacios potenciales para reuniones alegres, movilizadoras e incentivadoras de los adultos a aprendizajes diferentes - especialmente los jóvenes y adultos que no forman parte de los grupos hegemónicos, lo que les permite desafiar las desigualdades de la vida en sociedad, el tema central de este evento académico organizado por ESREA.

Al considerar esta necesidad en el contexto heterogéneo y complejo de la educación de jóvenes y adultos (EJA), recorremos el camino de entender cuerpo y educación como multiplicidad, diferencia, particularidad - y no como universal. Sin olvidar que nuestra capacidad singularización requiere mirar con aproximación y extrañamiento a la realidad que nos forma y que nosotros formamos, pues

"Tornar-se humano é tornar-se individual, e nós nos tornamos individuais sob a direção dos padrões culturais, sistemas de significados criados historicamente em termos dos quais damos forma, ordem, objetivo e direção às nossas vidas"[13] (Geertz, 1989, p. 64).

Afirmar este modo de percibir el cuerpo y las prácticas corporales es desear tener en cuenta las experiencias que los jóvenes y adultos traen a las escuelas y, en este proceso, discutir y encaminar nuevas posibilidades para la Educación Física Escolar.

Mirando con curiosidad y extrañeza nuestro día a día, nos encontraremos con escenas, situaciones, acontecimientos que materializan la no subordinación de los sujetos al silencio y a la quietud. Al mismo tiempo, podremos comprender como ejemplos de la creatividad y no conformismo lo que anteriormente sólo podíamos entender como apatía, desinterés, carencia y no aprendizaje. Certeau (2002) se refiere a esa interferencia de los sujetos en las normas a través de la utilización de la idea del uso – o sea, las maneras impredecibles y diferentes, creadas por los sujetos, para el consumo previsto por el poder instituido...

Esto entra en diálogo directo con las formas en que nos constituimos como sujetos sociales, dentro de la cultura que permite nuestras relaciones con el mundo -

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[13] "Hacerse humano es llegar a ser individual, y nos convertimos en personas bajo la dirección de las normas culturales, sistemas de significados históricamente creados en función de los cuales damos forma, orden, propósito y dirección a nuestras vidas" [nuestra traducción]

que afectan también las formas y significados atribuidos al cuerpo y a las prácticas corporales. Este entendimiento ha permitido la educación física contextualizar lo que se realiza en los entornos escolares - dirección llamada, en Brasil, de la *cultura del cuerpo* (Soares *et al*, 1992).

¿Cuál educación física está presente en la formación de los jóvenes y adultos que se inician y reinician su proceso de escolarización? ¿Cómo estos jóvenes y adultos están presentes en las escuelas? La Constitución de Brasil (Brasil, 1988), en el artículo 205, establece que la educación "es un derecho de todos y deber del Estado y de la familia (...)", y en el artículo 208, que 'la educación primaria es obligatoria y gratuita, con su oferta garantizada para todos los que no tienen acceso a la edad adecuada". Pero, ¿qué significa la garantía del derecho a la educación de los jóvenes, adultos o ancianos, considerarlo que es una obligación impuesta por la ley, porque "el tiempo de aprendizaje ha pasado"?

Cuándo ha diálogo con las características específicas de la Educación de Jóvenes y Adultos (EJA), consideramos que es esencial escuchar las historias de vida, el conocimiento de los que entran en las escuelas (Freire, 1971) y, también, las funciones identificadas por el poder del gobierno - ayudarnos para entender cómo hoy la escuela está organizada para recibir y atender al público adulto. En Brasil, después de un largo período de la descalificación y la opresión de la población económicamente desfavorecidos, tenemos un 9% de la población compuesta, en el siglo 21, de analfabetos absolutos - lo que significa casi 20 millones de personas, en un universo de 205 millones de habitantes (IBGE, 2015). Al mismo tiempo, la lucha de los docentes para que esta población sea asistida de manera cualificada - siendo esa lucha señalada por las Directrices Curriculares Nacionales para la EJA (Brasil, 2000) como el objetivo principal, superando el compensatoria la EJA e invitando a pensar en la educación continua y en la creación de una sociedad solidaria y heterogéneo. Así,

> "os termos 'jovens' e 'adultos' indicam que em todas as idades e em todas as épocas da vida, é possível se formar, se desenvolver e constituir conhecimentos, habilidades, competências e valores que transcendam os espaços formais da escolaridade e conduzam à realização de si e ao reconhecimento do outro como sujeito[14] (Soares, 2002, p. 43).

Comprensión no dominante en la formación de profesores, donde encontramos que el aprendizaje de adultos poco parece. Con la excepción de Pedagogía, rara vez existe en otras formaciones de profesores. Junto con esto, en la

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[14] "(…) los términos "jóvenes" y "adultos" indican que en todas las edades y en todas las épocas de la vida, es posible formar, desarrollar y constituir conocimientos, habilidades, competencias y valores que trascienden los espacios formales de la educación y conducir a la autorrealización y el reconocimiento del otro como sujeto" [nuestra traducción]

iniciación a la docencia, los profesores recién titulados pueden trabajar con estas clases, con la inserción sin "adaptación" o un acompañamiento inicial. Lo que significa que estos profesores, al realizaren actividades en esta modalidad de la educación, ponen en acción lo que esté arraigada en sus formaciones. Pero, ¿lo que es ejercido, na formación, que le permite desarrollar la práctica pedagógica en beneficio de este estudiante y el objeto de estudio que los unen?

Es reciente la comprensión de la educación de adultos como una forma de la educación básica - que significa la promoción del acceso de todos los estudiantes al conocimiento producido socialmente, que incluye el universo de las prácticas corporales. Aún más reciente la aproximación entre la Educación Física y la Educación de Jóvenes y Adultos (EJA) - en este movimiento, es importante contribución de la Universidad en la formación permanente de los profesores de Educación Básica. En ese sentido, organizamos el curso que se presenta aquí.

UN CURSO DE EXTENSIÓN - EXPERIENCIA EN LA FORMACIÓN INICIAL Y CONTINUA DE LOS PROFESORES DE EDUCACIÓN FÍSICA PARA LA EDUCACIÓN DE JÓVENES Y ADULTOS

> "Outro saber de que não posso duvidar um momento sequer na minha prática educativo-crítica é o de que, como experiência especificamente humana, a educação é uma forma de intervenção no mundo. Intervenção que além do conhecimento dos conteúdos bem ou mal ensinados e/ou aprendidos implica tanto o esforço de reprodução da ideologia dominante quanto o seu desmascaramento"[15] (Freire, 2011, p. 61).

Destacar las experiencias corporales en el proceso de formación docente significa, en la mayoría de las veces, encontrarse con una concepción aún predominante en que las experiencias de los sujetos se constituyen un obstáculo de lo que está seleccionado como importante para enseñar y aprender – cuando mucho percibido como algo menor, sólo un medio para lo que fue elegido como conocimiento válido.

Las experiencias entendidas como "o que nos passa, ou o que nos acontece, ou o que nos toca. Não o que passa ou o que acontece, ou o que toca[16]" (Larrosa,

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[15] "Otro saber que no puedo dudar ni un momento en mi práctica educativa y crítica es que, como una experiencia específicamente humana, la educación es una forma de intervención en el mundo. Intervención que además de los conocimientos de los contenidos bien o mal enseñado y/o aprendidos implica tanto el esfuerzo de la reproducción de la ideología dominante y su desenmascaramiento" [nuestra traducción]

[16] "lo que nos pasa, o lo que nos sucede, o lo que nos toca. No lo que pasa, o lo que sucede, o lo que toca". [nuestra traducción]

2004, p. 154) son poco consideradas como producción humana e importante en el proceso escolar. En el diálogo entre el cuerpo y las prácticas corporales en la formación continua de los profesores que trabajan en la educación de adultos, identificamos prácticas docentes descontextualizadas próximo a lo que podríamos llamar *sentido común pedagógico* (Luckesi, 1994), en la medida en que los contenidos se fragmentan, distanciados del contexto en el que los alumnos se encuentran. Evidenciando una perspectiva que no incluye las contradicciones presentes en la práctica social de educar y/o el ejercicio de la praxis pedagógica. Por lo tanto, se contribuye poco para una identidad profesional docente que posibilite diálogo crítico con el conjunto de la sociedad.

En contrapartida, también encontramos profesores movilizados para hacer cambios en la educación, así como comunidades escolares en que la discusión de los problemas educacionales, las reflexiones en relación con las prácticas pedagógicas son temas presentes. Los profesores buscan, de esta manera, relacionar su práctica educativa con el contexto en general, posibilitando calidad humana y social en los procesos de construcción y reconstrucción del conocimiento. Este es un movimiento continuo de investigación que sitúa la práctica pedagógica, la identidad profesional, los distintos saberes y las transformaciones sociales como objetos de estudio.

Al analizar la teoría de la Educación Brasileña - desde el punto de vista de la historia y la filosofía - Moacir Gadotti (2004) concluye que podemos agrupar las principales ideas producidas sobre la escolarización en dos grandes grupos: el primero ve la educación como un proceso uniforme, continuo, sin conflictos, o sea, conservador de la situación. Pero el otro grupo comprende la educación como un proceso heterogéneo, lleno de conflictos, con rupturas, o sea, con la posibilidad de la emancipación, la reflexión y el cambio. Con este segundo grupo nos identificamos y aproximamos a él nuestra actuación profesional

El joven curso de la Licenciatura en Educación Física de la UFF, trabaja con el objetivo de fomentar la creación y recreación de los conceptos en esta área del conocimiento (cuya base es la inclusión) y, al colocar la necesidad de nuevas producciones teóricas y metodológicas relacionadas con las solicitudes escolares para fortalecer la enseñanza y el aprendizaje, cumple con los principios antes mencionados. En este flujo, se materializa la importancia y el papel de las universidades públicas en la aproximación con a Educación Básica[17], en conjunto con la docencia, investigación y extensión. El Instituto del Educación Física (IEF) da UFF tiene una historia de promoción de la democratización de la cultura corporal,

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[17] En Brasil, la educación infantil, encino fundamental (educación primaria y educación secundaria básica) y encino medio (educación secundaria postobligatoria) constituyen la educación básica. De estas, la educación primaria y la educación secundaria básica son obligatorias para los niños entre siete y catorce años.

ofreciendo y fortaleciendo las actividades deportivas, recreativas y de ocio como una producción socio-histórico.

En este escenario, el "Curso de Extensión: Educación Física y Educación de Jóvenes y Adultos (EJA)" se convierte en lugar de encuentro, con el intercambio de experiencias y producción con los profesores de educación física que trabajan en la educación de jóvenes y adultos. Al mismo tiempo, local en el cual los estudiantes de graduación (como becarios en lo curso de extensión, proyectos de investigación y proyectos de enseñanza) tienen acceso directo a los que trabajan en la modalidad EJA.

Con el objetivo de discutir el elemento curricular educación física en toda la organización escolar, y en lo diálogo con los Profesores de las Redes públicas de Enseñanza - que son los Cursillistas y hacen la Educación de Jóvenes y de Adultos acontecer. Esto representa, además, cooperación y vínculos más estrechos entre la educación básica y la educación superior, lo que permite la extensión y la investigación que se lleva a cabo dentro de la Universidad.

De este modo, al contribuir con la formación permanente de los profesores de la Educación Básica, fortaleciendo la importancia de la problematización, la planificación y los registros en la organización de las prácticas de enseñanza, afirmamos la EJA como Modalidad de la Educación Básica y, entendemos la Educación Física como un componente curricular, integrante del proyecto político y pedagógico de cada unidad escolar.

Como evaluación diagnóstica y para el diálogo en el proceso, empezamos con algunas preguntas desencadenadoras: ¿qué es la Educación Física escolar? ¿Cómo la educación física ha constituido en la educación básica, en particular en la educación de jóvenes y adultos? ¿Cómo la educación física se relaciona con los otros componentes curriculares y con el proyecto político pedagógico?

A partir de ellas, en el desarrollo del curso abordamos el siguiente contenido: caracterización de la educación física como una práctica pedagógica; concepciones de EJA como una modalidad da la educación y; identificación de las propuestas pedagógicas que los docentes hacen diariamente y las redes a las que pertenecen.

En la reunión mensual realizamos discusiones de grupo; lecturas de textos/imágenes; cuestionamos la rutina de la escuela; intentamos hacer el diálogo diario con las concepciones de la educación física; impartimos talleres y realizamos visitas. De cada encuentro, los profesores dejan la tarea de visitar un local (centro cultural, museo, seminario - libre elección, con el fin de que puedan ampliar su universo cultural) y una tarea (lectura y registro) para ser ejecutada hasta la próxima reunión. La evaluación es procesal (a lo largo del curso, a través de la participación, lecturas, debates, registros y visitas a los espacios/eventos acordados).

Todo el proceso requiere la comprensión de los significados atribuidos al cuerpo y las prácticas corporales en todas las situaciones de la vida en la sociedad – lo que exige la formación permanente, vivida como búsqueda y asociación constante.

Así, al realizar este debate con los profesores del curso de extensión, nos damos cuenta de cómo iniciativas como este proyecto estrechan relaciones de la escuela con la universidad; hacen con que los estudiantes de graduación se vean a sí mismos como profesores/investigadores desde el inicio de su formación y, otro factor que se ha demostrado que es importante es cómo los docentes que trabajan en esta modalidad, de los distintos sistemas de escuelas públicas, solicitan espacios de intercambio y formación continua.

ALGUNAS CONSIDERACIONES PARA EL DEBATE

> Minha ciranda não é minha só
> Ela é de todos nós
> A melodia principal quem
> Guia é a primeira voz
>
> Pra se dançar ciranda
> Juntamos mão com mão
> Formando uma roda
> Cantando uma canção
> (*Minha Ciranda*, música de Lia de Itamaracá)[18]

Deseando que estas reflexiones fortalezcan a los maestros y los procesos comprometidos con los temas emergentes de los contextos, con un mundo cambiante, en el que la discusión de los problemas sociales en relación con las prácticas escolares sea una cuestión esencial para la planificación educativa, presentamos y ponemos en discusión las evaluaciones preliminares de este Curso de Extensión.

De una manera general, encontramos que la mayoría de los profesores que inician su práctica pedagógica en la EJA no conoce las necesidades y características de esa modalidad, poco son oídos si quieren trabajar con estos estudiantes. Con ninguna preparación específica para lidiar con este público, acaban reproduciendo un tratamiento didáctico similar a los demás tipos de educación básica, generando distancia con los estudiantes que inician o vuelven a las aulas en EJA.

Buscando el diálogo con los profesores que viven esta realidad, sus logros, inquietudes y demandas, el desarrollo del curso está vinculado al grupo de investigación ELAC (Educación Física Escolar, Experiencias lúdicas y artísticas,

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[18] Mi tamiz no es solo mía / Pertenece a todos nosotros / La melodía principal que / Guía es la primera voz / Para bailar tamiz / Hay que unir mano con mano / Y formar una rueda / Cantar una canción. (*Mi Tamiz*, música de Lia Itamaracá) [nuestra traducción]

Corporeidades) y a lo que está articulado a el: los elementos curriculares "Juegos y juguetes" y "Lenguaje y ritmo corporal" (que ofrece la Licenciatura en Educación Física de la Universidad Federal Fluminense (UFF)); el elemento curricular "Corporeidades y los procesos escolares" (integrado en el plan de estudios de Especialización en Educación Física de la Universidad); la investigación articuladora del grupo ("Enfoques entre la Educación Física y la EJA") y con otros dos proyectos de extensión ("Cine debate: CineMarx" y "CirandEJAs"). Lo que ayuda a materializar el principio de la interacción de la extensión con la enseñanza y la investigación – objetivo del trabajo de la UFF y de la unidad directamente implicada (Instituto del Educación Física). Y, de esta manera, el acercamiento entre la Universidad, la educación básica, el contexto social.

Todos los involucrados en el curso ponen de realce la necesidad de comprender mejor quiénes son los estudiantes de la educación de adultos, con miras a superar la idea de que "ha pasado la etapa de aprendizaje" - ya que esto es negar lo que sabe el alumno y desmotivarlo para estar en la escuela. Lo que no es fácil en una sociedad que, en general, percibe el tiempo como una suma lineal del pasado, presente y futuro. Pero, el tiempo abordado como relación, intensa, hace pensar en las prácticas sociales (que incluye pedagógica) que están estrechamente vinculadas a los tiempos fijos, inmóviles. Cuestionar eso es provocar fracturarse en algunas ideas dominantes y en ese proceso crear nuevas posibilidades, la apertura de nuevos comienzos, infancias de los acontecimientos (Kohan, 2007).

La experiencia con los profesores que trabajan en la educación de adultos, a través del Curso de Extensión, señalan las dificultades de los tiempos, los espacios y las ideas fijas. En varias ocasiones, el contexto escolar exige el llamado "cuadrado mágico" (los cuatro modos dominantes en las clases de educación física: voleibol, fútbol, baloncesto y balonmano). No sólo por lo que son del área de la educación física, pero por los propios estudiantes o profesores de otras áreas, refuerzan la lógica dominante, reconociendo (a menudo presionando) la existencia de estas prácticas físicas como únicas y en su forma "esportivizada" (competitiva, exclusivo, con gestos estandarizados).

Esta forma de pensar y actuar ayuda a negar los procesos creativos y creadores, entretenimiento y otras prácticas pedagógicas que fortalezcan la educación física que contextualiza las prácticas corporales; donde la planificación pueda ampliar el contenido y resaltar las historias y marcas corporales de los alumnos; clases predominantemente incluido, en el que las singularidades de expresión, en su diferencia y la diversidad, pueden ocurrir.

El proceso no es sencillo, pero movido por la idea de pensar en la infancia / inicios de la educación, la educación física puede ser parte de esta oportunidad, a cuestionar la lógica de los cuerpos "fuertes", el deseo de "eterna juventud", los movimientos y los gestos "perfectos".

Haciendo parte del grupo que cuestiona esa lógica, los profesores del Curso, junto con los estudiantes de Educación Física, identifican la formación de los profesores - la inicial y permanente -, como un lugar privilegiado para contribuir a cambiar esta realidad.

Esto significa mucho trabajo, dentro y fuera de la Universidad. En nuestro grado, por ejemplo, no hay ningún elemento curricular dirigido a la EJA, el desarrollo del curso, que se inició en 2015, ha puesto de relieve la discusión de la relación entre las generaciones - una de las principales preocupaciones de muchos profesores en la educación de adultos. Las diferencias de edad tuvieron un notable aumento en las clases y debido a esto, los maestros tienen dificultades para llevar a cabo actividades colectivas e inclusivas. Lo que se encuentra con la educación por la y con la diferencia.

Por este y otros desarrollos, enviar este artículo, dialogando con los diferentes profesores e investigadores en el ESREA Access, Learning Careers and Identities Network, en la Universidad de Sevilla / España en noviembre de 2015, mucho ayudará, porque los diversos problemas que se presentan aquí tienen sus singularidades en el contexto brasileño, pero no son exclusivos de esta realidad social.

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6

WHAT KIND OF ADULT EDUCATION IS REQUIRED IN THE RISK SOCIETY?

INTRODUCTION

"How can long-term purposes be pursued in a short-term society? How can durable social relations be sustained? How can a human being develop a narrative of identity and life history in a society composed of episodes and fragments?" (Sennett, 2007, p.26).

And all of this across the various affiliations of adult life, both in the workplace and outside of it, as well as in the increasingly widespread settings of unemployment or casual, temporary work, etc… I have chosen to open this paper with a series of questions posed by Sennett (2007) that can guide us in exploring, at least briefly and partially, the complexity and problematic *riskiness*[19] of the *post-modern* society we live in.

It is against such an anthropological-cultural, political-institutional and socio-economic background, which represents one of the key themes of this conference, that I set out to reflect on the "state of the art" in education and training, and in particular, the education and training of today's adults and young adults. Today, adult education is no longer associated with a given age group or life stage, due to the social and societal *liquidity*, as Bauman (1999; 2003) calls it, in which we are all immersed. From this perspective, we cannot avoid addressing the *issue of adult education*, which emerges as an urgent priority, in Italy at any rate, especially in relation to the political-educational decision-making and strategies of the relevant institutional actors.

It seems that a possible, or rather, an objective and realistic direction for adult education to take is that leading to the delivery and implementation, on a vast scale, of adult education practices that might be viewed as excessively oriented towards *adapting* adults to existing circumstances, while losing sight of key dimensions such as contemporary adults' *relationship with knowledge* (Alberici,1993) and of the *meaning* that

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[19] Cfr., Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society*, Sage Publications, London, 1992.

they attribute to their own autobiographical journeys, characterised by continuity and dis-continuity, including in the educational/training sphere itself.

A model of education that is essentially and excessively based on the transmission of knowledge is clearly in tune with overall political, economic and institutional needs, but, conversely, is at odds with the autobiographical paths of individual adults which, as a consequence of constant uncertainty, insecurity and feelings of inadequacy (Bauman, 1999; Beck, 1992, p.62), are increasingly on the brink of becoming what Beck defines as "*risk* biographies", or even, "*danger* biographies" (1992, p.67). This suggests the potential value of a renewed emphasis on adult education offerings based on the "learning to think", or even, "re-learning to think" first advocated by Donata Fabbri (1994, pp.127-134). Specifically, at this juncture in adult education, I make the case for adopting narrative-self-reflective-autobiographical educational dispositives.

THE ADULT CONTEMPORARY: EFFICIENT OR DURABLE ?

Contemporary adult subjects are exposed to continual sudden changes, to the constant putting off of the attainment of most of their goals, personal and otherwise, and consequently – as we are reminded by authors such as Bauman (1999; 2003), Beck (1992), Sennett (2007), to mention but a few – to a situation of seemingly permanent incertitude concerning their personal and professional life plans. This means that adult life trajectories and learning/educational biographies have come to feature patterns, periods and phases, often of lengthy duration, characterized by the alternation between existential and career-related investments, as well as by discontinuous experience, such as the gap between school/university and work, going back to education, career changes (Alberici, 1999).

In this general contexst, the dominant logic – which is dictated by the laws of the market and of post-capitalist work relations – has also come to permeate discourses about education and training for adults. In consequence, adult education initiatives – at least in the Italian context – are mainly focused on delivering programmes and practices enhancing adults' professional profiles (Tramma, 2011) so that they can respond appropriately and competently to the continuous demand on the part of organizations and institutions for flexibility, adaptability and a suitable level of professional training (Alberici, 1999; Mariani & Santerini, 2002).

Thus, the contemporary cultural and educational agenda tends to emphasize the efficiency of individual adults, both per se, and in relation to their professional roles, and by extension the efficacy of the organization, of whatever nature, for which they work. With all that this implies in terms of the production of new types of adult marginalization, which particularly concerns social classes and "other" cultural affiliations that may be poorly equipped to meet the new challenges,

although this is not the only factor coming into play. Also at risk of being pushed to the margins are women and men whose educational and professional careers have been "adequately successful" (Alberici, 1999).

"Managerial" and organizational cultures, of various kinds, do not set out to form adult subjects in light of their complex and problematic nature, their daily grappling with a profound need for meaning, and attempts to emotionally sustain their fragmentary and fragmented life experience. On the contrary, such cultures are concerned with obtaining, "[…] a work force that is functional to corporate needs […], despite the fact that official statements place [the needs] of the person at the centre" (Tramma, 2011).

FOR A LIFELONG LEARNING REVISITED

If in practice "the adult person were at the centre" this would imply, as Pavan has observed, "[…] demanding higher coefficients of subjectivity for individuals and society […] going beyond the languages that we adopt to speak about the human factor in terms of human resources and human capital, which tend to represent the human person as a means and an instrument for attaining pre-determined types of performance and objectives" (2001, p.33).

Against this backdrop, I propose a form of adult education and adult educational practices that rediscover an educational way of thinking and acting that is not solely based on "taught learning" – to use the definition of Jarvis (1987) – which paradoxically risks becoming a permanent stockpile of knowledge, techniques and competences that need to be updated and replaced within a very short time span due to the unrelenting dynamism of our life contexts and experience in every sphere, professional and otherwise; but is also founded on "experiential learning" (*ibidem*), or (self) reflective learning, which is organized around a narrative, and in part also autobiographical, paradigm and thought.

I believe that today's adults, caught up in the struggle with life, learning, educational and work-related trajectories that are un-certain, in-determinate, dis-continuous, and generally in a constant state of flux, need educational time during which to reflect narratively and autobiographically on their own learning, including at the existential level, and on their own personal ways of constructing knowledge and competences.

They need to re-elaborate that which they "already are, know and do", and the trajectory that has led them, more or less intentionally, to reach – in a succession of movements and standstills, arrivals and new beginnings – that which they "are, or are not, or are not yet, but could become"; "that which they think, or do not yet allow themselves to think, or that which they think in too monotonous a fashion"; "that which they do, or do not do, but might allow themselves to do".

In my view, this educational approach has the potential to complete, enrich and problematize learning: helping individuals to interiorize, manage, trans-form, and so on, their own learning in light of their personal and autobiographic experience and priorities of meaning.

This is where the narrative-autobiographical paradigm comes into play as an "alternative" and "innovative" gaze on education for adults with respect to traditional educational methods.

WHY THE NARRATIVE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH IN ADULT EDUCATION ?

Why a narrative-autobiographical approach we might well ask? For at least three reasons, which – following L. Formenti (1998) – I briefly outline here. Specifically, this approach:

❖ recognizes individual adults, in their own right, as subjects that are competent and possess competences and, not only as individuals that must be continually made competent and therefore filled up, so to speak, with competences; thereby helping adults to recognize themselves as competent;

❖ accepts and values learning, including learning that is existential in nature, generated along the life trajectories of individual adults and generally connected with moments/phases of transition, dis-continuity, change, crisis, etc., helping the adult subjects to do the same and inviting them to explore how such learning might be transferred to new contexts;

❖ attributes a key role to the continuous exchange between lived experience and self-reflective processes of re-elaboration and construction of a meaning that is acceptable to the subjects themselves.

This prompts us to reflect on the current paradoxical situation, for example in Italy, which is far from addressing – as called for by EU policy – the crucial issue of validating prior learning and competences, both formal and otherwise.

On the one hand, it is almost impossible for contemporary adults to find spaces and times for re-elaborating what has happened to them in the recent past – let alone in the distant past – or what is happening to them in the present. On the other, neither does current adult education provide them with the opportunity to pursue this goal, which concerns the potential to re-gain meaning, by means of a generative process that is personal and autobiographical. Despite the stated intention to recognize and validate learning, from a narrative-self-reflective-autobiographical perspective there appears to be a lack of ad hoc places, contexts, offerings and practices characterized by an educational timescale that should be – particularly within a narrative framework – prolonged, or at least in keeping with the processes

of individual adults engaged in recognizing, comprehending, naming, re-elaborating and validating the experiential learning they have acquired in the course of complex, shifting and problematic daily lives, and which demands to be integrated with new knowledge, by means of a deep, multifaceted and refined process of interiorization[20].

NOT ONLY HARD SKILLS

Hence the urgent need to increasingly value - in organizational and non-organizational adult education settings - what are known as *soft skills: transversal abilities or metacompetences*. These are the only skills that are flexible, adaptable, and ultimately also *fragile/elusive*, enough to help today's adults deal with continuous and sudden changes in context, role, direction and therefore in meaning.

It seems that the most widespread and deeply felt need of the contemporary era is for a realistic and contextualized lifelong learning approach whose key focus is learning adults and their search for meaning.

Only an approach to the learning and formation needs of adults that invests in the reinforcement of soft skills can provide tools for resisting the all-pervasive and per-formative economic and political discourse which is at risk of colonizing the discourse on adult education and the formative practices implemented with adults, depriving both of their *peculiarly educational nature* (Marescotti and Tramma, 2011).

Clearly, we do not wish to imply that soft-skills training should replace training in "hard skills", nor that the contemporary adult can do without either type of skill. Rather, that we need to be capable of choosing, in any given situation, which type of formation and formative practice is most appropriate or whether to provide a combination of both. This implies the awareness – on the part of education specialists, those with responsibility for training adults, those commissioning training, or makers – that helping adults to acquire soft skills means helping them to acquire both *existential* and *professional skills*, which in turn should foster more mindful, critical and independent attitudes, more open and flexible organizations, and greater meaningfulness.

FROM "TAUGHT LEARNING" TO GENERATED AND THOUGHTFUL LEARNING

It follows that we need practices, languages and instruments for adult education/training that integrate "taught learning" (Jarvis, 1996), primarily designed

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[20] Boutinet, J.P "Vie adulte et formation permanent: de la notion au concept" in Carrè, P & Caspar, P (eds.), 2004, *Traitè des sciences et des techniques de la formation,* Paris, Dunod.

to cater for the needs of the "institution" and the "instituted", with "self-reflexive learning", viewed from a narrative-autobiographical perspective as more helpful to adults in their daily efforts to maintain "emotional and existential sustainability" in the workplace and in general.

This type of educational/formative dispositive, understood as a dispositive of *thinking*, *creativity* and *imagination* (Quaglino, 2011) – dimensions that recur in some of the more crucial skills – and structured around the paradigm of narrativity and narrative (which also draw on transversal abilities and attitudes), offers a dimension of *hope* that is crucial to education in general and particularly crucial in the context of a contemporary adulthood characterized by continuous, diverse and shifting forms of discontinuity.

SOFT SKILLS AND ADULT EDUCATION AS A PRACTICE OF EDUCATING TO HOPE

We might then hypothesize an adult education that forms subjects "in" and "through" the soft skills, becoming a practice that fosters the development of a mobile, agile, etc. perspective on the self, others, and the world. This in turn will enable adult subjects to construct a *worldview* that is open to hope, a hope that should not be confused with the permanent stringing out of illusions that may ultimately lead to a loss of hope.

"Working on" and "through" our reasons for hope appears to be a theme of crucial interest for pedagogical discourse and reflection on adult education/formation, all the more so if we take into account the tendency at many different levels and in many different areas of contemporary lives to latently, and dangerously, educate or (mis-educate) to the loss of hope.

Educating/forming to hope means, in my view, cultivating and/or reinforcing, in the places of adult education, a *soft way of thinking* that is less weighed down and oppressed *by an indefinitely prolonged state of waiting*, and capable of '(…) freely looking far ahead into the experiential space opening up before us (…)' (Borgna, 2014, p.33).

Adopting such an approach will mean coming to view lifelong learning as an experience that helps us to address the *fragility* of contemporary adulthood, a fragility that needs to be thought, named and narrated with a sense of *hope* – as defined above – if it is not to become adult *vulnerability* requiring therapeutic and no longer solely educational attention.

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SECTION 2

**PERSPECTIVES FROM COMMUNITY
AND SOCIAL EDUCATION**

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7

LA HISTORIA DE JUANA.
LA EDUCACIÓN DE ADULTOS EN ASPERONES
(UN BARRIO CON MUCHAS DIFICULTADES)

INTRODUCCIÓN

La presente comunicación se destila de una investigación más amplia que se está llevando a cabo en el barrio Los Asperones de la ciudad de Málaga. Asperones es un barrio que se encuentra a las afueras de la ciudad, marcado por la pobreza y la exclusión (más todo lo que se deriva de ello). En él viven más de mil personas que en su mayoría son de etnia gitana.

A través del trabajo de investigación que se está realizando allí se descubrió que había un sistema de formación de adultos [que se articulaba a través de dos vías: ESA (Educación Secundaria de Adultos) y Radio ECCA] que estaba proporcionando unos resultados positivos y que en los últimos años estaba generando algunos cambios en la vida de aquel entorno.

En virtud de ello, decidimos centrar la mirada en esa realidad y empezar a indagar al respecto. En esta comunicación vamos a tratar de profundizar sobre ella a través del micro-relato de vida de Juana, una mujer casada y con dos hijos que hace, aproximadamente, un lustro (cuando no era tan común como ahora) decidió volver a estudiar para sacarse el Graduado Escolar. A través de su historia se podrá visibilizar también, como telón de fondo, las circunstancias que tuvo que afrontar para poder conseguir su propósito[21].

Para armar este documento se ha entrevistado, por supuesto a Juana, y también a José, Educador de Cáritas, que es uno de los encargados de llevar a cabo la educación de adultos en el barrio a través de Radio ECCA, que es la modalidad

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[21] Como dicen Waller y Simmons (2009) los relatos biográficos deben permitir la visión de la realidad sujeta a estudio y, al mismo tiempo, mantener la panorámica del contexto en el que se encuentra inserta dicha realidad, de manera que ésta pueda ser comprendida de manera contextualizada.

que cursó nuestra protagonista. Y, por otro lado, a Laura, educadora de la asociación INCIDE, que participa en la implementación de la Educación Secundaria de Adultos (ESA). Los educadores y las educadoras de ambas vías trabajan de manera coordinada en todo momento. Además, se ha entrevistado a Paco, el director del colegio de Primaria de la zona, que es el centro educativo que vertebra prácticamente toda la labor sociopedagógica que se lleva a cabo en el barrio. Además, él es una de las personas que lideran la dinamización de toda esa labor.

Esta comunicación se presenta siguiendo la lógica y complejidad de los datos, por eso se presenta en formato biográfico, porque como dice Ferrarotti (véase Cortés y Medrano, 2007) a través de una experiencia vital se pueden apreciar elementos generales de la sociedad. Ése es uno de los objetivos de este trabajo, visibilizar y dar a conocer la realidad sujeta a estudio y generar reflexiones que nos puedan ayudar a seguir profundizando y analizando al respecto.

ASPERONES

Los Asperones es un barrio que se ubica a las afueras de Málaga y se encuentra en una situación de marginalidad, con un alto grado de aislamiento, más social que geográfico. Linda al norte con un aparcamiento de vehículos de recogida de basura de la ciudad, al sur con la extensión del principal campus Universitario de la ciudad, por el este con el Centro de Residuos Sólidos Urbanos y con dos solares de desguaces de coches y, por el oeste, con el Cementerio Municipal.

Los Asperones se creó en el año 1987 dentro de un plan para la erradicación del chabolismo en la capital. El objetivo era acabar con los núcleos marginales existentes en algunos puntos de la ciudad. La idea inicial era que fuese un barrio transitorio para alojar a las familias mientras se buscaba para ellas una ubicación definitiva. Las familias instaladas, gitanas en su gran mayoría, estarían allí un máximo de cinco años. Las inundaciones acaecidas en 1989 provocaron que numerosas familias perdieran sus hogares, siendo realojadas en Los Asperones aumentando la población de dicho barrio.

Ahora, más de 28 años después de aquel "plan provisional", viven allí alrededor de 300 familias, que se traduce en, aproximadamente, mil personas. Entre las tres fases que componen el barrio. Todo aquello que trataba de paliar aquel plan (marginalidad, pobreza, etc.) se vio reforzado y agravado con aquella medida (ahora están más excluidos y estigmatizados).

El nivel socio-cultural de la barriada es parejo al socio-económico. Posee un porcentaje de analfabetismo entre los adultos que roza el 80%. Hay una situación de pobreza generalizada y las posibilidades laborales son muy escasas. Lo que en

muchos casos deriva en economía sumergida[22].

Tras el paso de dos décadas, se inició el esperado proceso de desmantelamiento del barrio y reubicación de las familias, lo que supuso la incorporación de una serie de entidades a la barriada que empezó, muy despacio, a transformar la vida de sus vecinos: AVRA (Agencia de Vivienda y Rehabilitación de Andalucía), INCIDE (Inclusión, Ciudadanía, Diversidad y Educación) MIES (Misioneros de la Esperanza), Cáritas y ACCEM (Asociación Comisión Católica de Migraciones) trabajan con las familias para prepararlas para su inclusión en su nuevo destino. Para ello se constituyó una mesa de coordinación en la que participaban esas entidades y algunas otras que contribuyeron al desarrollo de una intervención sociopedagógica en red (por ejemplo el CEIP María de la 'O', Programa Caixa Pro-Infancia de la Obra Social La Caixa). El problema fue que la crisis económica que tuvo lugar poco después de poner en marcha esa iniciativa paralizó todo el proceso. Algún tiempo más tarde empezó a reactivarse mínimamente. Desde entonces las diferentes entidades han continuado trabajando en la socialización del conjunto de la población, pero también tratando de introducir nuevas oportunidades para mejorar las vidas de sus vecinos, especialmente, las de los/as más pequeños/as.

LA HISTORIA DE JUANA

Juana es una mujer de 32 años que nació y se crió en el seno de una familia humilde. Es la tercera de cuatro hermanos (la única mujer entre ellos). Creció en un barrio de clase obrera, muy poblado donde vive gente con unos recursos económicos muy limitados. No es un barrio marginal ni excluido, pero no tuvo una infancia ni una adolescencia fácil. A los 17 años conoció a su actual pareja y decidió *escaparse* para irse a vivir con él. Desde entonces, hace más de 15 años, reside en Asperones, lugar de procedencia de él.

Tuvo su primer hijo recién cumplido los 19. En la actualidad su primogénito tiene 13 años y cursa 1º de ESO en un Instituto de Secundaria fuera del barrio. Además tiene otro hijo de 10 años que se encuentra cursando primaria en la escuela del lugar. Desde entonces se ha dedicado, fundamentalmente, a la crianza de los niños y las tareas domésticas, aunque siempre que ha podido ha buscado trabajo o ha realizado cursos de formación. Los trabajos que, generalmente, ha desempeñado han sido no cualificados. En la actualidad trabaja como monitora en el colegio de primaria en el que cursa sus estudios su hijo pequeño. Su marido tampoco tiene un trabajo estable, pero también es una persona trabajadora e inquieta laboralmente. Ha

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[22] Para un conocimiento más exhaustivo de la realidad de Asperones se recomienda la lectura del informe del defensor del pueblo andaluz de 2007 y el artículo que publicó Cáritas sobre su acción en Málaga en 2012.

trabajado en la obra, recogiendo limones,… y ahora está, en condiciones precarias, en un taller de reparación de coches.

Ella estudió hasta 3º de Secundaria, donde sacaba malas notas y abandonó sin culminar la etapa obligatoria y, por tanto, sin obtener el diploma de estudios básicos o Graduado Escolar. Sin embargo, decidió volver a estudiar hace aproximadamente 5 años. Uno de los hechos cruciales de la historia de Juana fue que ella sola realizó aquella demanda. Y es que "el adulto necesitado de formación pide oportunidad de acceso, porque encuentra ahí el origen y la fuente de sus limitaciones" (García Carrasco, 1997: 4). Los motivos principales que la animaron: Que ese certificado "es necesario para todo, es que ya te piden el Graduado para todo. Y además que es que es bueno saber[23]" (Juana, 02'32"). Además, se daba la circunstancia de que había empezado a trabajar de monitora en el comedor del colegio del barrio y se le requería cierta formación para poder trabajar también en las actividades extraescolares y la escuela de verano. "Entonces, si ella quería crecer laboralmente era necesario tener una pequeña titulación" (Paco, 01'45"). Es decir, que el deseo de ampliar la carga laboral fue lo que la impulsó a sacarse el Graduado, porque obteniéndolo podía obtener más trabajo y ganaba en estabilidad. Hay quienes sacan el Graduado para obtener un trabajo y hay quien poseyendo un trabajo sacan el Graduado para mejorar su situación laboral, económica, personal, familiar. Ése fue el caso de Juana.

Aproximadamente, cuando su hijo menor cumplió un lustro de vida se dieron unas mejores circunstancias para poder retomar los estudios: sus hijos ya estaban en el colegio y ella disponía de más tiempo libre. Entonces recurrió a un grupo de educadores y educadoras que actuaba en el barrio y que, entre otras cosas, se encargaban de formar a personas adultas para que pudiesen obtener la mencionada titulación.

En Asperones la Educación de Adultos se articula, fundamentalmente, a través de dos vías: 1) la Educación Secundaria de Adultos (ESA) y 2) Radio ECCA. Juana fue inscrita en esta segunda modalidad. ¿Qué es Radio ECCA?

Radio ECCA es una emisora de radio de la isla de Gran Canaria (España) que desempeña una labor formativa a través de la radio. Comenzó su labor a mediados de los años 60 (s. XX) con el propósito de alfabetizar a numerosas personas que no tenían posibilidad de acceder al sistema educativo formal a través de otros medios. "La alfabetización de adultos por radio es un paso importante en el camino hacia un mundo más justo y equitativo" (Rodríguez Fuenzalida, 1992: 55). Medio siglo después ha diversificado su oferta formativa, pero sigue manteniendo su

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[23] Y es que la alfabetización entendida de manera amplia y genérica (no sólo el aprendizaje de la lectoescritura) implica "el acceso a todas las áreas de conocimiento y el desarrollo de las formas de pensamiento indispensables para el análisis crítico de la realidad y la inserción consciente, participativa y reflexiva" (Borzone y Renata, 2000: 77).

esencia: enseñar cultura general básica y tratar de facilitar el acceso a una actividad profesional a muchos ciudadanos.

Como es obvio, Radio ECCA es, por encima de todo, un sistema oficial de formación a distancia, que articula su sistema de enseñanza de manera no presencial. El título de Graduado Escolar que se obtiene a través de ella "es exactamente el mismo el tuyo que el de la Juana, lo único que el tuyo pone Málaga y el suyo pone Canarias" (José, 02'44"). Curricularmente se articula igual que la formación que se lleva a cabo en la escuela. Se trata de asignaturas que se dividen por temas, que el alumnado debe ir estudiando y superando. "Hoy día con el tema de internet es mucho más factible. Tú te apuntas a un curso de Radio ECCA, te mandan los audios, tú en tu casa los escuchas por internet y después haces los exámenes" (José, 01'27").

Existe cierto grado de autogestión, ya que es el alumno/a quien participa en la elección de sus módulos, la gestión y matriculación de estos, etc. Es por ello que esta forma de aprendizaje tiene bastante éxito en Asperones, y es que tal y como nos plantea Brockett y Hiemstra "la mayoría de los adultos prefieren asumir una considerable responsabilidad en su propio aprendizaje si se les da la oportunidad y el apoyo adecuados" (Brockett y Hiemstra, 1993: 131).

Ella contó con el apoyo de dos educadoras de Cáritas para poder afrontar aquel reto. La primera de ellas era, se puede decir que, su tutora y maestra, y la segunda prestaba ayuda cuando era necesario.

Al principio le resultó difícil, entre otras cosas, porque habían pasado muchos años (alrededor de una década) desde que abandonara el sistema educativo ordinario. "Cuesta, y más lo que es de memorizar y acordarte cómo estudiar. Yo ya no me acordaba de cómo se estudiaba" (Juana, 04'45"). Además se le había olvidado mucho del contenido que se supone que había aprendido en su momento (por ejemplo, las divisiones de dos cifras, analizar una frase, etc.). Entonces tenía que refrescar ciertos contenidos y volver a aprender otros. En sus propias palabras, tuvo que "volver a aprender a estudiar" (Juana, 05'15"). Afortunadamente, poco a poco, se fue familiarizando con toda aquella situación y cada vez le resultaba más accesible. "Cuando los niños estaban en el colegio iba a la parroquia a estudiar" y después "los ejercicios y eso los hacía en mi casa" (Juana, 05'33"). A veces coincidía haciendo los deberes con sus hijos, es decir, madre e hijos realizaban las tareas escolares al mismo tiempo, lo que contribuía al desarrollo de un clima de estudio favorable en casa. Sus hijos apreciaban que su madre estaba estudiando temas de mayor complejidad que ellos.

La calificación de las distintas pruebas que tenía que afrontar no supuso un obstáculo, todo lo contrario: "A mí los exámenes se me daban bien, sacaba buenas notas" (Juana, 06'18").

Algunas personas de su entorno no daban mucho valor a que ella hubiese decidido volver a la escuela. En aquella época había un porcentaje altísimo de

personas sin el Graduado Escolar en el barrio (más del 99%) y no era común retomar los estudios. Muchos de ellos "pensaban que era una tontería" (Juana, 06'34"). Sin embargo, su pareja nunca la desanimó al respecto, todo lo contrario, siempre la ha apoyado. De hecho, "él quiere ahora estudiar también" (Juana, 07'15"). El problema que tiene él es que no tiene tiempo para estudiar porque pasa todo el día trabajando. Él piensa que si consiguiese el Graduado Escolar podría tener mayores posibilidades laborales.

Durante muchos años ha habido tanta falta de fe y tanto desapego hacia el sistema educativo formal, que se han creado falsos mitos al respecto. Uno de ellos fue que obtener el Graduado Escolar habilitaba para conducir el coche de manera legal. De hecho, el hijo pequeño de Juana fue lo que destacó cuando fue consciente de que su madre había obtenido dicho certificado, que podía utilizar el coche.

Allí obtener el carnet de conducir es una motivación social importante, téngase en cuenta que, aunque geográficamente se encuentran a poca distancia de otras zonas urbanas, existe cierta distancia, sobre todo, psicosocial con el resto de la ciudad. De alguna manera, en Asperones hay cierta sensación de aislamiento. El carnet de conducir es un medio que proporciona cierta libertad a quienes lo poseen. Por eso es algo tan valorado entre su población.

Más allá del carnet, Juana intenta inculcar a sus hijos que deben estudiar, entre otras cosas, porque los estudios proporcionan mayores posibilidades de obtener un trabajo. Y cuanto mayor sea el grado académico que se posea mayor podrá ser el salario que se puede obtener: "Contra más estudio más posibilidades de trabajo y mejores trabajos" (Juana, 10'25").
Le gustaría que sus hijos estudiasen una Carrera Universitaria o Formación Profesional. Y que tuvieran "su casa y su coche y sus cosas en condiciones, como no tengo yo" (Juana, 11'16"). También que crearan una familia, pero en otro ambiente, fuera del barrio, para que "puedan ver otras cosas, que no sea todo: el barrio" (Juana, 11'28"), porque el barrio tiene cosas buenas, pero también "muchas cosas malas" (Juana, 11'40").

A Juana obtener el Graduado Escolar le ha posibilitado ampliar sus posibilidades laborales. Si no lo hubiese obtenido "no estaría trabajando en las [actividades] extraescolares" (Juana, 13'10"). También le ha permitido trabajar en la escuela de verano. Hay que decir que, además ha realizado distintos cursos específicos que se adecuaban a las demandas de esas ofertas laborales. Por otro lado, también resalta que poseer el diploma de estudios básicos le da la posibilidad de buscar trabajo en otros lugares.

A ella le gustaría seguir estudiando cuando se diesen las circunstancias oportunas. Ahora mismo con los niños, la casa y el trabajo le resultaría muy difícil, pero está pensando en Bachillerato o un ciclo de Formación Profesional de Enfermería, esto último es lo que a ella le gusta.

Haber estudiado le ha hecho

"no ser una analfabeta, de saber que cuando una persona me explica una cosa, entenderlo. De si tengo que rellenar unos papeles, saber rellenarlos, de si tengo que hablar con los maestros, saber de qué me están hablando. Que es verdad que hay mucha gente aquí que no saben, que tienen que rellenar un papel y van al colegio o van a la oficina a que se lo rellenen. Yo no, yo sé hacer esas cosas" (Juana, 16'35").

La mayoría de sus vecinas y vecinos no tienen esa posibilidad. Y, por otro lado, ella se ha convertido en el referente educativo para sus hijos. Sus hijos "a su padre no le preguntan, ellos me preguntan a mí. Ellos saben que yo sí sé y que su padre no sabe" (Juana, 17'28"). Ella es quien les ayuda con las tareas escolares. El padre no dice nada al respecto "pero se irrita con él mismo […], le da mucho coraje, no porque yo sepa más, sino de ver que él no sabía" (17'55"). Ése también es uno de los motivos que le animan a estudiar (a él).

Ella espera que su historia rompa con esa justificación social a la que se aferran muchos "es que yo ya soy muy viejo para estudiar" (Juana, 23'18"). Cuando en realidad nunca es tarde para aprender y seguir creciendo. "Porque no lo hicieran en su tiempo no quiere decir que sea tarde para hacerlo" (Juana, 19'08").

EL MURAL DE LAS ESTRELLAS

El Mural de las Estrellas es una iniciativa que se puso en marcha en primavera de 2015 y fue inaugurado a principios de junio de ese mismo año. Consistió en colocar en la fachada de la escuela del barrio un mosaico a gran escala en el que se dibujan distintas casas de Asperones y el cielo está cubierto de estrellas. Cada estrella posee el nombre (o el apodo) de una persona del barrio que ha conseguido obtener el Graduado Escolar. Teniendo en cuenta que sus vecinos/as históricamente no han considerado la Educación importante, entre otras cosas, por la poca trascendencia que ésta ha tenido para el desarrollo de sus vidas, el objetivo era revertir esa consideración. Y para ello se quería visibilizar y poner en valor a quienes lo habían conseguido. Convertirles en un referente y trasladar la idea de que es posible: se puede obtener el Graduado. Todo ello para que tuviese un efecto contagio, de modo, que sirviese para animar a otras personas del lugar a que también estudien o que se conciencien para que sus hijos/as lo hagan. Juana es un ejemplo de ambas.

Desde las distintas entidades que ejercen su labor sociopedagógica allí se trata de generar esa cultura. Hay que decir que todas esas estrellas se han conseguido en los últimos cinco años, como resultado del trabajo en red iniciado por esas entidades.

En este momento hay entre 28 y 32 estrellas. Aproximadamente, dos tercios

de ellas se han obtenido a través de vías alternativas al Sistema Educativo Ordinario, es decir, a través de "la Educación Secundaria de Adultos (ESA) y Radio ECCA" (Laura, 16'30'').

La mayoría de las estrellas del mural son de "gente que abandonó los estudios y volvió a incorporarse, no es de gente que triunfó en el sistema" (Paco, 06'03''). Parece evidente que el Sistema de Enseñanza Secundaria Ordinario no se adapta a las necesidades de estos muchachos y muchachas. ¿Por qué? En la etapa obligatoria ¿no deberían estar todos los centros de enseñanza obligados a satisfacer las necesidades de todo el alumnado?

Algunos educadores y educadoras del barrio piensan que el trabajo que se lleva a cabo en algunos Institutos de Secundaria no atiende las características y necesidades reales de los adolescentes que provienen de Asperones, siendo éste uno de los principales motivos de abandono. "«No comprendo el temario, no comprendo cuando el profesor explica las cosas, levanto la mano y no me da toda la ayuda que yo necesito…». Se han venido abajo y lo han abandonado" (Laura, 18'35'').

Por eso, "el mural de las estrellas también habla del mural de los estrellados, que son todos los que no están" (José, 44'55''). Todos los huecos de esa pared son las ausencias de las personas que también deberían tener el Graduado Escolar. Esos huecos reflejan, por tanto, el fracaso educativo del sistema, pero también el de la comunidad. "Estamos fracasando todos" (José, 45'46'').

Y por otro lado, la mayoría del resto de estrellas del mural han sido conseguidas a través de Centros de Secundaria de Compensatoria. En otras palabras, casi todos los títulos de Graduado Escolar que se consiguieron a través del Sistema Ordinario, fueron a través de institutos en los que se compensaban las desventajas que tenían de partida. Mirándolo por el lado positivo, eso quiere decir que teniendo en cuenta las necesidades del alumnado y proporcionando las atenciones pertinentes se pueden obtener mejores resultados. Sin embargo, deja en entredicho la capacidad para atender la diversidad del sistema de enseñanza que se sigue en los centros de secundaria que no son de compensatoria.

ELEMENTOS A MEJORAR EN LA EDUCACIÓN DE ADULTOS

A continuación se relacionan algunos aspectos, vinculados con la Educación de Adultos en Asperones, que, a tenor de los datos, parece necesario reconducir:

1.- Que las vías alternativas no se conviertan en el medio ordinario para obtener el Graduado. Los datos evidencian que las vías alternativas están proporcionando mejores resultados que el sistema ordinario. Las personas de Asperones están empezando a ser conscientes de que a través del sistema ordinario poseen muy pocas

posibilidades de alcanzar el objetivo académico perseguido y que, por el contrario, si abandonan la Secundaria Obligatoria y después se incorporan a una de las vías alternativas mencionadas, tendrán muchas más posibilidades de conseguirlo sin tener que realizar el esfuerzo y sufrir el desgaste que supone el instituto de secundaria.

> "Pablo un niño de 6º [de Primaria] de los más inteligentes, que tiene unas Altas Capacidades en Matemáticas espectaculares (…), dice: «Yo, yo no estudio y luego hago como mi Papa, me voy con el 'Donut' [(apodo de un Educador)], hago dos o tres cosas y me saco el título»"(Paco, 07'25").

Hay un hecho que alarma en ese sentido: en la actualidad existe una demanda para formarse a través de estas vías alternativas que supera en un porcentaje muy alto las posibilidades formativas que se pueden llevar a cabo por parte de las entidades que lo desarrollan.

Los/as educadores/as que trabajan en Radio ECCA y ESA se encuentran preocupados por dicha situación y consideran que se debe revertir, para que dichas vías alternativas sigan siendo extraordinarias y no se conviertan en el camino al que la mayoría de personas de Asperones recurra para poder obtener la titulación que certifica el grado básico de cultura general. "Tenemos que intentar que el sistema ordinario sea lo potente" (José, 44'18").

2.- Ampliar y flexibilizar los criterios y herramientas de evaluación (sobre todo, en la modalidad ESA porque a través de Radio ECCA parece que existe mayor libertad en ese sentido). Algunos educadores y educadoras que trabajan con las personas que deciden iniciar un proceso de Educación de Adultos reivindican tener mayor libertad a la hora de evaluar y calificar su proceso de aprendizaje. Se quejan de que las pruebas que habitualmente se utilizan para ello miden, únicamente, resultados académicos, pero no prestan atención a otros aspectos que poseen enorme valor y que resultan tan importantes como los primeros (actitudes, valores, capacidades, etc.).

> "Tú haces tu examen y tu examen debe valer el 70 ó el 80%, pero hay un 20% que es constancia, es trabajo, es participación […]. Si hay un tío que se levanta todos los días a las diez de la mañana en Asperones, que es algo anormal en el barrio, es gente que está cumpliendo con una puntualidad, con una constancia,… Eso hay que premiarlo. [Por otro lado], yo parto de aquí y él parte de aquí, el parte de mucho más atrás que yo. ¿Por qué hay que poner el listón a los dos aquí?" (José, 36'57"). Hay gente que "no llega, pero lo merece […]. El maestro debería tener voz y voto [porque] ves que es un tío que se está esforzando y lo merece y su mérito te lo está diciendo" (José, 37'50").

3.- El Graduado Escolar no puede ser la meta final. Las entidades encargadas de trabajar sociopedagógicamente en el barrio no se conforman con que las personas de Asperones hayan empezado a obtener el Graduado Escolar y ya están pensando que esa titulación no puede ser el techo de la cualificación académica a la que la mayoría de su población pueda aspirar. Quienes obtienen dicho Graduado deben tener posibilidades reales de continuar adelante, ya sea estudiando o dando el salto al mercado laboral.

La cuestión es que se están dando casos de chicos y chicas que, tras haber conseguido el título se encuentran un abismo: hay muy pocas opciones. Y se preguntan: "¿Tú obtienes el Graduado para qué?" (Laura, 39'44"). Esa situación puede reforzar el mensaje completamente opuesto, sobre todo, cuando ven a personas de su entorno que no han estudiado porque decidieron dedicarse, por ejemplo, a la venta de drogas y poseen una situación económica más favorable. "Al final come y duerme en una casa buena el que está cometiendo un delito y el que se ha sacado el Graduado sigue siendo un pobre desgraciado" (Paco, 14'25"). Hay gente que realiza verdaderos esfuerzos por seguir el cauce de la legalidad y después no obtiene ningún fruto. Y ven como otros deciden realizar su vida fuera de dichos cauces y poseen una situación más acomodada. Por eso, el Graduado debe ser un punto y seguido, no un punto y final.

Algunos educadores y educadoras ya están pensando en diversas iniciativas para enmendar esa situación: a) Poner en marcha un servicio de Orientación, b) Desarrollar programas relacionados con el empleo. En cualquier caso, "tiene que ser algo tangible" (Laura, 41'34') y realista que, verdaderamente, pueda proporcionar una salida a estas personas.

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FROM FIBRE TO FABRIC
CREATING INNOVATIVE LEARNING PERSPECTIVES ON YORKSHIRE'S WOOL HERITAGE THROUGH COLLABORATIVE PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION

West Yorkshire's history is steeped in cloth manufacture. Some of the earliest farming of sheep in the county was at Kirkstall Abbey in Leeds which was established by monks in the 1150s. Arable farming was difficult in the locale; to sustain them they bred sheep. Wool was the foundation of the medieval economy. Their successful farming meant they had wool to trade, which with dispensations from the government regarding taxation helped generate income for the church.

West Yorkshire's natural resources of millstone grit, plentiful soft water and harsh geography were the reasons for its continued development as a woollen cloth manufacturer. In the fourteenth century, work was often within family groups, working with their own wool or that supplied by a journeyman. Daniel Defoe when compiling his third volume on the tours of the British Isles noted that when he came to the outskirts of Halifax the houses were built in clusters in valley bottoms and on the hill sides all actively engaged in the business of cloth production.

> "We could see that at every house there was a tenter, and almost on every tenter a piece of cloth, or kersey, or shalloon, for they are the three articles of that country's labour…We could see through the glades almost every way round us, yet look which way we would, high to the tops, and low to the bottoms, it was all the same; innumerable houses and tenters, and a white piece upon every tenter…" (Gregory, 1982).

In 1711 the *First White Cloth Hall* opened in Leeds, a place of trade for un-dyed cloth; other local towns had their own trade halls. The Piece Hall in Halifax still stands in its original form. The shift from domestic manufacture to the industrialisation that we have remnants of in today's landscape was gradual. During the Eighteenth Century clothiers had developed into collaborative groups so that cloth production could be greater. There were 3,500 broadcloth

manufacturers in West Yorkshire. (Hudson, 1986) By the end of the century 60% of national cloth output in England was from Yorkshire. (Deane, 1957) The first introduction of machines was Hargreaves' Spinning Jenny, adapted for wool, (Reckendrees, 2006) this was utilised as part of domestic manufacture. The move to greater industrialisation occurred as the ability to harness power increased. The landscape of West Yorkshire changed rapidly; villages such as Bradford had an influx of new wool and worsted manufacturers and the people to do the work. There were high levels of migration from local areas and from other wool districts within England such as Suffolk and Gloucestershire. This furore of new factories and new patents and inventions confirmed West Yorkshire as a vital hub in the industrial successes of Great Britain. Larger than life characters such as Titus Salt, Samuel Cunliffe Lister and Jacob Behrens made enough money to retire many times over, creating legacies that we see in today's landscape with the World Heritage site of Salts Mill and the majesty of Manningham Mill Chimney that can be glimpsed from all over Bradford. These great entrepreneurs traded throughout the world.

Local academic institutions in Leeds, Huddersfield and Bradford started as a means to educate the future textile workers and leaders. Leeds University still bears this heritage with the Cloth Workers Guild Hall and the buildings commemorating Edward Baines a renowned textiles academic and dignitary.

The Twentieth Century brought many changes to the Yorkshire Woollen manufacturing industry. Wool wasn't in such demand with the advent of post war synthetic fabrics, better heating in homes and improved transport. The early stages of wool processing moved overseas to Australasia and South America where the wool was produced. (Smith & Howarth, 2006) The larger worsted manufacturers survived a little longer as they supplied big high street companies such as Burton's and Marks & Spencer. With the advent of shareholders and the desire for cheaper more affordable cloth and clothing, manufacturers went east. Local manufacturers closed and their

Hattersley looms and other equipment were shipped overseas to new manufacturing sites.

Any ideas that the majesty of Yorkshire's Textile Industry could be returned are unrealistic, when in forty years combing mills have declined from over 60 companies to just one (Smith & Howarth, 2006) yet there are opportunities to promote niche products and welcome new creativity.

Campaign for Wool began in 2010 as an initiative developed by HRH, the Prince of Wales to raise awareness amongst consumers of the use of wool and its sustainable benefits. The project has seen collaboration internationally between wool growers, fashion & interior designers, retailers and educators and has been instrumental through its Wool Week and other related projects in highlighting the versatility of wool for the twenty first century.

Whilst textile manufacturing in West Yorkshire has declined significantly in size since the 19th and early 20th centuries, today's industry is still respected around the world and the region is seen as the birthplace of fine woollen and worsted manufacturing. The businesses of West Yorkshire, and indeed SIL brands such as Charles Clayton, John Foster, William Halstead, Reid & Taylor and Joshua Ellis, are recognised as producing the finest cloths for the suits, jackets and coats by some of the world's finest fashion houses and designers. The current climate of industry returning to the UK and the shift in consumer behaviour to artisan and bespoke goods away from the world of fast fashion seems the perfect juncture to once again promote the cloth and yarn of Yorkshire

THE PROJECT

The Wool Yorkshire project was initiated by SIL Holdings Ltd, as a means of promoting the importance and continued success of the wool textile industry in West Yorkshire. With a breadth of textile interests in worsted manufacture, fibre trading, yarn trading, woollen upholstery fabric manufacture and weaving, dyeing and finishing, the SIL Holdings group uses the phrase 'Textile Excellence' to communicate the skills, heritage and experience their businesses possess. Jenni Nickson from SIL Holdings upholstery business, Abbotsford, proposed that the group be involved with the Campaign for Wool's Wool Week and the idea for Wool Yorkshire was born.

LCA alumni and employee of SIL Holdings, Sara Duxbury contacted Sharon Bainbridge, her former tutor, to discuss the idea of the collaborative project. The proposal was to invite students to not only exhibit work but to be involved in the creation and curation of the event. After several after work meetings, a brief was created, to present to students. A formal briefing occurred at the College in April 2013 presenting Communication and Exhibition briefs. In hindsight the timing was not ideal as students were nearing their final deadlines and the project was an extracurricular project. Important considerations for future collaborative projects.

The Briefing
The aim of the project was for students to create innovative pieces of work that would engage the public and illustrate that 'Textiles in West Yorkshire is alive and well'. The initial briefing attracted 100 students; further briefings were conducted by Sharon Bainbridge to specific student groups.
The briefing and supporting documents gave the history of SIL Holdings, an integrated group of textile related businesses spanning the whole spectrum of production from raw fibre to finished fabric. Located in West Yorkshire, the cradle of fine woollen and worsted fabric production, the group started in the 1970s.

SIL Holdings is the modern face of textiles with group companies trading fibre and yarn as well as weaving, finishing and marketing woollen cloth to every corner of the globe. The fibre division businesses combine as one of the largest speciality fibre merchants in the world, supplying cashmere, mohair, camel hair, angora, alpaca and silk to a diverse customer base. MBA Yarns is one of Europe's leading stockists of woollen and worsted yarn for apparel and upholstery. Fine woollen, wool/cashmere and 100% cashmere cloths for jacketing, coating and scarves are created in Batley by Joshua Ellis (SIL Brochure: 2012).

These businesses are supported by a range of other operations delivering fibre processing, spinning, weaving, dyeing and finishing. The opportunity for students to access so many different areas of regional manufacturing and gain and understanding of industry as opposed to artisan craft was invaluable.

Figure 1. Worker on loom, Abbotsford.
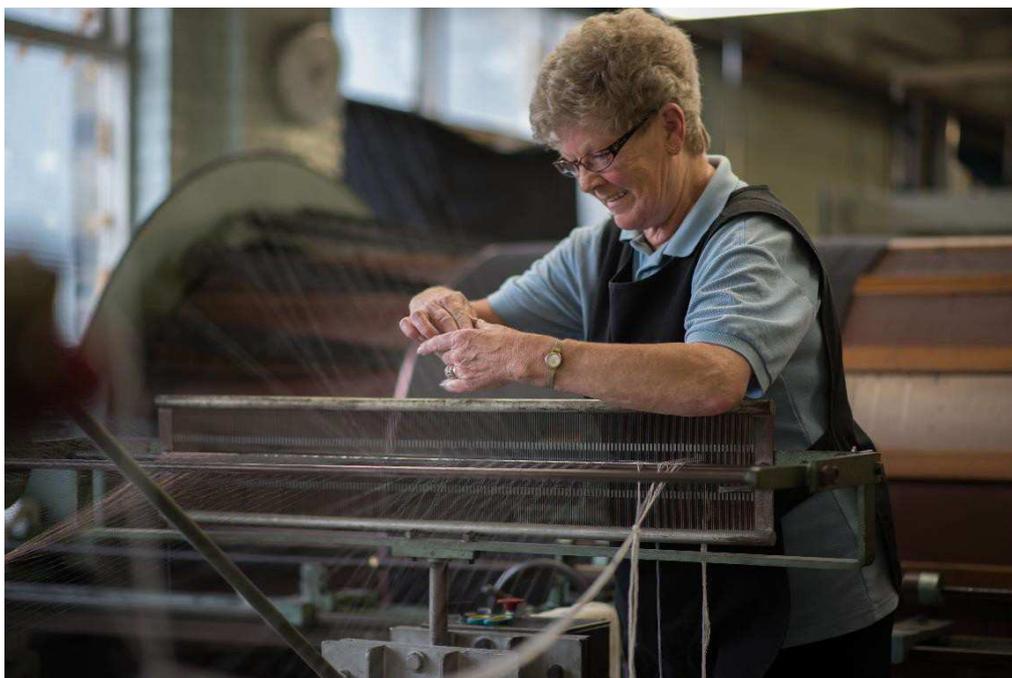
Student Interest

Expressions of student interest were requested. Students had the opportunity to visit the factories within the group to assist in their research and design process. A range of group visits were organised. In the Luxury Fabrics factory a tour was given by Managing Director, David Gallimore, whose grandfather was John Foster of Back Dyke Mills. Students were given a tour and the opportunity to speak to employees at Abbotsford, the Furnishings Fabric division in Keighley. A small group of students visited the fibre mill in Bradford. SIL provided samples for students to

examine the nature of materials and set up a remote file with all collateral information and logos to support the communication brief. Participants were given a site plan of the VQ and Harvey Nichols window and invited to visit to assess the viability of the space.

Students submitted an A4 written proposal with supporting diagrams or photographs to the LCA and SIL panel. They were then invited to pitch their ideas in person, in 20 minute presentations, to the four leads on the project. The panel were impressed with the quality of the presentations and ideas, most pitches were exhibition installation pieces with just two presentations for the communication aspect. The process was an excellent opportunity for all students; many had never completed a proposal or pitched an idea. This developed skills to interact with an external body and time manage a project. The students selected were asked to complete an assessment of their materials needed and submit this to SIL. They had six weeks over the summer holiday to complete work with a deadline for photography of pieces in September.

Student Work

Several students used this work as a summer project that would feed into their Professional Practice module for the following year; others used it as a testing ground for dissertation ideas or preparation work for their Masters Studies. Those who had just graduated saw this as an ideal process to ease them into being independent artists and help them generate PR for their future ventures. Whilst completing the installation pieces, students were also involved in the project planning of the installation of the exhibition. Attending meetings in the factory and health and safety briefings at VQ, helped the group understand the complexity of putting on such a project and issues they would need to consider if they were to undertake similar projects in the future.

All exhibition pieces were to be photographed in the LCA studio in September, to enable the Communications team to use them for marketing, the blog and information stands for the exhibition. Most of these were completed on time, but with students having left and living away from Yorkshire this posed certain problems as did a student who had changed their work drastically from their original submission. This confirmed how important the continued communication with students was, as it was vacation and a project away from the curriculum checking points were more problematic. Future projects would need a Project Manager appointed and ground rules clarified.

At this junction we realised that there were some problems with the communication package that had been promised by the students who had taken this on. There was little completed that would meet the plan and there was only four weeks left to the deadline. This confirmed the point noted above that when a project is external to the curriculum and without the constraints of grading, managing the

work output can be more problematic. Jenni from SIL was happy to take on aspects of the work and we were able to source two Graphic Design students to complete the brochure, this was all being done whilst we were undertaking our normal 'day' jobs, so there was a lot of extra work to make the project the success it was.

Installation

The VQ is a very grand Victorian shopping mall with high ceilings and a high footfall of visitors throughout the day and night. The group had planned all locations and we had been fortunate to be offered the VQ's installation team to assist on the Sunday evening prior to wool week. Considerations had been made for health and safety and to ensure that theft of objects would be diminished considering the openness to the general public. Installation began at 5pm and was completed at 3am. Students in the main were really helpful and we would have not been able to complete without the cherry picker and advice and help with lighting and floating of objects on wire structures down the corridor etc. from the installation team.

Figure 2. Promotional leaflet
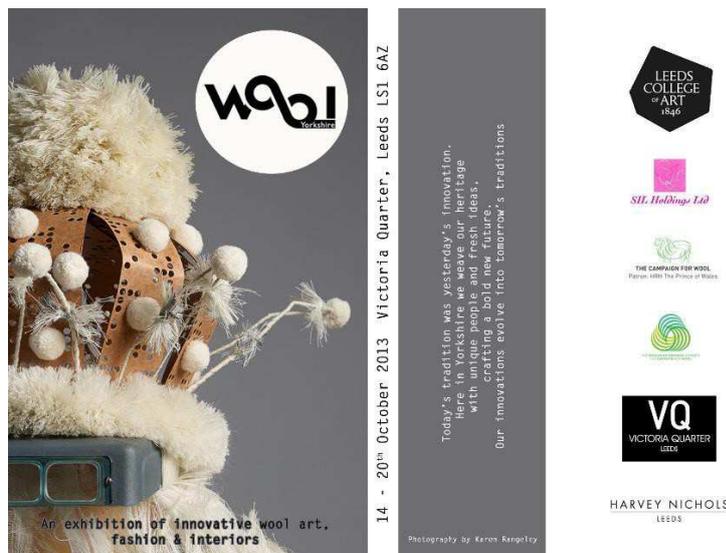
The Opening

The opening event on Monday 14th October was supported through financial help from Campaign for Wool and Harvey Nichols. The PR activity was also supplemented financially by Campaign for Wool. SIL and LCA also conducted PR and promotion of the event. The event secured radio and television coverage. Having a small flock of sheep on the main shopping area leading to the exhibition generated a great deal of interest. There was local, national and international press interest and a high degree of social media coverage at the opening and for the week of the

exhibition. The opening had over 150 in attendance of textile industry personnel, members from SIL and LCA and the students and guests. The response to the work produced was highly complementary and there was a degree of surprise that the work was accessible, innovative and engaging.

As wool week is just a week, all pieces then had to be taken down the following Sunday, this was a little more problematic to get support from students and staff to remove all parts. This was shorter than installation and flagged up the importance of project planning all aspects and creating designated installation and take down teams.

STUDENT CASE STUDIES

Bolaji

Bolaji was approaching his final year on the BA Fashion programme, he was a student who needed a degree of support and assistance in developing autonomy in his practice. His first ideas were to deliver a collection of garments reflecting the landscape surrounding Leeds and Bradford. Initially within the project he lacked professionalism being late for deadlines and being unaware of how best to communicate with external parties. Through the project he developed the skills to push his work further, be consistent in his approach, request guidance and advice in an appropriate manner. His initial manufacturing skills lacked the ability to manifest his vision, so it was a great learning curve to understand where he would need help and how to increase his own skills.

Bolaji's final three garments used the materials from the furnishing company Abbotsford, as these best reflected his colour palette. The elements that made his work so distinctive were the experimentation with the waste selvedge that inspired many of the students. Through laborious stitching he created a fake fur like material from the waste, which was used as an accent on garments.

Two of the final garments were featured in the Harvey Nichols, Campaign for Wool window in the Leeds store. His other was worn during the open evening to great acclaim. The process greatly improved Bolaji's confidence and awareness of industry and his own strengths and weaknesses. The garments were used in a film by his fellow final year Fashion Communication student Britt Lloyd, with a student modelling them, animal like amongst the moors. He also received sponsorship from SIL for his final collection. Bolaji's tutors confirmed the positive impact the project had had on his work ethic and approach and the confidence that the experience had brought.

Dita

Dita was a mature student from the Czech Republic; she was in her first year on BA Interdisciplinary Art & Design course when she submitted her proposal

At the beginning of the project I had so many ideas except the one of the actual outcome. It was a process of dynamic development and a few turning points. Sharon's positive approach and not giving up, has helped make the project what it became. As we met as a group several times for factory visits and exhibition planning we became a strong collaborative group, friendships and encouragement a really positive experience. As the work I was doing meant I spent the summer in the fashion workshop I made new links which have helped my progression in my degree and helped me see how other disciplines work. Meeting the SIL people was a lovely new and positive experience and as a student cohort we had a lovely spirit of excitement and very interesting opportunity to represent the woollen industry and link it to our range of practices.

My two different installations had similarities as they were mobile in nature and worked with pieces from the factory. The piece in Harvey Nichols window 'reflecting on past traditions' had bobbins and spools suspended over mirrored Perspex, with cloth and fibre integrated into the work. The second piece a large mobile installation hanging from the ceiling at VQ, celebrated the colours and vibrancy of the industry and reflected the glass colours in the ceiling at VQ, and became integrated in the building. As a site specific piece it has become as one with its environment.

I was possibly expecting some new opportunities after the work was exhibited and this hasn't happened, however in an indirect way this project has fed into my practice. My experimentation with textile shapes and forms in the Wool Week work has fed into a project looking at lost umbrellas, an installation at the Corn Exchange, Leeds for 'Le Tour' and my sustainable design work. I have begun to explore negative space from this work and experimenting so much for the project has given me confidence to push boundaries in my work. The project was great and although time consuming, I really enjoyed it and was very happy to be part of that team, I learnt a lot from it and would look for similar projects in the future. (Student evaluation)

Dita grew professionally through this project. Her design ideas occasionally seemed unrealistic, her affinity with engaging an audience and natural curiosity around the wool production generated innovative, humorous work. In a similar way to the outdoor art company Artichoke who produce Lumiere and have the mission to invade public spaces with extraordinary and ambitious art.

Karen

Karen was a second year mature student on the BA Photography programme, she already worked in a voluntary capacity for local children's' charities. Her skills and

approach definitely brought the project together in a cohesive manner as she was able to engage with all involved, at all times highly professional and organised.

Wool Yorkshire was a speculative bid to provide documentary photography for a cross college project, but resulted in much wider photography brief involving studio fashion and event photography. My responsibilities included documentary photographs of the textile environment and of fellow students creating their art work using textile materials. I also became involved in studio photography for student portfolios, press releases and event photography of the launch night. My photographs appeared in print and online publications, websites and the media. In addition to specific photographic skills across the genres, I also developed professional skills in dealing with clients and agencies and had to consider the professional side of my work in terms of legal and copyright issues. Contacts I had made with the textile industry through the Wool Yorkshire collaboration, provided me with an invaluable basis for my final year project, and the resulting photographs were selected to feature in a regional exhibition 'One's to Watch'. My completed final year project was also featured in the Guardian's Graduate selection of 2014. More recently, I submitted the photographs I had taken in the textile factory to a national print competition and was successful in being awarded a £750 print bursary. Awareness of my photography via the project, also led to further professional photographic work with the College's marketing department. When I made the initial proposal to the project team, I could not have imagined that the project would provide me with so many different professional and vocational opportunities, in addition to developing project management, communication, presentation, team work, legal and financial skills. (Student evaluation).

Karen brought direction and openness to take calculated risks to the project with her photography work. Showing the importance of shared collaboration and giving autonomy to students and practitioners.

Sarah a BA Interdisciplinary Art & Design student, had previously completed her Access course at the college; she was a first year student when applying for the project.

I took on the Wool Week project mainly to stay match fit over the summer and to put what I'd learned in the first year into practice. It was a big chunk of work that went towards PPP (Professional practice) but more importantly it was the insight into my practice that has been useful. I learned a lot from the project in ways that I didn't expect. I expected to gain in experience from working on a live brief and a public exhibition, which I did but I also learned about myself and my practice. How I think about what I do and how other people see what I do and how different those points of view can be. Specifically, I saw the hats as a conceptual art piece, the overwhelming majority of feedback I received was hugely positive, but

saw the work as a fashion/accessory, as something commercial, saleable. I saw connections between material, place and history – other people saw nice hats. I think with hindsight it made me feel a bit misunderstood, and that has made me explore questions surrounding how work is put before an audience, how meaning can be developed through display, to think more deeply about what the conceptual content of my work means to me and how that is presented to an audience.

Sarah's installation piece also featured at Sunny Bank Mills' *Ones to Watch* exhibition 2014.

I'm starting to think now about what happens after college and it is frankly terrifying, but I feel much better prepared to take on those challenges, having been involved with live projects like Wool Week while I still have the support of College.

The Millinery Collective
This was a team of seven graduating millinery students who had come together and devised an aspirational and challenging display of nine large lit frames that would hang from the ceiling displaying their headwear designs within. They were a group who had successfully worked collaboratively whilst students and anticipated that this would be the case in the project. Initially they all shared the workload and developed their pieces off site, they were actively involved in site meetings and were present for the photo shoots etc. The actual installation and take down were more demanding and two members of the team shouldered most of the work, with others less engaged. As the work was not part of their qualification it didn't hold the gravitas and responsibility.

Feedback from one of the collective who was very engaged highlights this:
The only way I used the project afterwards was at the exhibition at the Knit and Stitch show. The image of my crown was also used on the cover of a local Stockport paper when they were advertising the 'Making Headway' exhibition at Hat Works. I wouldn't say it impacted on my work afterwards in a direct manner. I believe it went someway to help with my application to the 'Making Headway' project. I did not find it helped with further work with local industry. I would work with local industry again if the opportunity arose. I would however be very careful about whom that business was and would make sure everyone's roles and responsibilities were clearly defined. (student evaluation)

Negotiating a joint enterprise gives rise to relations of mutual accountability among those involved. (Wenger, 1998)

Jess
Jess had graduated from BA Printed Textile, about to embark on the MA Textiles at Manchester Metropolitan University. Her final collection work examined the skyline and built environment in Yorkshire so the Wool Yorkshire project created

an opportunity to take this further. Her four metre lengths were hung from the balconies at the cross roads in VQ.

Wool Yorkshire was a project which, for me, worked as a catalyst within my practice of textile design to encourage the pursuit of further collaborative ventures with working textile mills and museums. Throughout my degree I developed a keen interest in textile heritage and my studies is Yorkshire led me to explore the woollen industry specifically. When the opportunity came up to be involved in a project with a mill still producing woollen goods I could see the potential it had to work alongside my studies in a very exciting way.

The project came about at the time I was spending between finishing my printed textile degree and beginning my textile practice Masters so it was a stepping stone between the two. On completion of the project it gave me the confidence to approach other companies and heritage institutions with design proposals. Following Wool Yorkshire I knew that there was a place within heritage for textile design and have made it the aim of my MA studies to continue exploring how. I am currently in the final stages of a print design project with a Textile Museum in Lancashire and am hoping to participate in another one with a different museum at the end of this year.

Keeping our textile heritage alive and continuing it through future generations is growing in importance and contemporary textile design is just one way in which we can engage this generation with it. Heritage and the Arts are both experiencing cuts at present, but so is education. This seems to open the door to possibilities which connect all these aspects of culture. Getting artists, makers and designers involved in projects which publicise and celebrate our heritage and using it to teach younger generations the value of its continuation.

Networking museums and working mills in a way which allows them to support and encourage each other.

We have such a wealth of heritage available to us and I believe the arts are an avenue which could make it accessible to all. (student evaluation)

Lilli

Lilli was a graduating Fine Art student, had experimented with yarn bombing and similar installation pieces in her own practice. The Wool Yorkshire Project developed this further with more illustrative pieces using the yarns manufactured by SIL.

Wool week was the first exhibition I exhibited in after my degree in fine art. My artwork in my final year of my degree predominantly involved using wool. I thoroughly enjoyed being able to work with people in the local community, use locally sourced materials and have my work shown in the town centre. Out of the people in the exhibition it was great to see how one media could be used in so many different ways. In the future I definitely would want to get involved in making art

work in the local community. This work has helped on my PGCE course as well over the last twelve months.

CONCLUSION

This project was an immense amount of work. Speaking about it recently to an external colleague from the Inclusive Arts Education Forum, they asked how we had managed to get away with taking such risks. We had taken a huge leap of faith that it would all work out, that all parties would deliver and taken on a vast amount of work to get there. Much of the work was done without remuneration or as additional work to full time day jobs. Support from the organisations and management was varied and occasionally the project was seen as an inconvenience and unnecessary.

Bringing such a disparate group of students together who in the main had not worked collaboratively and many were about to graduate brought its own issues which at the time we had not considered. Wenger notes that people who have related backgrounds will probably be able to form a community of practice with less mutual engagement than people whose prior practices are more distant to start with. (Wenger, 1998).

The students shared a context of practice from being within a specialist art College and the fact that they had autonomously chosen to be in an external project added to this shared notion. The staff from the institution and industry also had art school backgrounds creating further shared understanding. The range of communication tools helped support the disparate nature of the group, though on talking to participants it was the face to face meetings and factory visits that brought the most effective experience within the project. Communities of practice are important places of negotiation, learning, meaning and identity. (Wenger, 1998)

The project generated a lot or media for all parties within the project. The College had four regional print articles, one radio interview, one regional television news (Calendar), twelve web news articles. On social media it had over 1,000 Facebook hits and reached an audience of 102,000 on twitter. This was the most PR that any project the College had been involved in had reached. Also the footfall that occurs within the Victoria Quarter is far greater than any that would happen at End of Year Shows, so the number of people engaging with the students, the College and SIL Holdings was vast, approximately 6-8,000 daily. In conclusion the first step in building confidence in the textiles industry and developing joint partnerships with education and industry had successfully begun. Many lessons were gained from the project and if we were to begin again a structured project team would be in place and a more effective and accurate time line with time out from the day job. We

would also need to consider stronger support from line management whilst still retaining the opportunity to work laterally, between the lines.

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9

MODELLING THE NEEDS OF YOUNG FAMILIES IN RECONCILING CAREER AND FAMILY

INTRODUCTION

Literature survey on the topic of parenthood revealed an idea of role sharing among the parents. Research in Lithuania has shown that different families have different role divisions where some families are more man-dominated and some – more woman-dominated (Uzdila, 2012). However, the aspects of responsibility, family planning, career design, problem solving related to returning to work, foreseing possibilities for flexible schedule and professional development are analyzed by both partners together. Shared and conscious responsibility and role adjustment is defined as parenthood – father's and mother's presence in the family, their unity and cooperation in performing social roles. Contemporary individuals tend to take on many roles and responsibilities related to their family life and career, and that is leading to family and work conflict. Young adults are eager to intensively improve in their professional life whereas some are confronted by challenges and contradictions forcing them to modify their career of even change their vocation. The intention of the research was to analyze: the possibilities to reconcile family and career requirements for young families with children (under 12); ability to solve problems related to family needs; role tensions related to solving problems and possiblities for their reconciliation.

The goal of this paper is to present a family and career reconciliation model for young families, based on theoretical findings and qualitative research data (narratives). The object of the research is reconciliation of career and family.

The data was received from narratives of 15 young families 29-36 years old (with children up to 12 years) who participated in the research. The children did not participate in the research. Families were selected from different cities and towns in Lithuania and had 1-3 children. Families are encoded with the age of family members (father's and mother's age, children in the family and their age). The research is based on the analysis of the narratives (Søderberg, 2006) i.e. the retold

life episodes connected with children upbringing, work and family reconciliation opportunities and changes in career. The article presents a theoretical discussion and moves on to the presentation of the narrative data based on the paradigmatic analysis of the data (Virgilaite-Meckauskaite & Mazeikiene, 2012) by distributing them into categories prepared in the process of the theoretical analysis.

THEORY OF GENDER ROLES AND CONFLICT

There are different theories that are being used to analyze the relationship of work and family. The most dominant is a *conflict theory* (Parasuraman&Greenhouse, 2002). Due to the fact that time and human energy resources are limited, the conflict is inevitable (Hill, 2005). According to Coser (1974) concept, family and work are greedy institutions, seeking for unconditional and undivided loyalty from individuals. Working parents are facing conflicts in different situations, e.g., a working parent has to work late, so may miss his/her son's sports game or performance. If he/she is not able to stay late at work because of his/her child's game, the parent may feel like he/she is letting down his/her employer. Recent research has conceptualized that work-family conflict means a multidimensional construct with opportunities of work-family and family-work conflict theory (Micheal et al, 2009).

A theory of gender roles explains the difference between socially and culturally predicted roles that males and females are expected to perform in implementing their activities in different realms. In the context of our research, gender roles predict a range of responsibilities that men and women are expected to perform as professionals at work and in the family. As Parsons (Brockhouse, 2008) developed a nuclear family model in 1955, he presented and compared a traditional and non-traditional view of gender roles. He believed that women were bound for more expressive roles as emotional ties between family members and child bearing, whereas, men were to fulfill more external and instrumental roles at work related to career achievements and financial provision. The Parsons model was used to illustrate the extreme expectations on gender roles. It is more socially acceptable that a woman is taking more responsibility for the children needs and house-keeping duties possibly on the cost of smaller working hours and less responsibilities at work and consequently lower career possibilities, while for a man it is more socially acceptable to undertake an active role in his working life, with longer working hours, bigger responsibilities and higher career possibilities.

FACILITATION THEORY

However, the conflict theory may also be out-weighted by work-family facilitation and family-work *facilitation theory* (Hill, 2005). Work-family facilitation and family-work facilitation theory suggests that certain skills, attitudes and experiences acquired at work may facilitate performance of family duties as well as those acquired at work may increase work performance in professional work. The facilitation relationship between family and work was first indicated by Crouter (1984) who drew attention to the neglected side of work and family interface referring to positive side of the interaction (Figure. 1). According to Hill et al (2007) that trend changed during the 2000s when there was a clear shift in focus toward work and family facilitation. According to Frone (2003) work–family facilitation is defined as the extent to which participation at work [or home] is made easier because of the experiences, skills, and opportunities gained or developed at home [or work].

Figure 1. Family and work reconciliation model.
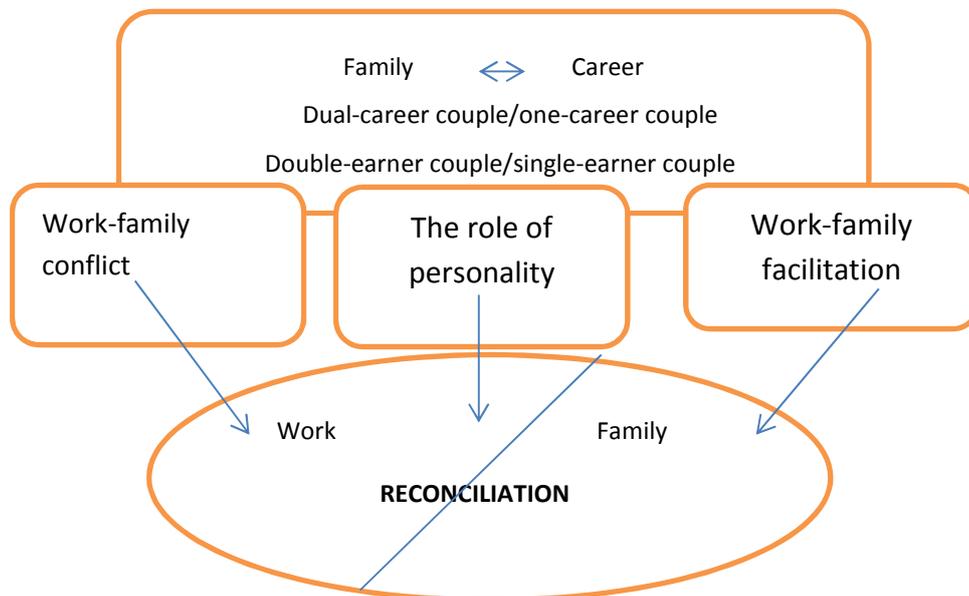
In the face of the analyzed three strains of conflict, facilitation and roles the dynamics of families dealing with career and family reconciliation situations, families are also effected by a set of internal and external factors that model the intensity of their situations. This forms a theoretical model of family and work reconciliation that may be related to dual-career of one-career couples as well as double earner or single earner couples that have no career intentions, but are financially oriented.

CAREER AND FAMILY LIFE

Dual-career couples have traditionally, even if subconsciously, accorded greater priority to the man's career, usually because his commands the higher income. Sekaran (1985) found that while both dual-career partners considered their careers to be equally central to their lives, women experienced greater role conflict and poorer mental health because they could not place their careers above their families in the same way as men. Thus, for women, the quality of their work life appeared to suffer as a result of forced compromise, particularly for those with high self-esteem and sense of competence (Sekaran, 1989).

When geographical relocation is expected by the male partner's employer, major conflict may arise. Most dual-career women find relocation difficult to confront and accommodate (Forster, 1990), and they may deliberately compromise their own careers to avoid domestic tensions (Elloy, Smith, 2003). Some have even been forced to change career directions because of marriage and family responsibilities (Elloy, Smith, 2003). However, recent research suggests that relocation decisions are now becoming more complex as couples place greater emphasis on both economic and quality of life considerations (Pierce, 1997). In dual-career families, because both partners typically have high expectations for enactment of professional and family identities (Gilbert, 1993), spouses most likely act in unity to accommodate stressors. Such actions are symbolic of couple interdependence and contribute to the image that each partner has of self and other (Bird, Schnurman-Crook, 2005). There is a large body of literature on coping in dual-career families that relies on individual and couple reports (Bird, Schnurman-Crook, 2005). However, it is common practice to describe coping as an individual effort made to reduce stress. The relational aspects of coping have largely gone unaddressed, leaving us with individual stress and coping models from which to extrapolate richer, more complex relational linkages.

Our aim here was to address those gaps in the literature using concepts from identity and stress and coping theories. Juggling the demands of two workplaces with the responsibilities of maintaining a home together require dual-earner couples to face sometimes perplexing dilemmas as wives' participation in paid employment increases (Fullerton & Toossi, 2001). One partner's career development and aspirations may be closely related to other partner's professional career. Research confirms such tendencies: respondents from dual career families have indicated higher levels of career and family conflict than in traditional families.

RESULTS OF THE NARRATIVES

The major topic that was revealed in analyzing the reconcilliation of family and career in the narratives was "Experiences of manifold conflict" that includes the following topics: "family influence on worklife, mother's inner conflict, searching for ballance between work and family, difficulties of time planning, challenges of coordinating different activities".

Families that participated in the narrative notice tension between family and work when family needs are to be combined with work challenges (P12):

> "There is tension to adjust work and family life due to constant burden of commuting kids to and from school and their after-school activities [...] if you could give yourself to work and not think about the fact that it is 12.00 now and I fly to drive my kid home. At our age – being 30+ you are not able to express yourself to your maximum – to do career or to devote yourself to work if you like it" (Family P 12: husband 32 yrs., wife 32 yrs., daughter 9 yrs., daughter 6 yrs.).

The analysis of family situations demonstrates a vivid conflict that is related to tension at work, longing for self-expression that is time-consuming and endangering family needs. When families discuss needs of their children they also mention their own needs (P6):

> "First, it is your job where you spend the most of your time - 50%, after work you give your evening time to your child – preparing homeworks and what he wants – reading a book, doing some crafts – it is about 30%, where as 20% is communication with a child, doing household chores and maybe reading a book in the evening when children are asleep" (Family P6: husband 33 yrs., wife 34 yrs., son 5 yrs., daughter 3 yrs.).

Family P 13 experience demonstrates their endeavor to reconcile family and career. At the same time they seek to navigate and adjust in work situations, trying to keep professional levels as well as being a full-fledged family member as well. However, this attempt to combine family and career needs to their maximum is stripping them off personal free time and possibilities to improve according to their personal desires:

> "I try to navigate between being a good professional and a good dad. You struggle, but being professional depends not only on your efforts, but also on your abilities and talents. You try to keep the ballance and

achieve at work as well as to cater all the family members to make them all feel good. You sacrifice your own personal time to improve and to learn in order to contribute to the family welfare" (Family P13: husband 32 yrs., wife 32 yrs., son 6 yrs., son 3yrs., daughter 4 mnths.).

An example of family P2 may illustrate that mothers who decide to have their children and study or work, experience inner conflict of multiple parralel roles of being a mother, a student or an employee. Several mothers articulate their doubts of such earlier decissions and when analyzing their experiences conclude that maybe they better had to say „no" and devote more time to the family:

"I somehow managed to juggle my work, studies and growing a baby, but I compare myself to other mothers who do not study or work, but devote those 2 years (of maternal leave) only to the baby, they are happy, relaxed and enjoy so many things that I could not afford. I probably should have said «No»" (Family P2: husband 36 yrs., wife 34 yrs.,daughter 7 yrs.).

There also is a problem of time planning when one has to consider not only adequate time planning for work and family as such but also planning one's attention to family members and yourself as a person (P6):

"For example I think that in my case family is of gross importance for me as well as I take my work seriously, so sometimes you start feeling guilty or start questionning yourself: do I give sufficient time trying to reconcile family and work, as I really devote quite a lot of time to my work, do I pay enough attention to my children or my husband" (Family P6: husband 33 yrs., wife 34 yrs., son 5 yrs. ir daughter 3 yrs.).

Families also meet situations where they have to combine different activities and perform their roles. Sometimes a solution is a temporary withdrawal (P14):

"I had to navigate: I had to perform at work, be a good mother and housewife at home, and also to write my PhD [...] you feel spread out and that it is not fully good in any field, [...] there is no harmony. You work and spend time with the kids, but it is hard psychologically, as you want to be a good mother and also a good professional. Huge tension... Then you start having conflicts with the kides. And then you have to decide what is more important to you: financies or your kids" (Family P14: husband 30 yrs.,wife 29 yrs., son 6 yrs., daughter 4 yrs.).

The other important trend that is analyzed in this paper is related to the topic "Adjustment of family needs to avoid conflict". This topic relates to six subtopics: *purposeful family planning, symbiosis of relationships and agreement, extended family support, value of partner's support, increasing responsibility in the family, search for compromises.*

Purposeful planning related to family life and family planning is mentioned as an important component trying to avoid conflict (P6):

> "In our case we were planning our family – having one child after the other. This made family and career reconcilliation purposeful and also quite simple. It came out naturally that the first child was born and the mother stayed, the father continued working, he probably did not even question that even though he had really helped a lot, but his work did not suffer. When the second child was born, nothing really changed for both of us" (FamilyP6: husband 33 yrs., wife 34 yrs., son 5 yrs., daughter 3 yrs.).

A lot of attention is paid to harmony in relationships and perceived avoiding of a conflict through support and mutual understanding (P8):

> "We prioritized that it is important to stay with the child in his second year as well. We truly support each other, encourage improving, learning and trying new activities, etc. However, at the moment we are engaged in the most important and major activity – preparation of a new person for life. It is important that life goals of both would coinside, because if one would only care about his career and the other – only about the family, it would really be very" (Family P8: husband 28 yrs., wife 29 yrs., daughter 6 mnths.).

Extended family members are a big support when it comes to urgent situations and problems (P13):

> "In our case the most complicated part is when children get sick, and it is really very convenient when someone from the family may take care of them. However, our parents still have many years till they get retired. So if their work would change and they could not help us, and we would he to hire a nanny, we could not afford staying that long on a sickness leave" (Family P13: husband 32 yrs., wife 32 yrs., son 6 yrs., son 3yrs., daughter 4 mnths.).

Husband's support is identified as one of the most important factors for reconcilliation when career and family needs' planning as well as trust and harmony is considered (P8):

"Husband's support is huge. He is doing his best for me to keep improving and not focusing on solely the child bringing. He understands that I may not stop my career and have to return to work after a year, and therefore now is not a very good time to plan a second child" (Family P8: husband 28 yrs., wife 29 yrs., daughter 6 mnths.).

It is noticed that father's responsibility is growing as the child is growing as well. As family P12 dad notices, the good experience at work is transferred to the family as well:

"My idea is that in the very beginning the mother is the most important, while the father's role increases as the child grows. I, as a man may give my kids the things that their mother may not in our case. Both our children are girls but I may also contribute to their development in sports – bikes, swimming, games – I start their development and my role is increasing" (Family P 12: husband 32 yrs., wife 32 yrs., daughter 9 yrs., daughter 6 yrs.).

Seeking to agree and solve the situations families also mention compromises. Family 7 husband mentions that previously he used to devote his family only the weekend as he was working on the week days, while his wife used to take more responsibilities during the week:

"For me my studies did not interfare – I simply had to use the efforts to reconcile my studies and the family. I refused my free time for at least two years. So it was work, my textboos and family as much as it was possible. My wife had to take more load of child care, while I tried to spend more time with the family on the weekends" (Family P7: husband 31yrs., wife 32yrs., daughter 3 yrs.).

The third topic is more oriented towards designing and changes in career that are related to changes in the family. The main topic "Individual and dual career design in the family" includes the subtopics: *purposefull career planning, one family member career planning for one-career couples, career design for dual-career couples, work activity of two persons not seeking for career - double-earner couples, motives for postponed career, reasons for suspended career, searching personal ID in the vocational context.*

Agreements and support are important for families with small children when they are planning their careers. As family 12 mentions, it is important to seek for compromises and decide up to the given situation which parent should be more active in career planning:

> "However, it is clear that if my husband was doing better at work, I had to sacrifice and my career suffered, but when I was experiencing a rise and I had better opportunities to achieve something, he sacrificed" (Family P 12: husband 32 yrs., wife 32 yrs., daughter 9 yrs., daughter 6 yrs.).

Parents emphasize that it is important to think not only about one's career, but also to take into consideration the needs of the children and family. The daughter in the family P8 is very small but when planning their careers the parents feel a need to stay with their daughter as long as she needs. They also emphasize the importance of parents having the same attitudes on the child raising and their career.

> "We made a decission [wife], that I will take care of our daughter as the baby needs me, and husband will take care of her for the second year. I [husband]have also wanted to contribute to growing our daughter and I am happy that there is a possibility for the parents to exchange places in those two first years[24] " (Family P8: husband 28 yrs., wife 29 yrs., daughter 6 mnths.).

There are also several different career planning trends – these are *dual-earner couples*, *one-career couples*, *double-earner couples*. Family P9 husband has pointed out that thinking of the financial stability influence one of the parents to take more responsibility and to plan one's career for higher position that is related to higher wages:

> "Better wages was really felt, we talk, discuss and search for solutions related to work a lot. However, when it is not so tight financially, wife is also not upset even if I work more [...] I started looking for additional jobs exactly due to this „However", because when you have two children, expenses rocket, besides we have a mortgage, so I really had to do something to improve the living conditions to all of us" (Family P 9: husband 33 yrs.,wife 34 yrs., daughter 6 yrs., daughter 4 yrs.).

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[24] In Lithuania one of the parents may take a maternity/paternity leave for a maximum of 2 years with partial salary compensated.

As family P14 indicates, they did not consider dual career, but tried not to restrict each other as well as to relate their career plans to family needs and values:

"Our mutual contribution are children and cherishing the family, keeping traditions and values, supporting each other and going on. And of course, I think, we feel responsibility that you have to keep going and going forward. It is a good question if we are seeking for career or have goals. Well, you just see that your partner would be happy and help him a bit" (Family P14: husband 30 yrs., wife 29 yrs., son 6 yrs., daughter 4 yrs.).

Family P8 indicates that they are not „careerists" and family needs have always been more important.

"[...] It is probably important that perhaps neither of us are careerists. For us family has always been in the first place. We do not tear ourselves for higher positions. In my opinion it is better to be an expert in your own field as I am not created for management. My husband would also be a lousy manager [...] " (Family P8: husband 28 yrs., wife 29 yrs., daughter 6 mnths.).

The analysis of family narratives has revealed a very strong motive for a postponed career (P12). In such a case one partner is adjusting to the partner's needs and meanwhile is thinking about partner's welfare and a possibility to realize himself once the situation changes:

"When the baby is small you really refuse many things. We do have roles and his position is more responsible. His career [...] in our family is more important. For example, I had an opportunity go abroad with my family and have a job with good wages, but I refused as who he would be there, what his career would be worth? Financially perhaps it would have been easier, but he would not realize himself" (Family P 12: husband 32 yrs., wife 32 yrs., daughter 9 yrs., daughter 6 yrs.).

There are also cases of suspended career (P5). It is usually related to studies that are also meant for further steps up in the career ladder, where as getting to know about pregrancy, leads to refuse the idea:

"I was pregnant during my thesis defence, yet, I was always planning to go for PhD [...] however I found out that I am pregnant and refused the plan, [...] I did not want to tear myself apart. If I was bringing a child I

wanted to give myself fully to him [...] '' (Family P5: husband 34 yrs., wife 33 yrs., daughter 6 yrs, daughter 4 yrs.

There are mothers who return after maternal leave and get actively involved into the professional career. However, when their children grow they start feeling a need to try themselves in other areas and get established in their activity:

"I really have ideas to change my direction. I think that even when your children grow older, if the job is taking too much of your free time, you need to look for other solutions. I am doing my best to change my work direction. [...] there always is your career and your child" (Family P2: husband 36 yrs., wife 34 yrs., daughter 7 yrs.).

To summarize, it is important to say that first, in this paper the perspective was family-work-family. Analyzing family situation from this angle several possibilities may be considered when the family is dual career couple with both partners giving equal attention to their career. The family may also be one career couple when only one partner has career goals, where as the other is postponing his/her career and takes care of the household. Depending on the career perception in the family, there may arise conflicts, role redistributions as well as search for support measures. The results of the research also allow to presume that there are families that do not plan career and career changes in the future. Some families have only goals related to the family financial stability. However, it has to be indicated that the major block in the young family's pursuit to reconcile work/career and family is a conflict that includes work-family/family-work conflict and role implementation.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Empirical data (narrative) analysis has allowed to expand the elements of the theoretical model by revealing internal and external factors as well as specifying the system of facilitation, emphasizing the aspects that are more contributing or more interfering with the reconciliation of career and family. The model was suplemented with the factors of career designing and maturity of family relations. The factor of family maturity is analyzed through the elements contributing to the reconciliation (deliberate and timely family planning, carrying family burdens and responsibilities, symbiosis of relations and self-realization, etc.) and elements generating tension in the process of family and career reconciliation (a family model of a man bread-bearer, who is responsible for the monetary provision, different partner attitudes towards career and self-realization needs, etc.).

Several new tendencies have revealed themselves and contributed as well as partly modified a theoretical model of young families' career and family reconciliation model. The major block relates to the work-family/family-work conflict (Carlso et al, 2000; Ahman, 2008) and to role conflict, personal inner conflict and family activity adjustment conflict. Besides, it has been noticed that young parents quite often think about changing their work place, however, due to an inner conflict related fear of temporary loosing financial family stability, they postpone changing their workplace for the future when their children are older. Therefore, the research has revealed the importance of career designing and the fact whether a family is single or dual career family. At this point the change of roles comes out, when parents have to continue with the regular duties and also perform their new parental responsibilities, what requires rigid planning and discipline.

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10

THE ATTITUDE OF EMPLOYERS TO PARENTHOOD AND WORK RECONCILIATION OPPORTUNITIES AND RELEVANT MEANS IN RESPECT OF YOUNG FAMILIES

INTRODUCTION

The notion of 'reconciliation' has usually been couched in gender-neutral language and has often been taken to mean the 'harmonization' of paid and unpaid work for women, rather than 'harmonization' in the sense of equal sharing between men and women at the household level. Nevertheless, most of the key documents on work/family reconciliation issued during the early and mid-1990s made explicit reference somewhere, if only in passing, to the desirability of men and women 'sharing employment and family responsibilities'.

Employers maintain that different legal acts diminish and protect the issue of parenthood and work reconciliation, but often it remains at the theoretical level or is forgotten altogether. In such cases the agreement with the employer and his/her favourable or adverse attitude towards the employee are exceptionally important. Surely, one should take into account the workload and the specificity of the job. It cannot be maintained that employers may suffer if in the process of consultation and cooperation there is an attempt to find a compromise which consequently helps to avoid staff turnover and save resources for their training. (Den Dulk, 2001).

The aim of the article is to examine the main opportunities of work and parenthood reconciliation for young families in the workplace. The analysis of the employers' attitude and means of support provided for young families in the workplace is presented. The present research aims at determining the means of support in organisations for young families in reconciliation of work and parenthood. The object of research – parenthood and work reconciliation. Research methods – literature and document analysis, semi-structured interview with employers and the analysis of interview results with the help of content analysis (deductive method).

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARENTHOOD AND WORK RECONCILIATION: EMPLOYER'S APPROACH

Moen (2003) is analysing the issue of outdated attitude to working hours, workweeks and career paths in the light of the fact that in the contemporary society both spouses are members of the labour market and still have to meet the needs of their growing children. For dual-earner households time is always an issue – with two jobs, two commutes, long work hours, high job demands, business travel, several cars, children, ailing parents, time is built into jobs and make a continuous full-time, what raises a necessity to re-imagine and reconfigure work hours or workweeks and occupational career paths and working modes (telecommuting could be among the options) to address the widening gaps between the time needs of employees and their families. Parents who have their professional and family life are using their potential, creativity and excellence in professional, social and personal domains, but dual-income couples have less time together, their schedules are complex to the limits and that reduces marriage satisfaction and levels of happiness.

Woman/man (in case of paternal leave) returns to her work full-time or part time after the designated paid parental leave is over. In this case the family will function on dual career regime and enjoy the advantage of two salaries in the family and parent's minor professional and career absenteeism, need for professional re-skilling and upgrading. However, this will also increase stress levels for the mother and the whole family in terms of early morning routines, time spent for commuting to/from care centres and parents work in terms of very little time left to spend with the children, tiredness, lack of sleep, dealing with emergencies like children's sickness, attending day-care or school events. When trying to decrease this tension some women choose to gradually transfer into self-employed career path (Hewlet, 2007).

Another alternative is transferring into self-employed business thus making more possibilities to reconcile their active career, level of income and caring for children as well as providing them with more educational activities outside school, like sports, arts, etc. In this pathway it is suggested (Brown, 2013) to transfer to self-employment gradually, possibly starting from part-time employment and entering independent business or freelance career and later getting fully on your own. This option reconciles work/family conflict but is not eliminating one. There remains tension between the self-employed woman's time management in terms of work, child care and after school activities. The boundary between work and parenthood responsibilities gets void and it is important to set certain rules and priorities in order to succeed in both. A self-employed parent combining own business or freelance career and children care has to adopt a work and family pattern that is acceptable to them, e.g., individual work pace, time of day when she is the most productive and the most creative, physical place to work, etc., in other words it is

important to create a unique working culture that helps to make the best of the time and resources available for a given person.

The state policy is oriented towards the employment system encouraging individuals, men and women, regardless of their family obligations to work by developing family friendly workplaces, expanding the application of flexible work organisation forms, stimulating the dialogue between social partners, reducing the gap between salaries for men and women and nurturing the Lithuanian human capital that supports the competitiveness of our state. All over the EU employers on their own accord can provide support for employees that would offer opportunities to reconcile professional and family life effectively. These could be family holidays, maternity, paternal or foster care leaves and allowances, as well as unpaid holidays with the right to continue career and holidays in unexpected cases, for example the illness of the child.

According to the research (Hill, 2005), support at work is associated with less work family conflict and higher work, family and individual well-being. Family-friendly workplace practices are offering flexibility and emergency on-site nurseries/crèches in cases of unexpected childcare emergencies or „care gaps" or on-site day camps for school holidays, job-sharing schemes, subsidies for childcare, entitlement to work from home, possibilities to change to part-time, etc. Different economic data and research confirm that creative and open-minded companies that adapt family-friendly workplace practices gain in terms of performance (Vermeulen, 2011). It may be argued that these companies are generally well-doing in any case, but it is also true that part of their success is due to the supportive attitude to their employees, who pay back in terms of loyalty and contribute to the financial success of the company.

A survey conducted with 450 manufacturing firms in Germany, France, UK and US (Bloom et al, 2010) made in-depth investigation of family-friendly workplace practices (FFWP) and relation to company productivity. The FFWP is considered as options for the workers to choose less working hours, offering child-care in the premises, child-care subsidies, working from home in normal working hours in case of unexpected illness emergency, etc. Bloom et al (2010) also found that firms with a higher proportion of female managers and more skilled workers and also firms that implement quality management procedures tend to implement more FFWP. Implementation of FFWP bears considerable expenses for the company, but it may improve employee retention and morale. This is especially to be said to the fact that some high skilled and company-specific employees may be retained from choosing other alternatives. Implementation of FFWP in companies with higher proportion of female managers is explained by the assumption that women take more family caring duties and may demand more FFWPs and being managers they are in a better position to implement these practices beneficial for their own interests.

The research has found positive correlation between firm productivity and FFWP, but also indicated that this positive correlation disappears when variables such as quality management measures are taken into consideration – in other words, companies that implement FFWP also tend to have quality management measures and it makes less clear which aspect is making more influence on the companies productivity. However, despite the fact that strategic management is looking for financial results increase of the company, introduction of FFWP has a positive impact on a company's employee well-being psychological and physical, which definitely has a positive influence on the productivity and achievements of the organization as well. As correlation of implementing FFWP and company's financial increase may be questionable when controlling the variable of quality management practices (Bloom et al, 2010), it is clear that FFWPs are relate to an endeavour not to lose key skilled employees and also resonates with recent works on corporate social responsibility (Brammer and Millington, 2008).

The challenges of family-friendly policy in the process of work and family reconciliation depend on the legal basis of the country, for example on decisions of state institutions, work culture and most often on the relationship between employees and employers (Kempe and Otonkorpi-Lehtoranta, 2006). Allowances provided by employers, based on flexible work organization forms like shorter work days and sliding schedules, favourable approach to maternity leave and problem solving with the employee who is raising a child have the greatest impact on the reconciliation family and work.

METHODOLOGY

The article presents the data of the research "Parenthood and work reconciliation opportunities and relevant means for young families" based on the interview with employers. The research was carried out in February-April of 2015. 14 employers (see Table 1) from different institutions and counties took part in the research. The sample was created with the help of targeted selection method in non-probability sampling when the list of research participants includes organisations with different activity status.

Table 1. The characteristics of the interview participants

Code of interview participants	Type of organisation/institution	Number of employees	Position of the interview participant
E1	Vocational school	155 persons	Director
E2	Catering institution	5 persons	Director
E3	University department	20 persons	Head of the department
E4	Preschool institution	38 persons	Head
E5	Progymnasium	72 persons	Deputy director
E6	Lower secondary school	26 persons	Director
E7	Public limited liability company (raw material recycling)	582 persons	Personnel manager
E8	Transport company	20 persons	Director
E9	Transport and cargo transportation company	23 persons	Director
E10	Private limited company Foreign Language centre	50 persons	Director
E11	Individual enterprise (photo services)	15 persons	Company owner
E12	Private limited liability company (production of blanks)	25 persons	Director
E13	State institution/polyclinic department	8 persons	Head of the department
E14	State institution (art area)	133 persons	Director

The questions of the semi-structured interview were prepared according to theoretical insights with the orientation towards the following topics: a) creation of work environment favourable for young families; b) necessity of flexible work schedule; c) development of order regulating support in respect to the needs of young parents. Research results are presented on the basis of Satu and Kyngäs (2008) method of text analysis. A method of deduction is used when subcategories, categories and the main theme are given.

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

The analysis of research results accentuated one of the central themes – "Creation of work environment favourable for young families" covering two categories "Creation of work environment favourable for young families and forms of support" and "Creation of work schedule suitable for young families".

The first category "Creation of work environment favourable for young families and forms of support" encompasses four subcategories emphasising information conveyance and introduction of valid legal documents, provision of allowances for young families in work places, indication of favourable means and forms of support and opportunities for carer planning (Fig.1).

Employers most often discuss the issues related to allowances and validation of the needs of young families with the personnel office. Employers (E8, E9, E10, E13) state that they know the main aspects of giving allowances and additional days to young parents (mother's day and father's day) and coordinate these issues with their employees. They are trying to determine the needs of their employees and constantly inform them about the changes in the law system. One of the employers - E9 noted:

> "We constantly follow the information about state provided support and relevant changes. Alterations in the work place are discussed individually by employees and the head of the company".

Employers actively support the idea of maternity and paternal leaves and are especially in favour of men who choose paternal leaves. Employers themselves try to adapt to emerging changes when in the case of maternity or paternal leaves they have to look for substitution. Employer E14 maintains that it takes a lot of effort to adjust to new situations in organisations where consistent planning and compliance with schedules are exceptionally important:

> "There is a law now allowing men to take one month of paternal leave – it would be silly not to use it, as it is very useful for the father and the child to spend a month together and is helpful for the wife, as well. But there rehearsals, planned performances and you can't do anything. You have to change plans, make adjustments with the director and the creative group. Of course, it does not happen often, but we had such cases and we had to adapt".

Young parents with small children are given the opportunity to take a day – off once a month and use it for purposes of the family. Such days are determined in

advance in discussions with the employer, therefore they do not cause significant inconveniences for the employees of the company and work results. Employer E10 maintains that today parents raising small children know their rights and are using them and that is only natural. It is very important that employees would be informed about the changes and new state decrees in this area.

Figure 1.

The tendencies of creation of work environment favourable for young families and forms of support.

Creation of workplaces and means of support favourable for young families

Providing information for young families
• <...we address the personnel office directly and they explain...>
• <...it is my duty as a director to spread information...>
• <...if I have questions I call the personnel office and consult...>
• <...we disseminate information in meetings or in the website..>
• <...employees are always informed about the government suggestions ...>

Allowances for young families
• <...can have mother's days, may not come on the 1st of September ...>
• <...can choose a day-off ...>
• <...parents know their rights and use them ...>
• <...sickness notes when children are ill...>
• <...New Year performances and gifts for children...>

Favourable means and support for young families
• <...kindergarten available for employees is the most significant means...>
• <...there is a recreation room...>
• <...we need to have a more flexible approach and offer help...>
• <...they are motivated by the feeling of care on the part of the employer...>
• <...we are seeking conveniences for the employees ...>
• <...internal encouragement system ...>

Opportunities for career planning
• <...they can participate in different trainings..>
• <...new position is offered...>
• <...they are invited to continue at the higher level of studies...>
• <...depends on the company activity and development ...>
• <...organisation has something to offer...>
• <...though the institution is small, there are opportunities in career progression ...>

Kindergarten establishment near the workplace could be considered the most prominent initiative and support in order to help young families to get to work. District public limited company (E7) states that a kindergarten was established in the

period of the project implementation. After it was over in 2012, the kindergarten still continued its activity with the support and funds of the company. It is obvious that realisation of this idea is not an easy task, but quite many employers are thinking about it. The head of the state institution working in the art sphere (E14) also mentions a possibility to establish a kindergarten near the work place. The head of the policlinics department (E13) speaks about her plans to set up a room for children:

"You know, I'm thinking about such a room. It would be wonderful as I'm also a mother; I have a daughter who has holidays and does not have what to do in the city. She would love to come and stay with me while I'm at work. Such a room is really an excellent idea".

The deputy director of the pro-gymnasium (E5) notes that the school attempted to rejuvenate the staff and at present 13 new employees raising small children are working there. She emphasises the importance of goodwill and positive attitude:

It has to be acknowledged that for a long time teachers in Lithuania have mostly been women, therefore they understand and remember how they raised their own children or grandchildren. It is the circle of motherhood comprehension".

The representative of the public limited company (E7) maintains that employees who feel the employer's interest not only in the work performance, but also in the employee's family and life situation are more motivated at work, become more loyal and perform their duties better. Employers also encourage young workers to raise qualification and take up higher positions at work. It shows that an employee is supported not only in terms of work and family reconciliation, but is also encouraged to develop knowledge and qualification. To illustrate this statement, the encouragement by employer E5 of the teacher to take up management courses and apply to the deputy director's position could be presented. Another example could be in connection to the activity of the lower secondary school (E6) when, having established the position of a social educator, the institution employee was given the opportunity to take up this position, study and develop in this sphere. It surely also depends on the needs and development of the institution, but employers maintain that in the case of changes the employees of the institution are always offered the new positions. The head of the policlinics department (E13) also admits that it is to a large extent the individual's decision – if the employee decides to develop and study further, such idea is always supported. Still, when the employee

chooses to commit to the family and small children, the employer backs up this decision, as well.

The second category "Creation of work schedule suitable for young families" covers five subcategories emphasising flexible work schedule, employer's goodwill in discussing the schedule, opportunity to speak about the employees' needs, ways of resolving problems and job specificity that does not allow to adjust the work schedule (Fig.2).

When looking into the opportunities of flexible work schedule, employers say that such issues as employee's wishes and needs in connection to work schedules and future work results are discussed in the workplace. The school director (E5) states that they are trying not to plan morning classes when preparing the timetable or "to make some day of the week free, i.e. methodical day". It is also notable that employers are willing to use various ICT tools in order to facilitate the employees' situation when adjustments are to be made in the case of family problems related to the child's illness (E10). Such way of working especially suits the employees who work with projects. This idea is also supported by the interview participant E8:

> "If there is a need, it is possible to adjust the circumstances and conditions in relation to what kind of job the employee has to do and how, and what are the opportunities to do it out of the workplace environment. If it does not influence or otherwise harm the job quality, it can be done remotely. We have used this method successfully, so far there haven't been any specific negative cases".

The idea that employees of educational institutions have more favourable conditions in adjusting their timetable was very prominent in the answers. The head of the kindergarten (E4) says that work schedule can be chosen and the administration is flexible in timetable creation:

> "Our schedules are flexible, as educators work 7 hours; so if they start at 7:30,they finish at 13:30 and if they start at 13:30, they work until 17:30. There are also non-contact hours, but they are distributed – that does not mean that they have to sit and work with a specific child".

This idea is supported by the head of the higher school department (E3) and the school director (E1):

> "We have favourable conditions at school as we can regulate workloads, the number of classes and the timetable. If this is service staff, working hours can also be regulated according to their needs, e.g. if the husband

has to work longer, we change the work hours so that it would be more convenient for the family to deal with their problems".

The employers also say that opportunities are created for young parents who have pre-school children to work part of the day.

Figure 2.

Creation of flexible schedule for a young family and the goodwill of the employer.

Creation of work schedule favourable for young families

Creation of flexible work schedule
- <...we try to create a more flexible work schedule...>
- <...the employee gets a day-off...>
- <...we adjust work time individually depending on possibilities...>
- <...we try to implement a distance management system...>
- <...if it does not impair work quality, activity is performed at home...>
- <...they can adjust their workload to the needs of their family...>
- <...business trips are planned with respect to the family needs...>
- <...an opportunity to work part-time...>

Type of activity is not favourable for schedule adjustments
<...we have very strict rules in our institution...>
<...it is important to keep to the work load...>
<...the specificity of work does not give opportunities .. work in the canteen is specific...>
<...we are working with people who have mental disorders...>

Leader's goodwill
- <...we are trying to adapt to the employees' needs and possibilities...>
- <...we take into account the employees' needs and try to meet them...>
- <...we coordinate and consult...>
- <...there are changes of agenda...>
- <...we openly express our expectations and take into account the possibilities of employees...>

Expression of employees' needs
- <...it is very important that the employees would openly speak about their needs...>
- <...they can choose workload and adjust to their family...>
- <...we give one day-off a week on the request of the employee...>
- <...adjustment of holiday time with their needs and the schedule of educational institutions...>
- <...we ensure comfortable environment and opportunities to speak about the problems...>

Solution of emerging problems
- <...we always agree about some hours or half of the day...>
- <...we give an opportunity to leave work earlier...>
- <...good results are important, even if they can be achieved at home...>
- <...we try to be flexible and look for substitution...>
- <...in case of problems it is possible to compensate by working some other day ..
- <... it is not required to work a fixed amount of hours, a well done job is most important...>
- <...planned and unplanned leaves are coordinated and finalised in documents ..>

The concept of goodwill in this research demonstrates the efforts of employers to adjust to the employees' needs and possibilities in search for mutually favourable decision (E7, E8, E10). The director of the private limited company

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(E12) remarks that she does not use additional means as she simply knows who of her employees need and additional free day and tries to find a compromise. The head of the policlinics department (E13) says that there are different situations at work, children have high temperature, they have to go to the doctor so it is natural that employees sometimes ask to let them leave for a couple of hours or sometimes they even take a sick leave. In such cases they make some changes in everyday routine activities and this is only a situation at work that has to be solved.

The school director (E5) confirms that problems are tackled flexibly and they look for a teacher who could substitute for the colleague whose children are ill. If unexpected situations happen in the family, as employer (E7) maintains, they always react promptly and coordinate their activities with the employee. The owner of the photo service enterprise (E11) notes that: "if there is no urgent work in the company and the employee has some days when the workload is smaller, we allow him/her to leave work". It is also maintained that work results are more important than the fact that they are achieved in the workplace (E10).

It is noted that some working environments are complex and not favourable for flexible work schedule, e.g. the department of social workers in the hospital. The head of this department (E13) says that there are strict rules in this institution, time accounting statements are to be filled in and the work character is not so favourable for flexible work schedule as it is a budget institution working from 8.00 to 17.00. Still it is noted that there are efforts to coordinate the situation with the employees and give them an opportunity to leave work for a couple of hours or for a half of the day for serious reasons. The owner of the private limited company (E12) states that there is no possibility to compensate for the hours out of work, because the company is in the centre of the town and it is also impossible to work on weekends as there will be too much noise. This company simply makes changes in the daily routine if one of the workers does not come. It is also important that this company employs specialists who are experts in their field and, therefore, they are difficult to be substituted for.

Employers say that they always try to hear the needs of employees and make possible adjustments following their requests for holidays and days-off. The employees can distribute their workload in accordance with family needs. Interview participant E8 says that he always tries to ensure that employees would have comfortable working environment, that they would have an opportunity to openly speak about their problems, special needs and troubles in the family if there are such. A suitable solution, satisfying all the parties concerned can be found in discussion.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

When pursuing family and work reconciliation, it is important that family members would actively participate in the dialogue with the employer and would take part in the processes of family and work reconciliation which include understanding of state regulated documents about allowances for families raising small children, discussion of work schedule and alternatives for work rescheduling, ability to speak about personal needs in the organisation and development of the dialogue with the employer and colleagues. The stereotypical approach that a woman stays at home with a child and the man goes to work has been moved to the background and is no longer popular. At present both parents are actively involved in reconciliation of working activity and parenthood when the roles of both mother and father have assimilated in the economic sense, i.e. they are both equally responsible for the planning of the family budget and reconciling of professional activity with family needs. It is significant that discussions lead to a conclusion about the necessity to create conditions and opportunities for a family to develop abilities to solve problems, build contacts and make commitments. The present research shows that employers are positive about young families; they want to develop a dialogue with employees and support them. Employers could show initiative in organising *consultations* to employees how to reconcile family and work and seminars on the issues of work and family needs adjustment. They could turn to experts for help and employ other means enabling staff members in an organisation, as well as their families to successfully adapt to the changed life conditions or to cope with temporary difficulties or those of the transitional period.

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TRAJETÓRIAS MAMBEMBES E GRADIENTES, PERCURSOS DESCONTÍNUOS: TRABALHO X ESCOLA O DUELO QUE RONDA AS JUVENTUDES DAS CLASSES POPULARES

Gaudêncio Frigotto, no prefácio à obra de Eveline Algebaile: *Escola pública e pobreza no Brasil* (2009), nos coloca que a educação básica, a educação superior e a educação profissional definem-se no embate hegemônico e contra-hegemônico que se dá em todas as esferas da sociedade; de modo que não podem ser tomadas como fatores isolados, mas como parte de uma totalidade histórica complexa e contraditória. Inspirada por suas considerações, tomarei ainda de empréstimo duas categorias comentadas criticamente por Rossana Reguillo (2003): a dos "jovens incorporados" e a dos "jovens dissidentes ou alternativos" e tentarei contribuir com ambas ao construir um outro conceito de juventude, a *juventude gradiente* ou *mambembe.*

Formado por jovens das classes populares, oscilam por trajetórias que se impõem em suas vidas e em relação às quais não possuem autonomia para rejeitá-las, tem, para tanto, de dar conta de uma gama de tarefas que lhe aparecem por suas aquém-condições. O conceito versaria então pelas muitas possibilidades que se abrem a esses sujeitos nessa fase da vida, mas que muita das vezes (em sua maioria) eles não conseguem transpô-las do âmbito inteligível, do plano simbólico para o âmbito sensível, real. Em outras palavras, nesse período em que muitas possibilidades aparecem, os jovens se vêem com um leque de possibilidades de futuro, mas tendo de dar conta de um sem-número de demandas relativas à sua classe social e às suas condições socioeconômicas. Naturalmente, eles se veem compelidos à inclinação por uma ou muitas delas, porém, em inúmeras vezes, sem as condições de base para sua realização ou mesmo sua continuidade. E é aí que o perverso ideal do mérito individual se faz presente, deste modo, em frases do tipo:

> "Eu fazia aula de música num projeto aqui no morro e já tocava em orquestra e tudo, mas parei porque tinha que dar conta em casa e música era coisa de vagabundo lá em casa! Não tinha que ser, né? Mas hoje eu, pelo menos, voltei a estudar!" (Diz Celinho, 27 anos, pai de 5 filhos e estudante do 2º ciclo de EJA).

Atrelando o conceito de juventude *gradiente* a uma das vertentes da cidadania, que é a educação, o jovem, abarcado pelas políticas sociais e de expansão da escola fica numa pressão gradiente de querer se envolver com os vários elementos cognitivos que lhe são ofertados, porém sem as bases necessárias que lhe confiram a legitimidade e as possíveis possibilidades para tanto. Cobrado em casa pela família que, em muitas vezes, não possui o capital educacional, social e econômico para dar o devido incentivo aos estudos dos filhos, acabam por reproduzir o que também tiveram de seus pais: o valor ao trabalho em detrimento dos estudos (uma vez que o primeiro se faz mais emergencial dado o contexto econômico em que vivem). Esse jovem, então pressionado em casa, não terá muita escolha e tenderá a assumir um papel muita das vezes contrário àquele que sua vontade lhe seduz. Como resultado, terá de "dar conta" de seu papel social para responder às demandas de seu universo familiar, de modo que, em sua maioria, vai cair naquela velha conhecida trajetória, que não tardou em aparecer também em nossos estudos:

> "Parei de estudar porque tive que trabalhar"; e ainda: "parei de estudar porque meus pais não ligavam se eu ia ou não pra escola, eu tinha era que trabalhar; aí sim 'tava' bom pra eles!"; e: "pelos meus pais eu tenho certeza que não estaria aqui, principalmente pelo meu pai, minha mãe até que não, que a patroa dela fala muito no ouvido dela para ela me incentivar. Isso até é legal da parte da mulher lá" e por fim: "eu poderia ter sido um grande jogador de futebol, já tava na escolinha e tinha gente de olho em mim e tudo! Mas não fui por quê? Uma porque não tinha o incentivo dos meus pais, que não tinham nem dinheiro pra minha passagem e outra porque eu tinha que trabalhar de tarde vendendo amendoim na Central".

Assim, como num pêndulo, numa gradiência, num caleidoscópio, esse jovem alterna ora na luta contra sua vitimização, ora na luta contra uma espécie de endeusamento, que o faz vítima e/ou vilão na trama social e que o impede, muita das vezes, de assumir sua própria identidade. Contudo, para este conceito, oscilações de outras ordens se tornam mais pertinentes. É como quando ser jovem e estudante ou ser *jovem-estudante-trabalhador*[25], tendo de abandonar os estudos por conta do trabalho ou do cuidado com os filhos, se tornam variáveis de extrema importância para defendermos as muitas clivagens ou as muitas "gradiências" porque passam os sujeitos juvenis durante esta fase da vida. É deste modo que nos deparamos com as *juventudes gradientes*.

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[25] Categoria que está sendo estudada e ampliada por mim agora no decurso da pesquisa de doutoramento.

Marcados por ideais possivelmente inatingíveis ao longo dessa fase da vida, dado o contexto social em que vivem, é desta feita que o conceito de *juventude gradiente* se vale ao tentar evidenciar parte das muitas "oscilações sociais" que vem marcar profundamente as trajetórias e os destinos biográficos de inúmeros jovens nascidos nas classes populares. Por outro lado, o caráter *mambembe* também está *pari passu* com os alunos que fazem de tudo para irem à escola, seja para "filar" a janta, seja para buscar o diploma, seja para trocar conhecimento e "recuperar o tempo perdido". Fato é que deixam filhos, marido, esposa, bicos que poderiam fazer a noite, mas estão ali, naquela sala de aula se dando uma nova chance, improvisando, fazendo malabares, mas estão ali.

Somado a isso, essas juventudes vão mostrando o caráter espontâneo, que caracteriza o *mambembe*. Ainda quando formam o que eu chamaria de seus "núcleos de estudo no pátio da escola", aquele espaço formal (por fazer parte da escola) se torna informal ou não-formal (dado o uso que dele fazem) quando os estudantes fazem dele sua roda diária de conversa, com inúmeras críticas ao funcionamento da escola e seu ensino, ou quando surgem as conversas pessoais sobre o final de semana, ou ainda quando se predispõem a ensinar uns aos outros a matéria perdida ou não entendida, por exemplo. No entanto, para além das conversas e "fofocas" diárias sobre seus pares, aqueles jovens estudantes se juntam naquele espaço e põem-se a trocar informações sobre o conteúdo da aula passada, da prova do dia e mesmo dos próximos tópicos a serem abordados, como diariamente presenciava; e ainda informações sobre empregos e oportunidades laborais locais, em sua maioria bicos e outros trabalhos ditos formais, mas abaixo da média do salário mínimo, ou seja, precarizados. Tudo isso se deve, sobretudo, ao curto tempo que tem para tirarem dúvidas em sala e ainda por conta de um curso com um currículo parco e resumido, carregado de deficiências. Mesmo sem se dar conta disso eles e elas, faziam dali, daquele lugar, um núcleo de estudos e espaço de troca, portanto, *mambembe*, por excelência.

É ainda dentro desse contexto *mambembe* que residiria também a relação professor-aluno expressa no relato:

> "eles fingem que ensinam e a gente finge que aprende, porque é nóis que
> tá e é nóis que sabe o que gente passa. O que a gente quer mesmo é
> receber o diploma e sair fora!".

Nessa conjuntura que estudar coletivos juvenis pertencentes às camadas populares, principalmente em contexto de favela, é atestar que as trajetórias não são contínuas, sobremodo *mambembes*, *gradientes* porque sempre de improviso, na busca pela sobrevivência no mundo do capital; e a identidade é sempre relacional, dialética e só se decifra através da luta, do combate, nesse campo de disputa. Quando se

catalisa essa singularidade, esse ciclo da vida que gira em torno dessa população, se descobre essa juventude como classe.

Em 1826, sobre *educação* e *trabalho*, a *Encyclopaedia Britannica* exprime seu significado político-social. A nação que não queira falhar na luta pelo êxito comercial, com tudo o que isso implica para a vida nacional e para a civilização, deve considerar que as suas indústrias sejam alimentadas com uma oferta constante de trabalhadores adequadamente equipados tanto em termos de inteligência geral como de treino técnico. Também no terreno político, a crescente democratização das instituições torna necessário que o estadista prudente trate de proporcionar uma vasta difusão de conhecimentos e o florescimento de um alto padrão de inteligência entre o povo, especialmente para os grandes Estados imperiais, os quais confiam as mais momentosas questões do mundo político ao arbítrio da voz popular.

Historicamente e até os dias atuais é através deste novo modelo de trabalhador, empregado pelas ideologias neoliberais então em ascensão - tendo em Locke seu maior difusor - que constatamos um sólido contexto de legitimação da educação conjugada ao capital. Seria assim a base da educação já para a concorrência e não para a *transcendência*[26], como assim deveria ser seu fim. Para rematar esse novo modelo de escola, o ensino que se encerra no *método* e na criação dos *livros didáticos* é que vai dar legitimidade a esse ora nascido ensino burguês.

Condenando esse fatalismo e determinismo neoliberais, Mészáros (2005) nos propõe uma forma alternativa e radical de superar a alienação na educação, em prol de um pensar para além das forças invisíveis do capital. Pautando a educação, nesses moldes até os nossos dias, como mercadoria, o autor nos leva a ver a educação por uma outra clivagem. É, em nosso contexto, superar, portanto a violência simbólica a que enormes contingentes populacionais são submetidos pelas condições precárias de ensino e rumarmos para uma nova consciência *transcendente*, porque libertadora.

Para tanto,

"romper com a lógica do capital na área da educação equivale, portanto, a substituir as formas onipresentes e profundamente enraizadas de uma internalização mistificadora por uma alternativa concreta abrangente" (idem, p. 47).

Pois nos moldes atuais,

"[...] a principal função da educação formal é agir como um cão de guarda [...] para induzir um conformismo generalizado em determinados

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[26] Para este conceito, por exemplo, ver mais em: **BOFF**, Leonardo. Tempo de transcendência. Rio de Janeiro: Sextante, 2000.

modos de internalização, de forma a subordiná-los às exigências da ordem estabelecida" (p. 55).

Nesse sentido, "[...] o papel da educação é soberano, [...] para a elaboração de estratégias apropriadas e adequadas para mudar as condições objetivas de reprodução" (p. 65).

Em uma sociedade sobremodo excludente em que diferenças e desigualdades são fatores determinantes e, muita das vezes, limitadores de trajetórias, não há a possibilidade de se desconsiderar o conflito de classe, raça e gênero, pois entendemos serem eles capazes de forjar uma análise crítica sobre as condições de estruturação do *status quo* perversamente assimétrico e desarmônico em que vivemos, que se revela nas precárias condições de trabalho que as juventudes pobres são postas à prova na contemporaneidade.

Os jovens, particularmente, são afetados diretamente por essa realidade, com contornos mais dramáticos para aqueles advindos das classes socioeconômicas mais pobres. A crise do trabalho no Brasil vem sendo responsável pelo distanciamento cada vez maior entre o que os jovens gostariam de ser – as expectativas que têm com relação ao futuro – e o que eles realmente conseguem ser – a forma com que acabam tendo que lidar com a realidade que a eles se impõe no dia a dia. (Maia & Mancebo, 2010, p. 378)

Fazendo um recorte ainda mais aprofundado nas questões juvenis consideramos que os jovens da Educação de Jovens e Adultos são, sem dúvida, expressão máxima da complexa relação direito, cidadania e educação. São jovens que passaram pela escola, já fruto da universalização do acesso ao ensino fundamental, desde a década de 1990 e, mesmo assim, não conseguiram efetivar sua certificação e aprendizagem, por um conjunto de fatores que se expressam na medida em que compreendemos sua situação e condição juvenil.

Ao que consta do Art. 3º da Declaração de Hamburgo, entendemos que a educação não pode, de forma alguma, ser entendida somente de maneira formal e, portanto, isolada (ou exterior somente) do mundo, num aspecto apenas dedutivo de se pensar a categoria. Mais complexa do que parece, ela engendra inúmeros quadros que só podem ser analisados em consonância com outras esferas de análise: os espaços não-formais de educação, como a cultura do trabalho. Tais espaços nos apontam aspectos identitários, de pertencimento ao território ecológico e social, ou seja, ser e estar, pertencer ao espaço em que se habita.

A educação de adultos engloba todo o processo de aprendizagem, formal ou informal, onde pessoas consideradas "adultas" pela sociedade desenvolvem suas habilidades, enriquecem seu conhecimento e aperfeiçoam suas qualificações técnicas e profissionais, direcionando-as para a satisfação de suas necessidades e as de sua sociedade. A educação de adultos inclui a educação formal, a educação não-formal e o espectro da aprendizagem informal e incidental disponível numa sociedade

multicultural, onde os estudos baseados na teoria e na prática devem ser reconhecidos. (Art. 3º da Declaração de Hamburgo sobre Educação de Adultos, V CONFINTEA, UNESCO, 1997, p.42)

Edward Thompson (1987) entendia a cultura do trabalho como um emaranhado de disposições, que se expressa nos padrões, códigos, símbolos e signos, crenças e valores. O autor também afirma que classe social não é apenas um amontoado de pessoas, mas que esta reflete as transformações econômicas e sociais na sociedade em que vivemos. No entanto, tais transformações somente tem sentido quando passam a incorporar as experiências culturais vividas pela classe operária. E é a partir desse processo histórico-cultural desses jovens trabalhadores que nos debruçamos para entender essas transformações e seus muitos significados.

Partindo de uma perspectiva que privilegia a ação transformadora da educação, através da *transcendência* - como já pontuamos - pretendemos apreender o que se resvala nesses espaços não-formais de educação em que se aglutinam aqueles a quem as instituições educacionais, pautadas pelo prisma do capital, não puderam atender e entender seus anseios e dificuldades na idade certa, marginalizando-os portanto dos processos educativos desde a mais tenra idade.

Para Dauster (1992) o trabalho nas camadas populares é visto como *status*, muito mais que a educação escolar. Sem correr o perigo das generalizações, concordamos com suas análises no que tange ao nosso universo vivido e pesquisado durante quase uma década de investigação de juventudes de matriz popular da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Para tanto, dentro de tais composições familiares e vicinais, as condições laborais estariam em primeiro plano, tornando-se um símbolo de *status,* que difere o *jovem-trabalhador* do *jovem que não quer nada com o trabalho*. Portanto, é no plano ideológico e cultural que pode estar a chave para se entender a adesão à cultura do trabalho como status social, visibilidade, donde pertencimento.

Desta feita, ao se analisar a Educação de Jovens e Adultos em um sentido amplo, tomando-se como referência a pluralidade dos sujeitos que dela fazem parte, constata-se que, longe de estar servindo à democratização das oportunidades educacionais, ela se conforma no lugar dos que "podem menos e também obtêm menos". Conforme nos lembra Arroyo (2001, p. 10), os olhares sobre a condição social, política, e cultural dos alunos de EJA têm se revelado nas diversas concepções da educação que lhes é oferecida, "os lugares sociais a eles reservados –marginais, oprimidos, excluídos, empregáveis, miseráveis...– têm condicionado o lugar reservado a sua educação no conjunto das políticas públicas oficiais". (Ribeiro, 2006, p. 01)

Fazer com que esses jovens tenham o protagonismo, abrindo-lhes a possibilidade e principalmente o direito de escolha e participação na esfera pública requer possivelmente a equalização na escolarização e ainda postos de trabalho sobretudo decentes, por intermédio de políticas públicas e ações afirmativas que de fato vejam a juventude como um campo de possibilidades, de expansão e não como

um campo minado, que se deve aglutiná-lo por receio de por à prova a ordem social vigente, pois, "quando se trata de jovens pobres, ainda mais se forem negros, há uma vinculação à ideia do risco e da violência, tornando-os uma *classe perigosa*" (Dayrell, 2007, p. 1117).

Por outro lado, é importante destacar que, ao contrário do que faz pensar o senso-comum, há um sem-número de movimentos e coletivos de juventudes populares organizados em torno de questões relacionadas à educação, ao trabalho, à cultura e à cidadania. Concentrados que estão principalmente nos espaços periféricos das cidades, as diversas manifestações "alternativas" ou "comunitárias", sobretudo associativas, vão, pouco a pouco, tomando forma e espaço no cenário político e social por meio de suas mídias, de seus diversos modos de fazer artes gráficas, de seus coletivos musicais e poéticos, e ainda de seus espaços de educação informal e não-formal, por exemplo, dentre outras inúmeras formas de evocação por cidadania. Fazendo, assim, valer seus direitos civis, políticos e sociais, por intermédio de suas expressões culturais, que se dão através destes modos peculiares de manifestações contestatórias, esses jovens vão se movimentando lentamente da cultura para a política (Novaes, 2007), através desses espaços não-formais de educação. Partindo, portanto, dos espaços de invisibilidade e ilegitimidade para os espaços políticos de ampla representação.

No entanto, historicamente as políticas direcionadas às juventudes, em os seus matizes, têm sido, à primeira vista, uma perversa e preconceituosa maneira encontrada para promover a disciplina "moral" e física de contenção daqueles considerados *párias* em nossa sociedade. Além do mais: "As políticas para a juventude têm como alvo os excluídos da escola e do mercado de trabalho. Nelas, de uma maneira geral, o trabalho aparece como uma prática social capaz de disciplinar o jovem, contribuindo para a diminuição dos riscos que ele, ocioso, potencialmente cria para a sociedade" (Spósito e Carrano, 2003, p. 17).

Por fim, somada a essa visão deturpada e preconceituosa de ver as juventudes, o que temos visto de forma constante são esses, que podemos chamar de: *jovens-estudantes-trabalhadores*, sobretudo com CEP e cor definidas, assumirem postos de trabalho cada vez mais sucateados e sem qualquer comprometimento com a via dos direitos. Assim que, tomar para si os desafios da contemporaneidade na relação da educação com outras instâncias de socialização (cultura e trabalho), requer um mínimo de lucidez para não cairmos nos frequentes romantismos, achismos e estereótipos que se colocam sobre a relação do jovem com o mundo. É buscar ainda nos equívocos dogmáticos do passado - e na prática perversa de uma cultura hegemônica no plano teórico e epistemológico (Santos, 2007), pela propagação de um imaginário social pautado na igualdade - as respostas para o presente e as possíveis saídas para o futuro, por meio de uma perspectiva contra-hegemônica e descolonizante.

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SECTION 3
PERSPECTIVES FROM SCHOOLS AND E-LEARNING

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12

TWENTY YEARS OF RESEARCH
INTO THE PRACTICE OF COLLABORATIVE
PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY AT SCHOOL
Current perspectives from school to citizenship

INTRODUCTION

Over the past ten years our research team, which has gradually grown into a multidisciplinary entity (Auriac-Slusarczyk, Lebas-Fraczak, Blasco, Daniel, Colletta, Simon, Fiema, Auriel, Henrion, 2012, Blasco & Auriac, 2013, Auriac & Colletta, 2015) has been regularly collecting and analyzing transcriptions of collaborative philosophical inquiry (CPI) (see http://philosophemes.univ-bpclermont.fr/). Our research brings together expertise in the fields of philosophy, linguistics, psychology and the sciences of education. This multidisciplinarity meets a need to draw upon varied research methods in the cross-analysis of CPI transcripts collected in the Philosophemes corpus. Earlier more narrowly-targeted studies had already highlighted some factors linked to the positive impact of CPI on schoolchildren's social and cognitive development (e.g. Auriac, 2007).
Here we describe the most important findings that have emerged from 20 years of multidisciplinary research, to argue for the implementation of CPI in adult education settings (higher education, lifelong learning, open universities, etc.).

AN EMERGING INNOVATIVE AND SOCIALLY PROGRESSIVE PRACTICE

Definition
What is CPI? What is a philosophy workshop?
        CPI, as practiced in the classroom, can be defined as a shared discourse involving several interlocutors – the pupils and their teacher – oriented by a

starting question. The shared objective is to find a collective answer to a question that requires a high degree of discursive interactivity. Historically, since its inception by Mathew Lipman (1995) in the US (bi-annual conference of the NACCi), research on CPI has been accompanied by concrete presentations. A philosophy workshop is primarily a text, produced collectively. Data extracted from the Philosophemes corpus (see Blasco & Auriac-Slusarczyk, 2013, Auriac-Slusarczyk & Colletta, 2015) or from a discussion stemming from the public demonstration made at UNESCO during the annual meetings on philosophical practices (corpus: "Why do we say it's not fair?" (see Simon et al., 2015) illustrate this type of collective text.

The study corpus
Here, for example, is a transcribed excerpt from a discussion on "Effort", by 1st grade pupils, Loire-Atlantique (Philosophemes corpus):
TP: 177 Léna: to make an effort you've got to try to succeed (…)
TP: 185 Soizic: I agree too with Awen to make an effort you've always got to keep... if the first time you don't succeed, you've always got to keep on trying or you don't succeed
(…)
TP 186: Elsa: yes, because sometimes we make an effort, and sometimes we don't make an effort and don't keep trying, but sometimes we try to succeed to make an effort and then we can write or count or write numbers.

Below is an excerpt from the UNESCO corpus, 5th grade pupils, Paris.
Michel Tozzi: alright / so we start off by giving say a few examples, and then we explain why we think it's not fair // here you give me an example between a brother and so his sister she goes to bed later she's not :: much older that him, so you find that's unfair
Melvil: hm hm hm
Lou: well I think its more for the unfairness like :: sometimes it's unfair like um right Melvil's example was good so ::: // sometimes there's brothers and sisters where there's unfairness but sometimes it's you who's / who's luckier and sometimes it's the other one who's luckier so sometimes we say it's not fair // but well we really think that // well maybe we think that but not much not much.

When we work on orthographic transcriptions of spoken language, we are dealing with material that is hard to process because it is difficult to write down (everything we actually hear is recorded in the transcription, unlike in ordinary listening), to read (speech transcribed as such does not take the same form as the written language we are used to seeing), and to analyze (grammar as

we use it cannot account for those language phenomena that we all too readily identify as bad speech or failed communication).

CPI, which produces concomitance between speaking and thinking, may appear trivial in its production mode (Blanche-Benveniste, 1990, 2010). However, it offers interplay that is not of the question-and-answer type, and it is clear that some steps in the process have not yet been fairly assessed.

For example, it has been shown that schoolchildren construct reasoning collectively (Fiema & Auriac-Slusarczyk, 2013; Auriac-Slusarczyk & Fiema, 2013). In learning to think, from the pupil's point of view, the pupils carry out a great deal of preparatory argumentation to clarify the initial question, which they appropriate (the examples form conceptual steps in "extension", while chosen lexical items describe "intension" (Fraczak-Lebas, 2016[27]). As regards the teaching activity, the morphosyntactic organization describes those instructive passages where the teacher plays a part, i.e. that serve to elucidate how the reasoning is constructed.

Close-up on some aspects linked to the effects of CPI
It is now agreed that CPI makes a positive impact on pupils' social and cognitive development (Millett & Tapper 2012; Topping, & Trickey 2007). We consider that our knowledge of these speech exchange processes can be improved through a focus on certain fine observations. By addressing different aspects and offering other viewpoints, this approach will help us gain greater insight.

For the syntactic aspects, the language spoken in this setting is a material that is both ordinary – because it is composed of spontaneous utterances – and original, by the situation and the questions addressed (see Blasco, 2016). It is thus likely that the grammar as observed will display specific features. For the pragmatic aspects, we can identify specific reasoning modes (cf. above, Lebas-Faczak, 2016)[28]. Ethical aspects also deserve study (Auriac-Slusarczyk, 2015). We will examine corpus excerpts from a syntactic viewpoint to show how the use of language in CPI contributes in an original way to the articulation of language and thought.

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[27] "[…] an analysis in intension is when pupils undertake to define a concept-expression (beginning with the one addressed by the starting question) via a proposition indicating its "essential character". An analysis in extension is when the pupils give instances to associate experience or types of experience with the concept-expression.

[28] Studies on intellectual operations that demonstrate that the language performs thought rather than simply expressing it (Lev Vygotski 1934/1997, p. 107) are relevant here. The ways in which syntactic productions acccount for this relation need to be explored.

SYNTACTIC VIEWPOINT

Syntactic description offers an analytical approach that is plainly of value. CPI elicits and develops an ability to think about subjects that are mainly ethical, through mobilizing spoken language. The speech exchanged between pupils and the teacher (Blasco & Auriac-Slusarczyk, 2013, Auriac-Slusarczyk & Colletta, 2015) is authentic. Our purpose in addressing language phenomena in this setting is to explore the relations they form between saying and thinking, through detailed observation. We focus here on fine language observations, which at first sight may seem unimportant, but which deserve closer attention.

On the basis that (i) the fine language observations will prove relevant, and (ii) the articulation between language and thought takes place both individually and collectively (Blasco & Auriac-Slusarczyk, 2013), we can gain a fuller understanding of how the speech grammar operates, and how the language serves to construct the text.

A methodological tool: the syntactic chart
Linear reading can cause us to see the oral utterances as a weakly structured production, sometimes chaotic, repetitive or monotonous. However, the recorded data characteristic of the production process have to be analyzed as indicators of a true activity of language construction. To make sense of this information and help analyze it, we use syntactic charts (a tool for reading and understanding oral utterances, cf. Blanche-Benveniste and the Aix school, 1990; Auriac-Slusarczyk & Blasco-Dulbecco, 2010). The aim is to allow the transcriptions of these sound recordings to be read using a specific mode, outside our usual listening and reading habits. The syntactic chart is a method of presentation that displays the text produced in two dimensions, instead of linearizing it as in an ordinary left-right transcription of speech. Through a prior syntactic analysis, the chart highlights the regularities or variations that structure sequences through an orthogonal representation with horizontal and vertical axes. Below is an excerpt from a transcription, followed by its syntactic chart.
Michel Tozzi: alright you you say it's not fair 'cos we have to do a certain number of things that we wouldn't want to do // is that what you're saying?
(…)
Candice: me I think there's several, so um // several meanings of it's not fair because there's / um there's // it's not fair that can cause a disagreement so um that's really not equality um // so um : // I dunno really {laughter} // then there's um the it's not fair fff a bit fff // sort of being awkward // so you don't think about it // that's more um um it's not fair um but actually it's fair so um there and so after um it depends on the situation but:

Figure 1

```
me I think there's                    several
                                      so um
                                          several meanings of it's not fair
because           there's/           um
                  there's //             it's not fair    that can cause a
disagreement so
                                      um
                                              that's really not equality
I dunno really
                  then there's     um
                                      the it's not fair fff
                                              sort of a bit awkward
so
                                              you don't think about it
                                                that's  more  um  um
it's not fair


                                                              but
actually it's     fair
so um there
and so after um it depends on the situation
but:
```

Importantly, as the sentence is being constructed syntactically from left to right, there is a pause when paradigms of potentially substitutable units are elicited. This is a fruitful way to look at phenomena linked to the mode of speech production; a mode that keeps a record of its construction. This record often deters ordinary readers, and goes mostly unnoticed in conversation.

Several things can be seen in a syntactic chart. Some pertain to the syntactic (and even macro-syntactic) organization; others concern the relation between grammar and thought. Here:

Horizontally, there are five construction zones. Each one enables us to read what is or is not redundant in the use of lexicon, and the syntactic schemes that help make the discourse coherent.

1- The left-hand zone introduces the items that show the utterer's point of view: me I think, I dunno really, sort of and those that concern the time sequence, e.g. of the explanation and conceptualization: because, so, and, but.

2- The middle zone shows the verbs: there's; there's; then there's; it depends. The verb is central in the syntax because it governs the subject-complement relations.

3- What we call the right-hand zone actually depends on the central zone, because it is the place where the (non-pronoun) complements are placed. Syntagmatic expansions are placed here. It is the place for syntactic progression and developments. Here we transcribe relative clauses and adjectives, which are essential in the process of definition: (that can) cause a disagreement, (that's) really not equality, a bit awkward, (you don't think) about it, (that's) more.

From this observation of the syntactic and lexical organization of each zone, we can identify what contributes to the construction and development of the reasoning. This is therefore the link between language and reasoning.

For example, here the pupil lists several meanings; she is challenging the initial question. We are no longer talking about why. We are talking about the expression itself.

This is why we stated above that in CPI, pupils seek fairly systematically to clarify the question asked before they set about answering it. However, this step is not always seen. The relative clauses are thus modalized: can/really, the construction is very progressive, with semantic associations: not fair/disagreement/not equality; awkward/so you don't think about it /not fair/but actually it's fair.

The chart reading of passages chosen from CPI not only shows a general organizing principle in speech; it also confirms that each oral text develops its own grammar. The two-dimensional representation shows the text architecture and reveals the language-thought co-construction by the study of regular or irregular language features linked to the deployment of reasoning. We thus see what is generated by the individual and what is collective, and we can see how the grammar operates to shape the discourse.

Commentary of chart reading
The first chart has already been worked on in a conference presentation[29] and a paper (Blasco, 2016). We describe it again here, as it is a complex material that casts light on various issues through its multiple readings.

Chart 1. Effort: Lena/Soizic/Elsa
In the first text, the question at the centre of the exchange is: "Why do we make an effort?"

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[29] Education, transmission. Contribution of neurosciences and psychoanalysis in contemporary clinical practice to the sciences of education, 7th Conference on Medicine and Psychoanalysis, Clermont-Ferrand, October 2015. "Quand les enfants parlent philosophie : étude linguistique ou comment écouter ce qu'il y a à entendre".

```
Léna:
to make an **effort** you've got to **try** to **succeed** (…)

Soizic:
I agree too with Awen
to make an effort                                    you've always got to **keep**...
        *if the first time you don't succeed*,       you've always got to **keep on trying** or you
                                                     don't succeed

Elsa:
yes, because              sometimes      we make   *an effort*
        and    sometimes          we don't make an effort   and don't *keep trying*
        but    sometimes          *we try*                   to *succeed*   to make an
                                                                            effort
                              and then        we can      write
                                                          or count
                                                          or write numbers
```

Figure 2

This chart shows various characteristics:

1- The question asked, which expects an answer, is first of all analyzed. Although the initial question was why do we make an effort, Léna starts the discussion with to, i.e. she sidesteps the question to define what we mean by make an effort[30]. This shift, though here inconsequential, shows nonetheless that the proposition-question Why do we make an effort presupposes for the pupil the proposition We make an effort. The pupil evidently verifies and justifies what is presupposed before answering "why". She thus starts a reply with to… you've got to.

2- The other pupil's discourse is genuinely taken into account. The construction is collective, though visible to varying degrees: I agree, yes. As in all CPI, the utterances of each pupil are impregnated by those made by the others. The concept worked on evolves through listening and taking into account arguments, which are reworded, extended or explored. The frame of utterance initiated by Léna – and earlier by Awen to make an effort (TP 185) is maintained by Soizic. She concurs and says so with always. We can say that each pupil advances in their conceptualization, but that the construction is achieved jointly.

3-Analysis of the different zones shows that the lexical and morphosyntactic phenomena take part in forging the language-thought relation. We see that this text is constructed around three concepts: effort, try, and succeed announced in

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[30] Analysis: "decomposition of a whole into its parts"; "decomposition of concepts"; "a definition is the analysis of a concept" (Lalande, 1926, pp. 45-46); "all the effort of analysis is in multiplying the facts that a name designates" (ibid., p. 46); an example is thus also part of analysis.

Léna's utterance (TP 177). But very quickly, Soizic moves away from the initial proposition try by introducing another concept: keep on trying, first with just keep. She then stops the progression and goes back to state and justify the use of this word with a conditional if the first time you don't succeed you've always got to – an addition that the spoken language readily allows. The discourse can then resume its progression; it ends with or you don't succeed.

In the spoken discourse there is an apparent concern for coherence in the reasoning and argumentation. You've got to keep on trying i.e. try once more to…, which is indeed the definition of effort. At this moment, Elsa gives an example in the form of yes because sometimes placed at the beginning. The yes validates the way make an effort is understood. At the same time it carries implicit meaning.

Placed on the left of the chart – frame of utterance – and via a modification (to is dropped in favor of because), the sequence can now be unfolded with the verb make, first affirmative and then negative. The whole is framed and paced by sometimes, and sometimes, but sometimes. The repetition of the verbal construction we make an effort and the time marker sometimes bring a rhythmic effect. No new lexical information is introduced, but the repetition itself takes part in the conceptualization.

The positive / negative modality and the conjunctions and, but play an important role in the progression of the demonstration, which relies on the contrast between the verbs we make/we don't make (…) don't keep trying; but sometimes we try to until there is a new opening with the verb succeed. The paradigm to succeed to make an effort is then exemplified by an enumeration of lexical productions: read, write, write numbers.

In this progression, effort is rewarded. The syntax (repetition, contrast, connectors and then, but) clearly takes part in the shaping, and helps to represent the effort and its achievement through a progressive, varied rightward extension: effort; effort to try; succeed; to write; to write numbers. In this very rhythmic and regular syntactic construction, it is as if the pupil enacts the situation. The syntax describes the effort; it materializes it.

Hence in this passage, there is a construction of reasoning with two voices, those of Soizic and Elsa, initiated by Léna's relatively simple statement. The study of the zones and their content shows how the discourse is shaped.

Chart 2. "It's not fair": Lou

Figure 3

well	I think	it's more for the unfairness
so:: sometimes		there's unfairness
like		
um right	Melvil's example	was good
so:::		
sometimes		there's brothers
		and sisters where there's unfairness
but sometimes	**it's you who's**	
	who's luckier	
and sometimes	**it's the other one who's luckier**	
so sometimes	we say it's not fair	
but well	we really think that	
well	maybe we think that	
but	not much	
	not much	

1- The initial question was "Why do we say it's not fair?", but Lou sidesteps the proposition to define what we mean by "not being fair": she clearly says that it is more to do with a feeling of unfairness.

2- From the organizational point of view: The chart can be read vertically and horizontally. On the vertical axis, in the general progression, the chart is organized in three periods, according to the verb constructions: (1). what I think; (2). example there's, it's; (3). return to the starting theme we say, we think. To explain what it means to say "it's not fair". Horizontally, the left-hand zone receives the utterance markers well, sometimes, like, right, so. There is no dense content, because we are no longer in an enacted situation with examples, but in the drawing out of a definition on unfairness. In the center, there are verbs: I think, he was, we say, we think and their subject pronouns, which vary according to the purpose of the discourse. The we comes at the end when the reasoning steps have advanced and the discourse enters a generic frame. On the right are the items that carry information to drive the reasoning forward with examples or definitions. The examples that support this reasoning operate on the persons who are contrasted: brothers, sisters; you, the other one; the forms are lexical or pronominal, and come with presentative items there's, it's. These syntactic structures prevail in the construction of examples. The morphosyntactic confrontation of these two lexicalized forms and the two pronominal forms illustrates and strengthens the idea of unfairness and its expression. Here again the syntax materializes the subject being addressed.

At the end of the chart, we note a series of adverbs: really, maybe, not much not much. The "it's not fair" is then pronominalized: we think that so as to focus on the adverbs and the progressive construction of what composes the

assertion "it's not fair". The rightward progression stops. The constructions around the verb become concise, as if a conclusion is being reached.

In fact, the reasoning meets a caveat: is saying "it's not fair" really expressing true unfairness? Do we really think that, or maybe not... much, not... much?

This construction is clearly very coherent. The chart shows that there is a grammatical construction of the text for which the lexical and syntactic choices help to express the relativity of the value judgment "not fair".

UTILITY OF IMPLEMENTATION IN OTHER SECTORS

In the light of the studies conducted on CPI it seems regrettable that philosophy workshops are not better known and more widely practiced with adults, to facilitate difficult learning paths like at school. The Philosophemes corpus, collected since 2010, along with discussions filmed at UNESCO over the last ten years, illustrate only school classroom practice. This practice runs from kindergarten to 12th grade (technical high school). At the new practices in philosophy event hosted by UNESCO in Paris every November[31], practitioners and researchers have structured the area into several fields: care philosophy, for workshops in hospitals, school philosophy for schools, and training philosophy for the sector interested in producing tools for group leaders and teachers, irrespective of the domain of application, but generally for schools. The journal Diotime[32], a French-speaking publication echoing the journal Thinking, The Journal of Philosophy for Children[33] created by Matthew Lipman, offers a scientific and professional space for papers describing, developing, exchanging

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[31] See http://rencontrespratiquesphilo.unblog.fr/. The Philolab Association supports the event and organizes the activities.

[32] See http://www.educ-revues.fr/diotime/. Review directed by Michel Tozzi, scientist and promotor of practise in schools since 1996.

[33] See https://www.montclair.edu/cehs/academics/centers-and-institutes/iapc/thinking-journal/. The journal is published by the Mont Clair Institute of New York. Le Journal de Philosophie pour enfants was published from 1979 to 2014 by l'Institut pour la promotion de la philosophie pour enfants (IAPC), a non-profit teaching institute at Montclair State University. The journal was a forum for the work of two theoreticians and practitioners of philosophy for children, and published this work in all its forms, including philosophical argument and reflection, class transcriptions, programs, empirical research, and field reports. The journal also maintained a tradition of publishing papers in childhood hermeneutics, a cross-disciplinary field, including cultural studies, social history, philosophy, art, literature and psychoanalysis. Thinking ends with Volume 20, No. 3-4 (2014) and IAPC takes no more subscriptions or submissions.

and making known practice in philosophy for children. After some 30 years of successful experimentation in the field in North America, and 20 years of experience in French-speaking countries, the question now arises of the extension of CPI to other sectors.

Given the convergence of views and findings concerning the positive impact of philosophy practiced in a spirit of intellectual inquiry rather than as one more school subject, and the link between thought and language in syntax as we describe here, we consider that the time is ripe to move on to developing these practices in adult education.

Adult education is a vast area, and at the same time one that permits experimentation. But do adults discuss issues in a way comparable to what we have described above?

We present the following excerpt of a pupil, Dimitri, aged about 10. After Danaé has spoken, Dimitri speaks:

Danaé: well when we say it's not fair it's often that we don't agree with something

Michel Tozzi: alright, so you have the idea then a little bit of disagreement can you give an example

Danaé: um uh I dunno

Michel Tozzi: can someone help Danaé find an example to uh say um when we say it's not fair because we don't agree // let's hear those of you who haven't said much

Mathéo: Dimitri have you got anything to say

Dimitri: well yes um I think we we say / when we say it's not fair sometimes // like if our parents tell us to do our homework we say it's not fair 'cos we'd rather not do it // but we've got to

Michel Tozzi: alright, you say it's not fair because we have to do some things we don't really want to do // is that your argument?

Dimitri: well yes

Danaé: well **when we say** it's not fair **it's** *often* that we don't agree with something

Dimitri:

<div align="center">Figure 4</div>

well yes um I think we	we say /
	when we say it's not fair
sometimes // like if our parents tell us to do our homework we say it's not fair 'cos **we'd rather not do it**	
but	
we've got to	

Without reproducing the detailed study in a syntactic perspective, it is clear that the subjectivity illustrated by the children (shift from "when" to "it's", "like", i.e. from conjunctural to definitional, is not the children's own. Each uses language to redirect their first thoughts, through secondary or complementary verbalizations, to develop their thinking. The term "when" uttered by Dimitri is not to be interpreted as having any particular temporal value. Its function is not temporal: "when" here is a thinking frame, which allows the introduction of the example. An adult would do the same: "when we say it's not fair"… "sometimes…"; "like… ", etc.

The models of grammatical construction presented show that the ways in which pupils aged about 10 go about discussing the question are no different from those that adults would use to argue, exemplify and conceptualize. Our knowledge of the language, though based on an internal grammar used from infancy, remains passive and unconscious.

We are convinced that taking part in philosophy workshops for adults could help pacify relations by enabling everyone to reflect together in a collective setting. It's never too late to think.

CONCLUSION/DISCUSSION

Studying the syntax of utterances casts new light on the CPI corpus collected over the last 20 years. Syntactic analysis of the language offers a new viewpoint that highlights the complexity of the exchanges. CPI is a type of discourse that elicits initiatives translated into linguistic entities. The language is enlisted to serve what is to be said. These are fine features that help us grasp the link between language and thought. It would have been difficult to predict these forms of organization. Oral utterances thus make sense if we know how to listen. In adult education, this approach could be used to develop more attentive listening. One major impact of philosophy workshops lies in their pacifying quality. This pacification probably arises in part from the fact that taking the time to put our thoughts into words, shown up by syntax in a very fine and detailed way, gives each participant satisfying positive feedback on their mechanisms of mental production. Thinking is important, and thinking together can extend our minds. Having to verbalize our thought leads us to choose wording and vocabulary. Both children and adults can thus find inner concord in CPI, provided it is properly directed.

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BERNARD SLUSARCZYK

13

A PREVENTIVE ROLE FOR COLLABORATIVE PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY IN ELEMENTARY AND EARLY MIDDLE SCHOOL IN THE BREAK IN COGNITIVE INTEGRITY DEVELOPMENT OBSERVED IN 8TH GRADE

INTRODUCTION

In 1980, Wladimir Jankelevitch, reminded us, on the French TV literary talk show Apostrophes, that philosophy is of no use to anything but itself. Philosophy helps us think freely, whatever our age, from day to day, in a taxi, in the street, at school. Even in the youngest grades, as soon as a pupil or a group of pupils asks a question, the answer can take a philosophical turn. Philosophy is a lifelong individual and/or collective transgenerational practice that teaches us to cope with complexity. Education for complexity through the practice of philosophy workshops, like all school subjects, comes up against marked inter-individual differences arising from pupils' developmental, social and anthropological characteristics. It is also influenced by the community composed for the discussion. In French schools, the link between reasoning skills and pupils' age has often been an argument for keeping philosophy for 12thgrade. Yet whether at nursery school or middle school (junior high school), pupils every day ask questions that would not be out of place in a philosophy examination set at the end of 12thgrade. Must these questions wait until adulthood before being answered? Frustration admittedly helps any individual's construction, but childhood impatience, and possibly even more teenage impatience to get answers can be a strong driver in the development of skills assessed in French school curricula. In French elementary schools and in some middle schools, philosophy workshops, also called community of philosophical inquiry (CPI), allow often universal questions to emerge, and offer the possibility of comparing answers in a given setting. Philosophy through discussion (Tozzi, 2007), is currently implemented in communities (CPI is a collective praxis, Daniel, 1997) essentially composed of elementary school classes (Daniel, Gagnon, Auriac-Slusarczyk, 2015 in press). CPI in middle school with teenagers, who have grown out of childhood and are often in conflict with the adult world, differs from CPI in elementary school. The organization of the middle school curriculum and the pupils' age are two

essential reasons for this difference. The French middle school reform due to come into effect in September 2016 is concerned to explore ways of teaching civics and ethics. The specific study of the impact of CPI practiced today with adolescent and pre-adolescent pupils is thus of major relevance.

BACKGROUND

Although theoretically any regular exercise of discussion develops abilities, it is hard to measure the impact of CPI, an educational provision for ethical reasoning (Pagoni-Andréani, 1999), either collectively (Daniel, 1997) or individually, e.g. in terms of production – or non-production – of inequality (see Lautrey, 1980). Philosophy workshops have been appraised in elementary schools (Mortier in Leleux, 2005; Trickey and Topping, 2004; Topping and Trickey, 2007; Miller and Tapper, 2012) and found to produce varied degrees of progress, including an advance of 27 months in mental age reported by Mortier(2005). Philosophy workshops, still infrequent in the French school system, operate essentially in elementary schools. The results reported by Mortier in 2005 for pupils in elementary school classes suggest that this practice could also be beneficial in middle schools. Among the different critical times in life, one of the most problematic is the break between childhood and adulthood, when a surge in self-questioning takes on an existential dimension. This interlude between childhood and adulthood, generally termed adolescence, is understood as a biological result of puberty. Increasingly fine analysis of child development, in particular in psychology and sociology, has led the scientific community to introduce a distinction between adolescence and pre-adolescence or "adonascence" (De Singly, 2006). This new distinction identifies the pre-adolescent, often considered in middle school as embodying a conflict within a conflict. The class with the most pre-adolescents is the 8thgrade. Teachers find this grade to be the most thankless, pupils systematically opposing everything that is offered them. Middle school pupils live through several critical periods. The first is their arrival in 6thgrade, with gradual access to the autonomy that is part of middle school organization. Behavior and learning in this grade follow on from the grade below. This continuity is recognized in the new regulations, which place 4th, 5thand 6thgrades in the same teaching cycle (Cycle 3); 7thgrade (start of Cycle 4) then allows the exercise of autonomy, often giving teachers the feeling of a period of latency. The next critical time is 8thgrade, when opposition can largely interfere with a pedagogical practice that favors individual and collective expression. Thus the practice of philosophy workshops in middle school can accompany this sequence of critical breaks: newfound autonomy in 6thand 7thgrades and then opposition to the system in 8thgrade. These successive discontinuities are marked both individually and collectively, so that the teacher can experience both individual and class-wide

effects. In reports from teachers, CPI feedback and general behavior, inter-individual differences in school attainment level are often claimed to account in part for the conflicts observed. These differences are normally distributed on a bell curve, where the very high- and very low-attainment pupils make up a small part of the class, the majority of the pupils standing in-between. However, in the practice of CPI, the high-attainment and low-attainment profiles, though in the minority, were found to be those that most strongly influenced the class as a whole. Finally, results of work on the facilitator effect can be enlisted to define different styles for conducting philosophy workshops, just as for traditional school subjects (Bressoux, 2001).

In this paper we first define cognitive integrity, which we have measured in pupils in different middle school classes taking part in CPI (7thand 8thgrades). We then briefly review the initial result obtained in middle school, comparing the cognitive integrity of CPI pupils with that of ordinary pupils. We go on to present new results that highlight pupil profiles, whichcan at least partly explain (i) inter-individual differences in cognitive integrity scores, and (ii) differences between classes, i.e. between facilitator styles. We conclude by emphasizing, on the basis of these results, the precautions that are currently required for implanting CPI in adult education settings.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Cognitive integrity comprises open mindedness, pursuit of truth, ease in facing complexity, propensity to seek concord, ability to make decisions, and general readiness to reason fairly and impartially (Giancarlo and Facione, 2001; Giancarlo, 2005; Çokluk-Bökeoğlu, 2008). Enabled by intellectual curiosity and receptiveness to others, it favors reappraisal of personal representations under criticism. Cognitive integrity is displayed in the articulation of stances and dispositions that favor critical thinking (Auriac-Slusarczyk, Adami and Daniel, 2011).

From childhood to adulthood
Cognitive integrity is mandatory for the full development of intellectual competence and the acquisition of knowledge throughout all learning processes. Progress at school is possible only if pupils ask questions to establish the operability of their knowledge. At school, cognitive integrity, when fostered within the curriculum subjects, is subordinated to previous school performance. A high-attainment pupil generally shows greater cognitive integrity toward new knowledge than a low-attainment one. Çokluk-Bökeoğlu (2008) has validated, after Giancarlo (2006), that intellectual integrity is positively correlated with school results. Theseare even the most closely correlated factor among those favoring critical faculties. Teaching is

traditionally conceived as an induction into the general reasoning process from the school subject curriculum, the development of cognitive integrity being one result of this process.

The recent entry of CPI in French school curricula
The new provisions drafted for French middle school reform (MEN, 2015, cf. Official Bulletin, June 2015) which is to come into effect in September 2016, reassert the teaching priority given to the development of pupils' intellectual competence in school subjects, and suggest the possibility of using CPI in the classroom as a means of education for citizenship. In sum, the institutional curricula had only implicitly integrated all that the literature in the social sciences over the past ten years has told us about the challenges of complexity (Morin, 1999a). The new provisions now explicitly spotlight reasoning activity. This evolution stems from the demonstrable failure of teachers and schools (especially secondary schools) to rely onschool subjects as the sole support for pupils' intellectual development. This finding has led the educational community to seek pedagogical alternatives. Reasoning, detached from the context of school subjects, can be practiced and developed on more universal issues than school knowledge. The least scholarly pupils can then potentially escape the vicious circle tying cognitive integration to school attainment. In this way, the close link between judgment and reasoning in philosophy (Lipman, 2005) can enable pupils to address general problems of definition, classification, and truth that differ from those that arise in the traditional school subject matter. This activity thus enhances the development of integrity, in particular in those pupils that have most difficulty at school.

From a variety of available methods to the exemplarity of CPI
 The varied nature of teaching provisions currently enables any committed teacher to obtain proper materials, from those designed by Lipman to the commercial products sold to the general public (see Labbé and Puech, 2001; Revaultd'Allonnes, 2006; Leleux and Lantier, 2010; Muller-Colard, 2014; Faden, Babin and Rachmanski, 2014). The necessary pedagogical freedom can also readily be found in literary curricula (Tozzi, 2006; Chirouter, 2008, 2012). However, in middle school, research has been more recent and more cautious (Auriac-Slusarczyk and Fiema, 2012 b/c). Only with the setting-up of the middle school reform for September 2016 does the Official Bulletin of 6 June 2015 state:

> "Ethical and civic education shall emphasize the pupils' own activity [...] The purpose of educating for ethical judgment is to enable pupils to understand and discuss ethical choices facing all of them in their daily lives. This results from education and teaching that induces the pupils to see points of view taken by others, to understand different forms of

ethical reasoning, and to be at ease in situations where they can discuss and deliberate, appreciate the complexity of ethical issue, and justify their choices. […] The development of ethical judgment, suitably adjusted for age, calls especially on an ability to analyze, discuss, share and confront viewpoints in problematic situations" (MEN, 2015).

Finally, the practice of *"Philosophical discussion of values and standards"* (MEN, 2015) is proposed as an activity in Cycle 3.

The propensity of the school inspectorate to commit secondary school teachers to any newly institutionalized activity (here CPI) makes the practices already in place at middle school a precious resource for further dissemination and development. Given the paucity of work on CPI in secondary schools, the measurements made in elementary schools now need to be replicated in middle schools for comparison.

Review of initial results obtained in middle schools
In a first study, Slusarczyk, Auriel, Fiema, and Auriac-Slusarczyk (2015), in a corpus made up in 2011 from seven 7thgrade classes in a middle school located in a socially deprived area near Clermont-Ferrand (two ordinary classes and five CPI classes), the authors show that compared with elementary school, the results obtained in middle school are less clear-cut. In middle school, CPI shifted the pupils' cognitive integrity toward a more even spread of integrity scores, despite more widely dispersed school results. Hence cognitive integrity became less dependent on school attainment among the CPI pupils.

Among the ordinary pupils (controls), 41% raised their score, against 47% who maintained it and 12% who lowered it. Among the CPI pupils, only 15% raised their score, 56% maintained it, and 30% lowered it. An appreciable intra-individual variability was observed (almost one pupil in two).Although at first sight these two results argue against setting up CPI at middle school, the evolution of the control pupils was found to depend more on the school results average than that of the CPI group: the post-test integrity score depended essentially on the school attainment level and the pre-test score. The profile of the CPI group stood out by its inter-individual spread. In the CPI classes, the school attainment level was 3 times less influential, and the pre-test score 1.5 times less influential than in the control classes. The CPI pupils more frequently changed their stance and disposition.We note that in the three subdomains of cognitive integrity (curiosity/knowledge, difficulty/complexity, resistance to others) only the factor 'resistance to others' significantly distinguished the CPI classes from the controls at the end of the year. Philosophy undermined their ability to resist.

Hypotheses

On the basis of these first results, our research is prospective. It is supported by a corpus collected in 2012 from 6 classes of CPI pupils (three 7thgrade and three 8thgrade) in the same middle school as before (Slusarczyk et al. 2015). We scored cognitive integrity using a standardized test comparing the scores of CPI pupils in middle school. We measured inter- and intra-individual variability in the development of cognitive integrity. Our working hypotheses were:ç

1.   In middle school, mid-attainment pupils are those who benefit least from CPI.

2.   In middle school, the variables 'facilitator quality' (facilitator effect) and 'grade' (7thor 8th) influence the impact of CPI on cognitive integrity.

METHOD

Subjects

The test data came from a middle school located in a socially deprived area in the Puy-de-Dôme: 127 middle school pupils in three 7thgrade classes and three 8thgrade classes, all six practicing CPI from October to June for 1 hour every fortnight during free time set by for general class activity. The facilitators, who worked in pairs to conduct the CPI, were either French, history/geography, or science teachers, or schoollibrarians, or other school staff responsible for counseling or healthcare.

Tests given to 7thand 8thgrade pupils

For the test measuring cognitive integrity (Giancarlo, 2005; translated into French by Daniel and Auriac, 2008), we had 127 filled-out test sheets. The test (Giancarlo, 2005, 2006) defined critical thinking, including cognitive integrity, from an individual score measuring critical thinking attributes: (a) the subjects are fair-minded, ready to face the truth and impartial, (b) they feel comfortable with complexity and accept different viewpoints, and (c) they seek the best way to arrive at the truth or come to the right decision (Giancarlo, 2005, p.10, French translation by Daniel and Auriac, 2008). The test comprises 25 questions giving a total score. The questions correspond to four underlying explicative domains: attentiveness/motivation, interest in learning, creativity when faced with problems, cognitive integrity.

On the basis of an interpretation of the statement of the 25 questions, we selected 17 items that specifically concerned the subdomains of integrity (Table 1). Three subdomains were considered: 1. Curiosity/knowledge, 2. Confrontation with difficulty/complexity, 3. Resistance/openness to opposing viewpoints.

Table 1. Questions specifically concerning cognitive integrity

Curiosity	Difficulty	Resistance to viewpoint
Q1, Q16, Q20, Q22, Q24, Q25	Q2, Q3, Q4, Q7, Q10, Q14, Q15	Q6, Q9, Q12, Q19

Schedule of experimentation in CPI pupils
The test was administered at the start and end of the school year to all the CPI classes. In each class, the pupils attended some 20 discussion between October and June. All the CPI pupils were filmed and their discussions were analyzed to check the quality of the practice.

Data processing
We performed regression analyses, controlling the variable 'gender' 1. Girl, 2. Boy (category scale), considering three secondary integrity subdomains: 1. Curiosity, 2. Difficulty/Complexity, and 3. Resistance to others (categorial scale), and using school subject results average (continuous scale, annual school grading report) as an indicator of attainment.

The intra-individual variability was determined by forming three categories according to the evolution of the integrity score over the school year: 1. Pupils with no score change, 2. Pupils with scores raised by more than 4 points, 3. Pupils with scores lowered by more than 4 points. The school subject results average of each pupil was calculated from the full year grading report. The data were processed using SAS software. To compare the results, the data were centered (see Slusarczyk, 2011; Bressoux, 2010).

RESULTS

Evolution of cognitive integrity in CPI pupils
When all six classes were studied, no change was observed in the link between school levels from the start to the end of the year and the integrity scores at the end of the year (the regression lines merge). The higher the pupil's attainment, the higher their integrity score. CPI did not affect this pattern overall, although the pupils' dispersion around the mean was different, as it was also in the earlier study. This difference in dispersion suggests that the changes in subpopulations may cancel each other out. The subscore contributing most to the evolution of the integrity score was for the difficulty/complexity item.

Figure 1. Comparison of integrity/ level of attainment at start of year, end of year, difficulty/complexity item (centered data)

Comparaison intégrité/ niveau scolaire début d'année, fin d'année, rapport à la complexité et à la difficulté (Données centrées)
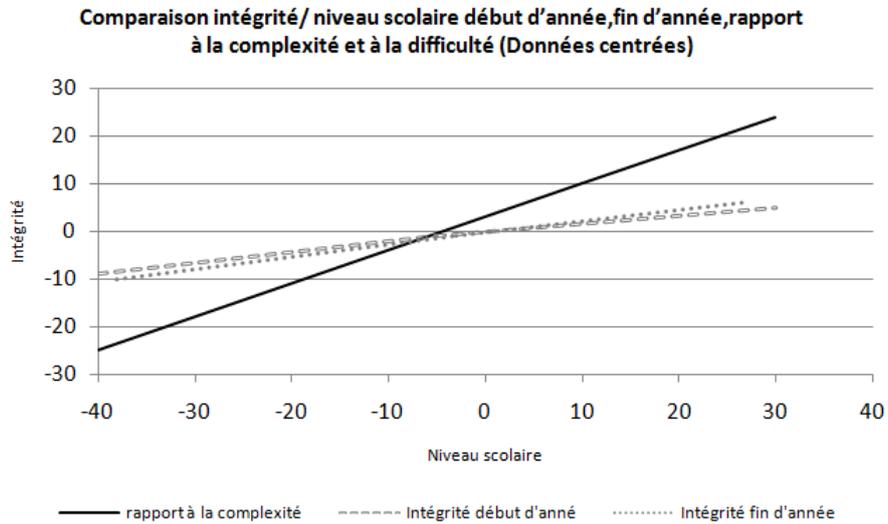
From this we then extracted population profiles: pupils with high cognitive integrity (Figure 2) and with low cognitive integrity (Figure 3).

Figure 2. Pupils with high cognitive integrity (34 pupils scoring 4 to 8) Integrity/attainment (15% variance explained) Integrity/difficulty/complexity (18% variance explained)

Comparaison intégrité/ niveau scolaire début d'année, fin d'année, rapport à la complexité et à la difficulté (Elèves très intègres)
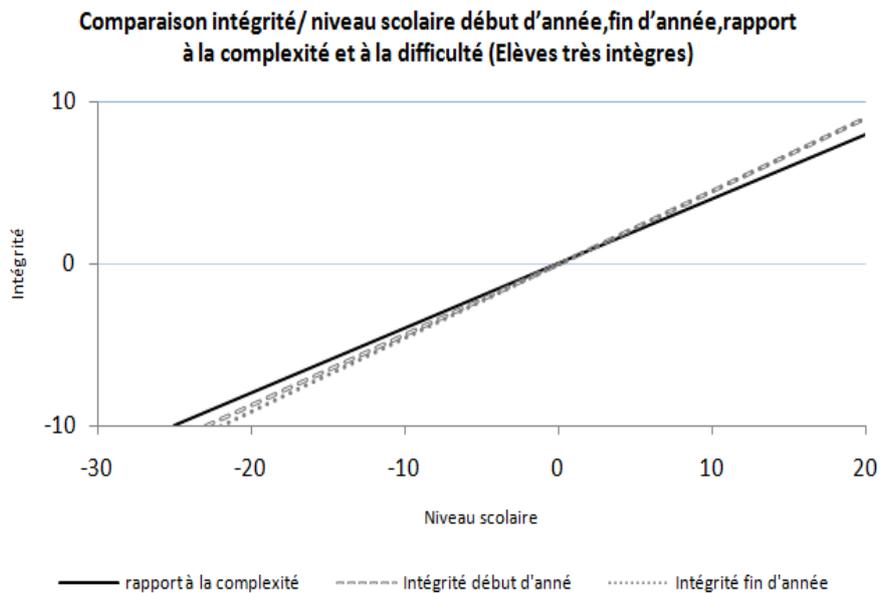
Figure 3. Pupils with low cognitive integrity (13 pupils scoring: −8 to −3) Integrity/attainment (5% variance explained) Integrity/difficulty/complexity (4% variance explained)

Comparaison intégrité/ niveau scolaire début d'année, fin d'année, rapport à la complexité et à la difficulté (Elèves peu intègres)
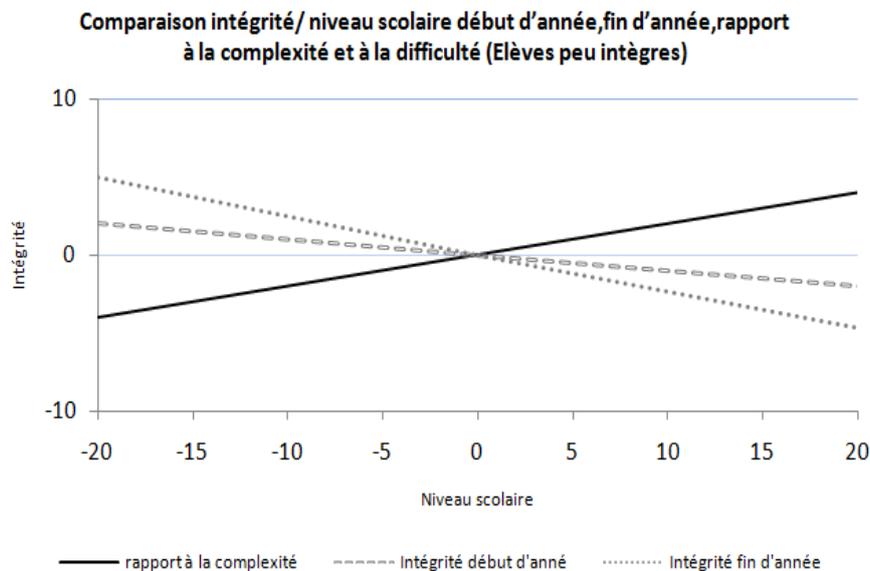
We see (Figure 2) that like in the whole population the pupils with the highest cognitive integrity were always those with the highest attainment levels. The difficulty/complexity item does not stand out from the overall integrity score. For the pupils with low cognitive integrity (Figure 3), the curve shows the opposite trend, and the relation to attainment differs between the start and end of the year. In this category, the lower the pupil's attainment, the higher their integrity score: this effect is amplified with the end-of-year school results. Although the results obtained show the limits of a linear representation (Bressoux, 2010), we can advance the hypothesis of several subpopulations: high-integrity high-attainment pupils (Figure 2), high-integrity low-attainment pupils, and low-integrity mid-attainment pupils (mid-attainment being situated at the high end of low attainment). The high-integrity low-attainment population is the one that benefits most from the setting-up of the CPI provision, as the end-of-year school result relative to the integrity score was the highest. For this subpopulation, the score for the difficulty/complexity item was the same as for the whole population.

We replicated the above measurement class by class. This revealed inter-class differences.

Figure 4. Comparison class by class.
Integrity (vertical axis) relative to school attainment (horizontal axis).
Regression line 1: start of year (solid line).
Regression line 2: end of year (dashed line).
Regression line 3: difficulty/complexity item (dotted line).
Centered data
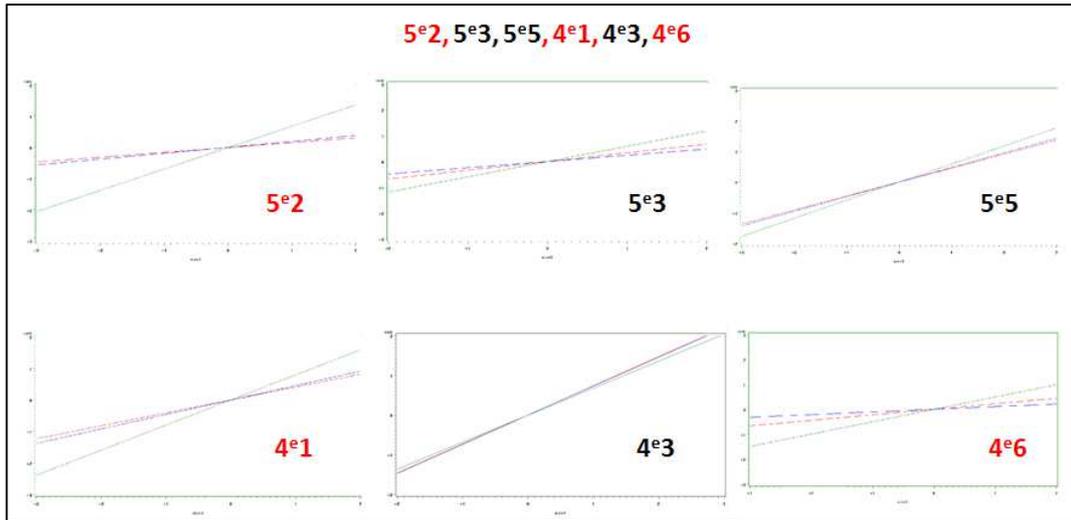
For two 7thgrade classes (7th2 and 7th3) attainment was only weakly linked to integrity (regression lines near-horizontal). For 7th5, the higher the attainment, the higher the integrity.

For two 8thgrade classes (8th1 and 8th3) the higher the attainment, the higher the integrity. In 8th6 the level of attainment was only weakly linked to integrity (regression lines near-horizontal).

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Our work validates evidence that CPI in middle schools has more complex effects than in elementary school. These effects are connected with the intra-individual variability of integrity scores.

If we take all the middle school pupils, we validate that the evened-out effect is linked to school attainment results, which validates after Giancarlo and Çokluk-Bökeoğlu that school results averages are correlated with integrity score. CPI tends to even out integrity scores in classes in which results averages are broadly dispersed, over and above the differential evolution of the pupils. Discussion is a collective praxis that favors less inequality.

If we look at the subpopulations of the classes made up of (i) high-integrity pupils and (ii) low-integrity pupils, we come up against the limit of a linear representation: at the extremes, the high-attainment pupils and the low-attainment pupils benefit most from CPI, while the mid-attainment pupils are those that benefit least in middle school. This finding corroborates the comments made by the facilitators involved, who found that in some classes the highest-attainment and the lowest-attainment pupils could strongly interact positively or negatively in the collective praxis. Thus the collective advancement achieved with CPI as we show can be affected by the influence of the most active pupils, situated at the extremes (strong versus weak) on the mid-attainment pupils.

When the measurements made for each class are compared, then we see that in half of the classes, the link between cognitive integrity and attainment is challenged. Level of attainment significantly influenced cognitive attainment in only half of them. In addition to the above finding that the impact of subpopulations affected the general results, there was a difference between classes. A comparative study of facilitator style might explain this difference. The status of the adults (teacher, counselor or school nurse) may also count. Thus the teacher effect evidenced in various school subjects by Bressoux could apply to the CPI in middle schools.

CONCLUSION

The successful introduction of philosophy in elementary schools will not be easy to reproduce confidently in middle schools until further research results have been obtained (arguing either for or against). The reform of French middle schools to come into effect in September 2016, includes civics and ethics education in its curricula, and specifies, inter alia, the development of oral skills in a discussion community. To steer this ambitious policy, scientific research needs to be done to study inter-class, inter-individual and intra-individual variability and measure the impact, in a pilot experiment similar to ours in middle school, of a clearly dedicated provision for the exercise of reasoning, ethics and intellectual resilience.

For a CPI facilitator, drawing middle school pupils into philosophical discussions is risky. This risk stems from, among other factors, the difficulty engaging youngsters in CPI, which depends on the pupils' age and on class composition. The difficulty is also linked to the facilitator's status; facing pupils in a discussion, being a teacher, nurse or counselor probably impacts differently on individual or collective choices in the discussion community. The training of the CPI facilitator is an essential factor of success in CPI. This crucial training has to enable adult facilitators, before they even start CPI, to make a clear diagnosis of the community of young philosophers they are in charge of and responsible for, and

reflect on their own position with regard to pupils engaged in CPI. This diagnosis serves as a starting point for each facilitator to adapt the existing teaching materials to the specific features of the group in their charge. The challenge of developing CPI in middle school is to successfully adapt the practice to the pupils rather than to the school curriculum, which in any case often changes. It is not to directly address current ethical and civic issues under debate in our modern democratic societies, but rather to nurture an ability for self-reappraisal and criticism of the world at large, regardless of topical events. Thinking must remain an ordinary activity. The conditions for philosophical inquiry must not to be allowed to drift towards a utilitarian purpose. We must remain free to think, and that freedom must be exercised.

Teenagers are thrilled by the existential scope of philosophy. In the transitional break between childhood and adulthood, they can take a strong interest in this activity. However, freedom of thought is not so easy to exercise. As our results show, pupil profiles and facilitator style count as factors of influence. The strong impact of school attainment level on the rise in integrity scores for two classes out of three in 8thgrade (this proportion is reversed in 7thgrade) may point to a weaker involvement of pre-adolescents in philosophical inquiry. Overall, the imposition of philosophy may not easily fit the expectancies of pre-adolescents, whereas an adolescent can better understand that doing CPI is enjoying a form of intellectual freedom. But also, imposing CPI during the free time of general class activities may be felt by adolescents as competing with other "free" activities (see Agostini, 2011, pp.198–203). Thus although using this time raised little or no real problems in 7thgrade, we found in our experimentation that it caused controversy in 8thgrade, one class even asking to drop the CPI activity (interestingly, this top-stream class comprised mostly high-attainment pupils). Should we carry on philosophizing in adulthood? Should we have philosophy activities outside school? What about at the workplace? In civil society? If we take care not to reduce philosophy to a mere utilitarian exercise (preventing violence, telling right from wrong, etc.), we consider that the precautions we have stated for directing philosophy workshops at school apply generally: the support material is of minor importance; it is the training and commitment of the facilitators that must be developed to ensure a high level of informed citizenship.

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14

DISCUSSIONS À VISÉE PHILOSOPHIQUE À L'ÉCOLE PRIMAIRE : POUR UNE CULTURE DE LA VERBALISATION

La pratique scolaire des discussions à visée philosophique (DVP) demeure un champ d'investigation ouvert, autant quant à ses enjeux que concernant ses modalités. Ce qui suit est une libre réflexion concernant les enjeux de ce type d'activité. Une expérience en cours en classe de CE2, procédant de cette réflexion et la nourrissant, est brièvement présentée.

En toute circonstance (et pas seulement dans les circonstances politiques dramatiques que nous avons connues en 2015), nous sommes amenés à dire que nous avons « des valeurs », que nous sommes « unis par des valeurs », que nous allons « défendre nos valeurs ». Dans les institutions, dans les milieux du sport, dans le marketing politique et commercial, entre proches même, …, il est de coutume maintenant de parler en ces termes. La main sur le cœur, et en promettant de « ne rien lâcher » (comme les sportifs nous ont appris à dire) ; en feignant de croire que, si nous n'avons plus foi en un dieu, nous sommes cependant agis dans ce que nous faisons par des « valeurs », reliquat peut-être de quelque encore-désirable transcendance. Dans la plupart des cas pourtant, nous sommes bien en peine de préciser ce qu'il faut entendre par ces valeurs derrière lesquelles nous nous plaçons, de dire à l'aune de quels faits elles ont ou auraient sens, voire de les nommer autrement que par des mots qui ressemblent tellement à des slogans commerciaux. Le philosophe Pierre Manent donne une vision radicale de l'omniprésent recours aux valeurs:

> "Ainsi, lorsqu'on nous demande d'adhérer aux valeurs de la République,
> on ne nous demande *rien*. […] on ne nous demande que des abstentions,
> […] La nouvelle citoyenneté consiste à démobiliser les affects civiques"
> (Manent, 2015, p 144).

L'institution scolaire n'échappe pas à cette flambée des valeurs. Elle y plonge, même, sous la pression, certainement, d'évolutions sociétales qui la mettent toujours plus dos au mur. Le « vivre-ensemble » (qu'il faudrait d'ailleurs distinguer de l'apprendre-ensemble) est en toute occasion sur les lèvres des professionnels de

l'éducation et dans les notes de service, règlementations, prescriptions, injonctions ; les apologistes des « éducations à » se font de plus en plus pressants, portant chacun son lot de valeurs ; l'apprentissage de la « citoyenneté » est cité partout — quoiqu'il s'agisse plutôt d'un apprentissage de la civilité, donc de régler des conduites en se conformant à des convenances (Jaffro, Rauzy, 97) ; le recours quasi-incantatoire aux « valeurs de la République » et, tout à la fois et partout, la construction de « règles de vie » en classe (calquées généralement sur des modèles) : tout cela indique que l'institution scolaire se donne pour tâche de consolider, de reconstruire en permanence, de construire même ce qu'on pourrait désigner comme le contrat d'entente commune de chacun avec tous. Ainsi, dans le *Socle commun de connaissances, de compétences et de culture* et dans les *Programmes* qui en découlent ou s'y réfèrent, cette sorte de contractualisation sociale apparaît comme un enjeu majeur, voire comme l'enjeu premier pour l'école obligatoire en France (primaire et collège, de 6 à 16 ans), devant même l'enjeu d'acquisition de connaissances.

Les DVP, pratiques encore émergentes, non institutionnalisées en tant que telles en France, pas même nommées ou identifiées en tant que pratiques par l'institution, pas interdites ou empêchées non plus, pouvant s'intégrer dans le fonctionnement scolaire et s'y intégrant d'ailleurs dans un nombre croissant de classes, pourraient être le lieu d'enseignement de la morale (Luxembourger, Saint Dizier de Almeida, Specogna, 2015) et, par extension, trouver place dans l'emballement des valeurs. On sait que là où elles existent, il arrive qu'elles s'intègrent, se fondent dans cette inculcation ou imprégnation, dans ce ressassement de ces valeurs que l'on nous somme de partager au titre du sens commun, du patrimoine commun, voire de l'indiscutable (méfions-nous de l'indiscutable : ainsi dira-t-on fréquemment qu'il faut respecter les idées d'autrui — non, respectons autrui comme personne, accordons-lui la parole, mais ses idées n'ont pas a priori à être respectées, car cela signifie alors une quasi-interdiction de les discuter, de les contester, de les démonter). La DVP peut se transformer en séance d'inculcation, de ressassement. Le catéchisme, fût-il humaniste et républicain, a-t-il quelque chose à voir avec une « visée philosophique » ?

Les DVP sont nées dans le contexte philosophique américain du pragmatisme, qui renonce à l'ambition de saisir la réalité derrière l'apparence, qui énonce que le but de la recherche n'est pas la vérité, surplombante et transcendante, mais l'utilité. « La recherche et la justification poursuivent une multitude de buts particuliers, mais il n'existe pas de but qui surplomberait tous les autres et qui serait la vérité », écrivait Richard Rorty, l'une des figures du pragmatisme (Rorty, 1995, p. 44). Le vrai, dans cette perspective, c'est ce qui se justifie dans une situation donnée, ce qui procède d'un accord entre des contractants, dans une situation particulière.

D'un autre point de vue, les DVP nous arrivent dans un temps où les hiérarchies (de positions, de compétences, de savoirs, …) sont dans tous les domaines bousculées et chamboulées par une revendication diffuse de démocratie

participative — de démocratie conviviale, diront certains. Le paradigme dominant de l'organisation sociale est aujourd'hui, contre la verticalité du vieux modèle théologico-politique, l'horizontalité des relations et des pouvoirs. Dans ce contexte, constatons que la perspective, managériale et non politique, du *tous ensemble*, degré 0 du discours politique, suggérant et enjoignant de s'abstenir de tout conflit, l'emporte sur une vision de la démocratie comme gestion et régulation du conflit par le débat, par la règle et, in fine, par le droit. En l'inéluctable « passion de l'égalité », que Tocqueville déjà voyait à l'œuvre, se profile, si l'on n'y prend garde, une société « maternante » au sein laquelle rien ne peut se dire, où règne la parole politiquement correcte (Lebrun, 2010), où l'on célèbre et répète, dans l'incantation, dans le recueillement qui sied, des *valeurs* qui ne disent rien, qui ne sont que des mots attachés à des représentations toutes faites, figées, et non à des réalités. Perspective qui, en matière d'éducation, est peu prometteuse !

Et pourtant (ouvrons là une parenthèse), c'est le Ministère de l'Education nationale qui, dans des consignes publiées après les attentats de Paris à destination des enseignants du primaire, prescrit cela : « Il n'appartient pas aux enseignants de faire effraction dans les représentations des élèves »[34]. Voilà qui a de quoi surprendre !... Qu'est-ce, en effet, que le métier d'un enseignant ? Mais c'est justement de faire effraction dans les représentations de l'enseigné — si l'on veut bien considérer, après Bachelard et bien d'autres, qu'une connaissance acquise est une représentation nouvelle substituée à une représentation préexistante. Le métier d'un enseignant c'est de faire irruption, et par effraction s'il le faut — la pédagogie et la didactique étant l'outillage pour cela —, dans des représentations qui ne sont ni naturelles ni spontanées, mais construites par les modes de vie, de pensée, de croyance, de relation familiaux. D'entrer dans des représentations donc, pour les enrichir, pour les transformer, pour les renverser, voire pour les anéantir. C'est toute la réflexion sur le sens de l'école et sur la forme scolaire, depuis Condorcet au moins, qui est mise en cause par une telle prescription. Simple et ponctuel témoignage d'inculture ou, plus profondément, signe d'une reconfiguration en cours de l'institution scolaire et de son rôle ? Fermons la parenthèse.

Il n'y a pas à ce jour de forme technique canonique pour la pratique des DVP, pas de cadre d'action obligé qui définirait stricto sensu ce qu'est une DVP — les différences d'appellation en témoignent (DVP, atelier philo, débat philosophique, …). L'âge des élèves bien sûr importe pour configurer l'activité, mais on constate que des pratiques extrêmement diverses existent, entre quasi abstention de l'enseignant (abstention quant à la prise de parole en tout cas) et intervention plus ou moins marquée. L'abstention conduit à faire de la DVP une pratique qui s'apparente aux *groupes de parole* mis en place par exemple dans des structures qui reçoivent des

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[34]   http://eduscol.education.fr/cid95370/savoir-accueillir-la-parole-des-eleves-apres-les-attentats-terroristes-en-ile-de-france.html

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malades qu'il faut guérir d'addictions ou des femmes victimes de violences, ou aux groupes de parole pratiqués jadis par les groupes féministes, l'enjeu étant alors d'accueillir la (les) parole(s). Mais alors dire qu'il s'agit à l'école d'ateliers de langage serait plus juste.

A l'envers d'une position qui prône l'abstention de l'enseignant, considérons que la qualification de *philosophique* pour nommer ces pratiques enseignantes en cours d'invention que sont les DVP est porteuse de signification ; la philosophie, depuis ses origines grecques et dans toutes ses évolutions, convie à mettre en question les évidences, à tenir qu'il n'y a rien qui ne soit discutable, et elle vise et construit, dans le rapport que nous avons à notre culture et à la culture en général, la possibilité d'une liberté de l'esprit, d'une autonomie de la raison (Baptiste, 2015).

Nous prenons le parti de considérer que la communion dans des valeurs, prescrite par les textes qui régissent les pratiques enseignantes, n'est pas a priori un objectif pour les DVP. Les séances d'instruction morale et civique sont là pour ça. Bien plus, les échanges langagiers, en toute occasion et dans toutes les disciplines, y pourvoient ; plus généralement, l'expérience nous apprend que « l'atmosphère » construite dans la classe par l'enseignant, entendue comme espace de collaboration langagière et cognitive (Bucheton et coll., 2009), contribue bien plus que tous les discours prescripteurs voire moralisateurs, à identifier, à nommer, à expliciter, à respecter ce qui permet de vivre ensemble avec le souci de l'autre et des autres et le souci de soi-même. Nous choisissons donc, pour la conduite de DVP en cycle 3, de déserter le terrain des valeurs, de « l'exaspérant bavardage au sujet des valeurs » (Ruwen Ogien, Libération, 14-10-15) pour celui de l'investigation critique.

Considérons donc que les DVP visent l'émergence et l'exercice de la pensée critique. Par critique, terme que nous prenons au sens philosophique du terme, il faut entendre non pas une activité polémique mais une activité qui examine et questionne ce qui se donne comme évidence et de sens commun, qui ne prend pas pour établi et stable le sens des formulations toutes faites, qui prend les mots et formulations d'usage courant, ces termes et expressions que tout le monde semble entendre à l'unisson, comme des *boîtes noires* qu'il faut ouvrir. La critique déconstruit. La critique en ce sens n'est pas polémique (quoiqu'elle ne s'interdise pas de l'être), elle est ouverture, dévoilement, multiplication des points de vue et découverte de relations. Elle révèle que telle formulation, figée dans des usages ou convenances du moment, porte d'autres significations, que ces significations ouvrent à d'autres voies, qu'elles agrandissent la pensée.

Deux remarques ayant trait à la professionnalité enseignante. Premièrement cette ambition est concordante avec la construction en classe d'un rapport au langage dont on sait qu'il est absolument déterminant dans la réussite ou l'échec scolaire (Lahire, 1993). Les DVP s'inscrivent — cela n'est pas sans conséquence concernant la formation des maîtres — dans une très grande attention accordée aux interactions langagières. Deuxièmement la pratique en classe de ces interactions

requiert de l'enseignant un intérêt personnel pour l'investigation, une habileté de parole et, plus globalement, une habileté dans la conduite collective de l'investigation. Les gestes professionnels requis ne peuvent se déployer que dans une culture partagée (Bucheton et coll., 2009) et stabilisée. Cela signifie que la régularité de l'exercice et donc les habitudes acquises sont déterminantes. Habitudes et accoutumance qui vont permettre de construire une démarche qui n'a rien de spontané ou de naturel.

Exercice de la pensée critique et investigation ? Comment ? L'expérience que nous menons a lieu en cycle 3 de l'école élémentaire. Le protocole de conduite des séances est très simple. Un mot est donné, qui a été choisi par l'enseignante. Après un moment de réflexion, les élèves demandent la parole (distribuée par l'enseignante) et enchaînent les prises de parole. L'enseignante opère des relances quand le propos peut être approfondi ou qu'une ouverture se présente, et fait de très courtes reprises pour stabiliser une formulation, souligner une pluralité de sens, valider l'apparition d'un mot non encore advenu. L'atelier, portant sur un groupe de 10 à 12 élèves, dure une vingtaine de minutes.

L'enseignante prépare la séance comme suit. Un mot est choisi, soigneusement choisi et formulé. Ainsi *être heureux* et *le bonheur* ne susciteront pas les mêmes réactions parmi les élèves, les mêmes formulations, le même enchaînement. Le mot étant choisi, l'enseignante fait un inventaire en vrac des acceptions du terme, des champs d'application, des dérivations, sans rechercher l'exhaustivité. L'enseignante se trouvera ainsi pourvue d'une réserve de significations et de pistes. Cela lui évitera (du moins est-ce l'ambition) de privilégier d'emblée telle voie, telle opposition, telle signification tirées de son habitus personnel, de s'y enfermer, d'y enfermer la discussion. Elle sera disponible et préparée à ce qui adviendra, elle n'imposera pas. Elle écoutera, pourra relever et distinguer des formulations, les mettre en relation avec d'autres, les mettre en opposition le cas échéant.

Une séance de verbalisation ainsi préparée et dirigée conduit les élèves à conceptualiser. En effet, poser un terme général et abstrait, d'usage courant cependant, suscite la verbalisation d'expériences et perceptions diverses, hétérogènes. On a là une exploration langagière (accroissant le lexique et spécifiant des relations) qui construit un objet de pensée auquel peuvent être rattachées ces expériences et perceptions, auquel se rattachent des mots et énoncés qui ne sont pas spontanément dans un rapport de proximité avec le mot de départ. En lieu et place d'un terme fermé sur une signification courante et donc fluctuante et floue, surgit une efflorescence de formulations, un accroissement du bagage lexical, générant une complexification de la signification. Des formulations sont stabilisées du fait d'être énoncées, des liens se tissent entre des expériences, entre des formulations. C'est un processus d'abstraction, de conceptualisation.

Les DVP s'inscrivent dans le difficile enseignement de la capacité à verbaliser — capacité à traduire et construire langagièrement l'expérience (qu'elle

soit vécue, imaginée, pensée, commentée, …), capacité à décrire et à relier. Focalisée depuis des décennies par les didacticiens du français sur le lien lire-écrire, l'école primaire n'enseigne guère la verbalisation, en laquelle se joue la capacité à dire mais aussi la capacité à écrire. Le lien dire-écrire fut jadis énoncé par l'institution scolaire. En effet les textes prescriptifs du Ministère de l'Instruction publique, en France, à la fin du 19ème siècle (sous Jules Ferry), qui instituaient et formalisaient la *rédaction* comme modalité d'apprentissage de la langue française écrite, instituaient et formalisaient également une modalité d'apprentissage de l'oral (Baptiste, 2002). On nomma alors *élocution* cette modalité, reprenant en cela un terme de la vieille rhétorique.

Les DVP ne peuvent assurément pas être assimilées à ce que l'on nommait l'élocution. Cette invention, sous la conquérante Troisième République, de l'oral en classe primaire et celle, conjointement, de la rédaction, visaient l'homogénéisation langagière du territoire. Il n'empêche : cette conjonction entre exercice de la parole et apprentissage de l'écriture nous paraît à explorer. Il y aurait lieu de s'interroger sur les effets des DVP sur l'apprentissage de l'écriture.

Nous faisons l'hypothèse que les comportements imposés par les DVP (expressions langagières diverses des expériences, écoute des autres, partage des formulations, délibération collective) et les exigences langagières induites par leur pratique régulière (contrôle mutuel de la pertinence et de la justesse des interventions, exigence de précision des formulations, enrichissement lexical, reformulations, conceptualisation) construisent une culture de la verbalisation qui accroît les capacités des élèves à produire des textes écrits.

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15

FORMARSE EN LA MOVILIDAD CON MOODLE CONTEXT. DESARROLLO DE UNA APLICACIÓN DE MOBILE LEARNING SENSIBLE AL CONTEXTO

REVISIÓN DE LITERATURA

Aprovechando el potencial de las tecnologías móviles, de presencia cada vez más extendida en nuestras vidas según se manifiesta en diferentes informes anuales sobre el avance de la Sociedad de la Información como los publicados por las Fundaciones Telefónica u Orange, y tratando de responder a las demandas de personas cada vez más conectadas y en permanente movilidad se ha avanzado en formación en el desarrollo de una nueva modalidad como es el mobile learning.

En torno a ella, un campo de investigación emergente y prometedor, en tanto que puede beneficiar fuertemente el desarrollo de la formación bajo esta modalidad, es aquel que busca la personalización y adaptabilidad para proveer de experiencias de aprendizaje más eficaces y convenientes. Se trata de lograr que el sistema de aprendizaje móvil adapte su comportamiento y funcionalidades a las necesidades educativas (por ejemplo, metas de aprendizaje e intereses), las características personales (por ejemplo, estilos de aprendizaje y conocimientos previos) y las circunstancias particulares (por ejemplo, la ubicación actual y los movimientos en el entorno) de un alumno individual o un grupo de estudiantes interconectados (Sampson & Zervas, 2013).

Lo que se persigue es ayudar a los estudiantes a aumentar su satisfacción y aprendizaje y disminuir las limitaciones y restricciones con que se pueden encontrar en su participación en experiencias de formación móviles. Para ello, se desarrolla un sistema de adaptación que ajusta la actividad educativa y la infraestructura a un determinado contexto (Economides, 2008) definido, según Economides (2009), atendiendo a variables concernientes al propio alumno como su posición o actividad física (sentado, de pie, parado, caminando, corriendo, montando en bicicleta, conduciendo, etc.), a la actividad educativa como su tipo, requisitos (nivel de

dificultad o tiempo necesario para su desarrollo), recursos que se le asocian (basados en texto, basados en audio, basados en gráficos, basados en videos, inmersivos, etc.) y sistema de evaluación, a la infraestructura tal como el dispositivo tecnológico en uso y las condiciones ambientales (la luz, el sonido o la temperatura).

En consecuencia, el proceso de adaptación se efectuaría en tiempo real y constaría de tres fases (Zervas, Sampson, Gómez & Fabregat, 2013):

1. Detectar las dimensiones del contexto móvil del estudiante. En esta primera fase se detectan las dimensiones del contexto actual mediante el hardware y los sensores del dispositivo móvil del estudiante, así como de los datos introducidos por éste manualmente.

2. Ejecución de la adaptación de contenidos móviles. Durante esta fase, se evalúan las dimensiones del contexto y se aplica la adaptación de contenido en tiempo real.

3. Entrega del contenido adaptado: Por último, el contenido adaptado en la fase anterior se presenta en el dispositivo móvil del estudiante.

EL DISEÑO DE LA FORMACIÓN PARA LA APP MOODLE CONTEXT

Moodle Context es una aplicación móvil que incorpora a las dimensiones del contexto la ubicación, el tiempo y la actividad física que estén desarrollando sus usuarios. Desarrollada para Android, una vez que detecta el contexto de un sujeto particular le hace llegar notificaciones, ajustadas a dicho escenario y ambiente, sobre los recursos y las actividades de aprendizaje en los que puede avanzar.

Cuando identifica un nuevo contexto para un usuario, envía los datos a la nube y, a su vez, a la plataforma Moodle donde se encuentra la acción de formación desarrollada para obtener información sobre las actividades de aprendizaje que ha de realizar o los recursos disponibles para el estudio. Las actividades y recursos de aprendizaje se organizan por objetivos. Los que en la app se recomienden serán los concernientes al objetivo que el usuario esté cursando en ese momento. Los ya superados, por su parte, quedarán asimismo accesibles desde la app.

El desarrollo de las actividades de aprendizaje se realiza directamente sobre las herramientas que Moodle incorpora, así como sobre sus recursos. Así, Moodle es el encargado de llevar el seguimiento del usuario y de procesar cuáles son las actividades que se han finalizado y cuáles los recursos de estudio que han sido revisados para que desde la app se pueda consultar dicha información. Todas las comunicaciones se efectúan a través de Internet.

Para describir Moodle Context en mayor profundidad, en lo que sigue se hace referencia explícita al contexto de aprendizaje y el contexto móvil siguiendo la diferenciación realizada por Sampson & Zervas (2013).

EL CONTEXTO DE APRENDIZAJE

El diseño instruccional de la formación

Toda acción formativa que vaya a ser implementada a través, o con apoyo, de la app Moodle Context estará organizada en torno a objetivos, secuencias de objetos y actividades de aprendizaje.

Los objetivos definen los logros de aprendizaje que se han de alcanzar con la formación. Para conseguirlos, cada uno de los objetivos tendrá asociado un conjunto de diferentes recursos para el estudio y actividades de aprendizaje que se habrán de desarrollar (en adelante, objetos y actividades de aprendizaje serán referidas como OAA). Los OAA estarán organizados en secuencias.

Específicamente, los objetos de aprendizaje dentro de una misma secuencia deberían contar con formatos diferenciados (texto digital o web, imagen, audio, video o multimedia) para que siempre haya opción de avance independientemente del contexto de los usuarios y deberían suponer un grado variable de dedicación para facilitar el ajuste a la disponibilidad temporal con la que cuenten. Asimismo, se debería garantizar que se visualizan o reproducen en cualquier dispositivo móvil, ya sean tablets o smartphones, de sistema operativo Android y sin dependencias de software adicional. Al tener que estar alojados en Moodle, o siempre que se disponga de ellos en online, se debe cuidar también que el tiempo de descarga sea breve. Por último, deben de ser usables, esto es: 1) si se tratasen de audios, éste no contendrá ruidos ni interferencias, la locución será clara y contará con un volumen óptimo; 2) si se tratasen de imágenes, éstas estarán optimizadas y tendrán plena nitidez; 3) si se tratasen de contenidos web, serán de diseño sencillo y dispondrán de un tipo y tamaño de fuente legibles; etc.

Del mismo modo, cada secuencia la componen diferentes actividades de aprendizaje. Las actividades de aprendizaje no necesariamente han de ser de tipo asimilativas (demandan al alumnado ver, escuchar, leer) y evaluativas (tienen como objetivo final la evaluación del alumnado) sino que deben de enriquecerse con otras de tipo comunicativas (como intervenir en un foro de debate, acceder a una videoconferencia, opinar en un blog, etc.), productivas (solicitan crear, generar, diseñar, etc.), gestión de la información (como buscar o contrastar información, confeccionar un mapa conceptual, analizar datos, etc.) o experienciales (tratan de situar al alumnado en un contexto próximo al del ejercicio profesional futuro de forma simulada).

No obstante, en el seno de cada una de las secuencias, no se obligará al trabajo con todos los OAA porque estos podrán ser obligatorios (de exigido cumplimiento) u opcionales (siempre voluntarios, de ampliación).

Como la secuencia de OAA dentro de un objetivo se define en la medida en que se establece un orden entre ellos, ha de señalarse que los considerados

obligatorios tienen siempre orden consecutivo aunque la posición podrá ser, en algunos casos, compartida por varios de ellos. Por su parte, los opcionales ocupan el mismo orden que el OAA obligatorio al que estén asociados. Véase el gráfico que sigue:

Figura 1. Representación de una secuencia de OAA
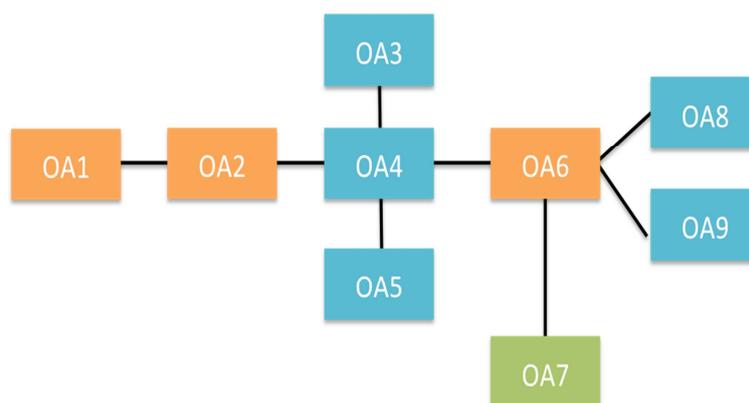
A pesar de que las secuencias estén definidas, se reorganizan y personalizan de acuerdo al contexto móvil que la app detecte. El orden dado a los OAA no demanda su escrupuloso cumplimiento.

Por último, el avance de una secuencia a otra, entre objetivos, se produce de manera automática cuando se detecta que se han cubierto todos los OAA obligatorios.

Diseño de la acción formativa

El diseño de la acción formativa se produce directamente en Moodle, pudiéndonos servir de la totalidad de herramientas que la plataforma ofrece (foro, wiki, tarea, archivo, glosario, etc.). Sin embargo, para hacer viable la configuración de la formación en los términos descritos y para facilitar el funcionamiento de la app, ha sido necesario el desarrollo de los siguientes mecanismos:

– Bloque Gestión de Recursos M-Learning: Sistema desde el que se procederá a la creación de objetivos, a dar formato a los OAA y a la configuración de las secuencias.

– Bloque Avance Curso M-Learning: Elemento donde se mostrará el avance de un usuario particular expresado como porcentaje de la formación que se ha cubierto, así como el avance medio de los compañeros, y desde el que se permitirá el acceso a un informe detallado de los OAA superados y pendientes y, en consecuencia, de los objetivos logrados o no.

– Bloque Recursos Complementarios: Sistema que facilitará el acceso directo a los OAA de carácter opcional y pertenecientes al objetivo que se esté cursando y los ya superados.

–   Informe Seguimiento M-Learning: Informe detallado para el seguimiento, por parte del docente, del avance de todos los usuarios. Desde él, se puede dar por superado cualquier OAA u objetivo. Ofrece información de la fecha en que cada usuario ha trabajado con cada objeto de aprendizaje y presentado sus actividades.

El procedimiento que ha de seguirse para organizar la secuencia de OAA de un objetivo, por consiguiente, se produce esencialmente desde el bloque Gestión de Recursos M-Learning y sería como se describe:

1.   Crear el objetivo. El registro de cualquiera de los objetivos de la formación, se hace desde el citado bloque. Necesariamente hay que darle un nombre y asignarle un orden. Los objetivos en la página de inicio de Moodle ocuparán secciones diferenciadas. La sección tomará por denominación el nombre que demos al objetivo. Asimismo, tal como ahora el objetivo sea nombrado aparecerá en la app.

2.   Incorporar a Moodle los OAA. Los objetos de aprendizaje se vincularán en la página de inicio de Moodle agregando el recurso que se considere más pertinente ya sea Archivo, URL, Paquete SCORM, etc. Del mismo modo, las actividades se configurarán sobre la herramienta en que se vayan a desarrollar ya sea Foro, Wiki, Taller, Tarea, etc. En la página de inicio, los OA y actividades aparecerán automáticamente en una primera sección que sólo visualiza el diseñador.

3.   Dar formato a los OAA. Tanto los objetos como las actividades de aprendizaje requieren que respecto de ellos se facilite una serie de metadatos, entre otra información: duración, condición para considerarlo superado, actividad física que se le asocia (andando, parado, en vehículo) o idioma. Estos metadatos se utilizarán posteriormente al recomendar el recurso en la app. Se incorporan desde el mismo bloque.

4.   Asociar los OAA a su correspondiente objetivo. Para ubicar cada OAA en su objetivo, desde el bloque, ha de crearse la relación entre ellos. Al establecer el vínculo, hay que especificar el carácter que adopta el objeto o actividad dentro de la secuencia (si es obligatorio u opcional) y su orden o posición.

Los usuarios, una vez que accedan a Moodle, visualizarán aquellos bloques que hayan sido añadidos en los márgenes laterales de la página de inicio. Entre ellos, aparecerán los bloques Recursos Complementarios y Avance Curso M-Learning. En la parte central, se mostrarán los OAA del objetivo que se encuentren cursando. Junto a cada uno de ellos, una marca informa si el objeto o actividad ha sido superado o no. Un cron va actualizando el estado de los OAA cada 5 minutos.

CONTEXTO MÓVIL

La aplicación para dispositivos móviles Android
Como se ha avanzado, Moodle Context es una aplicación para dispositivos móviles Android, compatible con las versiones 2.3.3 y superiores, que ofrece al estudiante la

posibilidad de seguir el proceso de aprendizaje de una acción de formación implementada en Moodle de manera ajustada a su cambiante contexto móvil. El contexto móvil con el que trabaja la app atiende a las siguientes dimensiones:

– Lugar: Esta dimensión incluye información geoespacial relativa tanto a la localización actual del usuario, como a los lugares frecuentados en su vida diaria.

– Tiempo: Esta dimensión incluye información sobre la disponibilidad temporal que tiene el usuario para participar en el proceso de aprendizaje.

– Actividad: Esta dimensión incluye información sobre la actividad física que está realizando el usuario en un momento concreto del proceso de aprendizaje. El conjunto de actividades físicas consideradas se describirá en el siguiente punto.

En concreto, cuando se determina un nuevo contexto, en tiempo real, se manda una notificación al dispositivo móvil del usuario con el listado de OAA pendientes de acuerdo al contexto móvil que se ha calculado.

Figura 2. Representación del procedimiento que sigue la app

La app permite que un usuario gestione sus preferencias de cuándo y dónde desea recibir notificaciones. Cuando esas preferencias se cumplan, llegarán notificaciones con los OAA que tiene que completar, pudiendo visualizar los OAA de las acciones formativas en las que está inscrito y sobre las que puede avanzar.

Determinación del contexto móvil del estudiante

La detección del contexto de cualquier usuario se produce en tiempo real teniendo presente las tres dimensiones definidas anteriormente: actividad, tiempo y lugar.

A) ACTIVIDAD

La actividad es la primera de las tres dimensiones que se atiende al definir el contexto móvil de un usuario. Por actividad se entiende los siguientes tres estados de actividad física que cualquier usuario puede llegar a desarrollar: estar parado, estar andando y viajar en vehículo.

Para detectar la actividad, se ejecuta un servicio en segundo plano en el dispositivo móvil cuya funcionalidad es obtener la probabilidad de que el usuario esté realizando alguna de las tres actividades físicas. La frecuencia de muestreo de las

actividades es de tres minutos y el umbral de probabilidad establecido es del 70%. Si la actividad detectada por el dispositivo móvil supera dicho umbral, pasará a ser considerada como candidata. Es necesario que en el siguiente muestreo, pasados otros tres minutos, la actividad detectada vuelva a superar el umbral mínimo y además sea la misma que la candidata en el último muestreo para que la actividad sea elegida para el contexto. Es decir, el estudiante tiene que estar aproximadamente seis minutos realizando la misma actividad para que pase a formar parte del contexto actual.

Figura 3. Representación de la dimensión Actividad
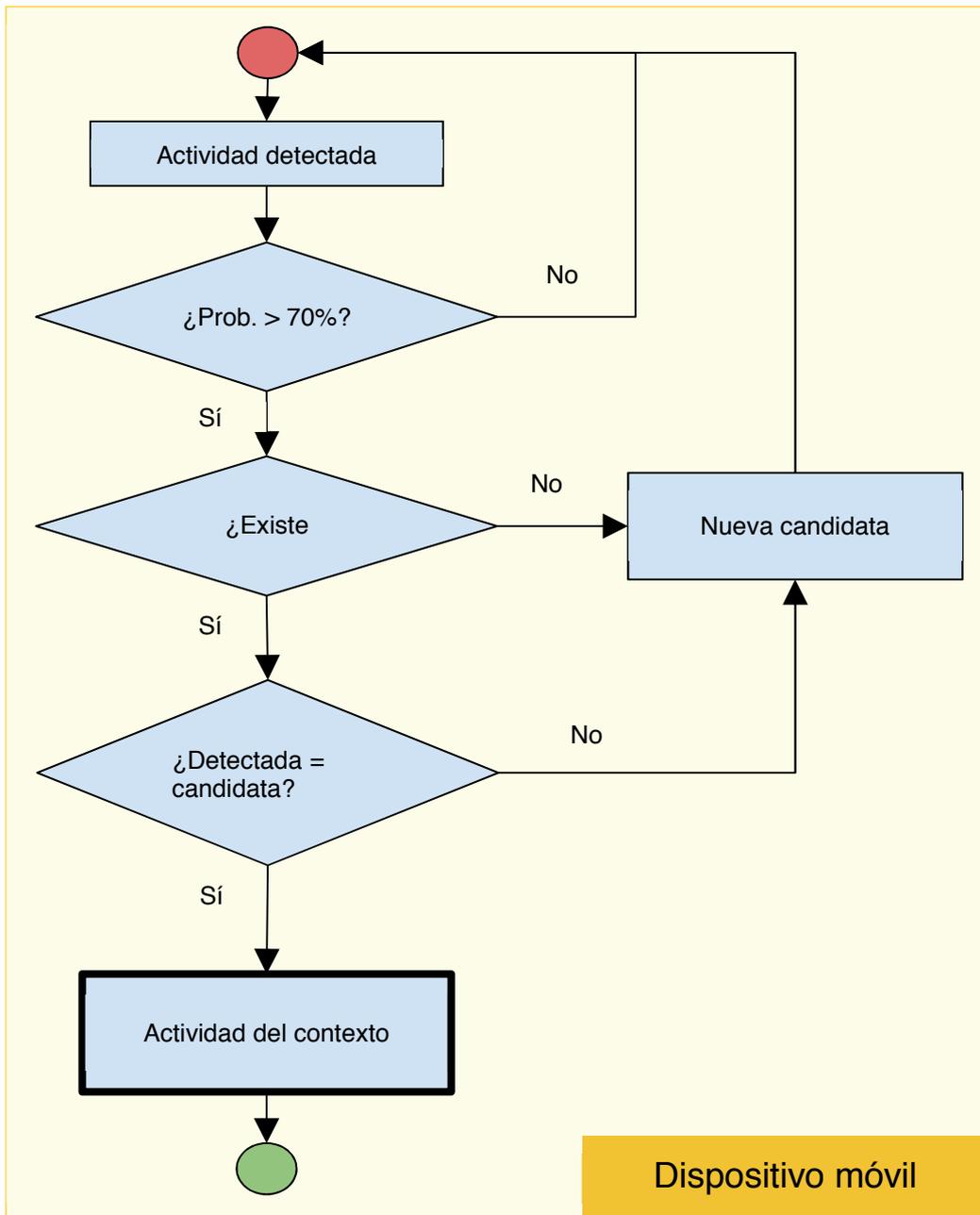
Supongamos que Juan ha salido a hacer deporte y comienza a caminar. Pasados tres minutos su dispositivo móvil detecta que está andando con una probabilidad del 98% y que está parado con una probabilidad del 2%. La actividad considerada candidata es *estar andando*. Después de otros tres minutos, el dispositivo móvil detecta estas otras actividades: andar con probabilidad del 78%, viajar en vehículo con probabilidad del 2% y parado con probabilidad del 20%. En este caso la actividad más probable también es *estar andando*. Como, por una parte, supera el umbral mínimo establecido se compara con la actividad candidata. Al ser iguales, por otra, la actividad *estar andando* pasará a formar parte del contexto actual de Juan, quien recibirá en su dispositivo móvil todas aquellos OAA que se ajusten a ese contexto.

Si en el segundo muestreo las actividades detectadas hubiesen sido las siguientes: viajar en vehículo con probabilidad 80% y estar andando con probabilidad 20%. La actividad candidata sería *ir en vehículo*. Al superar el umbral y ser distinta a la última candidata, *ir en vehículo* pasa a ser la nueva candidata. Por lo tanto, hay que esperar al siguiente muestreo para confirmar si la actividad *ir en vehículo* es la actividad del contexto y que se le envíen a Juan los OAA de ir en vehículo.

La actividad física incluida en el contexto se utiliza para filtrar y seleccionar los OAA de acuerdo a la información que al configurarlo se reseñó en los metadatos. Así si la actividad física es *ir en vehículo*, se le mostrará al alumno aquellos OAA que previamente se hubiesen reconocido como propios para la citada actividad como escuchar cualquier archivo de audio o visualizar vídeos breves que no requieran de alta concentración. En el caso de que la actividad sea *andando*, los OAA mostrados estarán relacionados con la tarea de escucha. En tercer lugar, si la actividad es estar *parado*, el alumno recibirá todos los OAA disponibles ya les propongan la lectura de textos, la intervención en un foro, la realización de cuestionarios, etc.

B) TIEMPO

Una segunda dimensión del contexto móvil es el tiempo, que se determina mediante la combinación de la hora actual y los tres mecanismos que se describen a continuación: límite de notificaciones por tramo horario, restricción por franja horaria y restricción durante una hora.

En primer lugar, el usuario desde la app establece aquellas preferencias horarias que considera oportunas. Estas preferencias se definen como una franja horaria compuesta por una hora de inicio y una hora de fin. Las preferencias horarias se evalúan como restricción, es decir, si la hora en que se identifica una nueva actividad se encuentra dentro de alguna de las franjas horarias establecidas por el usuario para no recibir ninguna notificación, no se le enviará. De tal modo que el sistema las ha de comprobar cuando se asume una nueva actividad.

En segundo lugar, el usuario también tiene la posibilidad de establecer el número máximo de notificaciones que desea recibir en tres tramos horarios predefinidos por defecto en la aplicación: mañana (7:00 - 15:00), tarde (15:00 - 23:00) y noche (23:00 - 7:00). Esto permite al usuario establecer en qué momentos del día desea recibir más o menos notificaciones. Si un usuario llega al límite, no se le enviarán más notificaciones en el tramo horario en el que se encuentre. El contador de notificaciones enviadas se restablece a cero diariamente durante la madrugada en zona horaria europea.

Por último, existe una tercera opción consistente en que el estudiante deshabilite las notificaciones durante una hora. Al recibir una notificación, tiene siempre la posibilidad de silenciar las notificaciones durante la próxima hora. La opción se facilita en la misma notificación y no en la aplicación.

Figura 4. Representación de la dimensión Tiempo
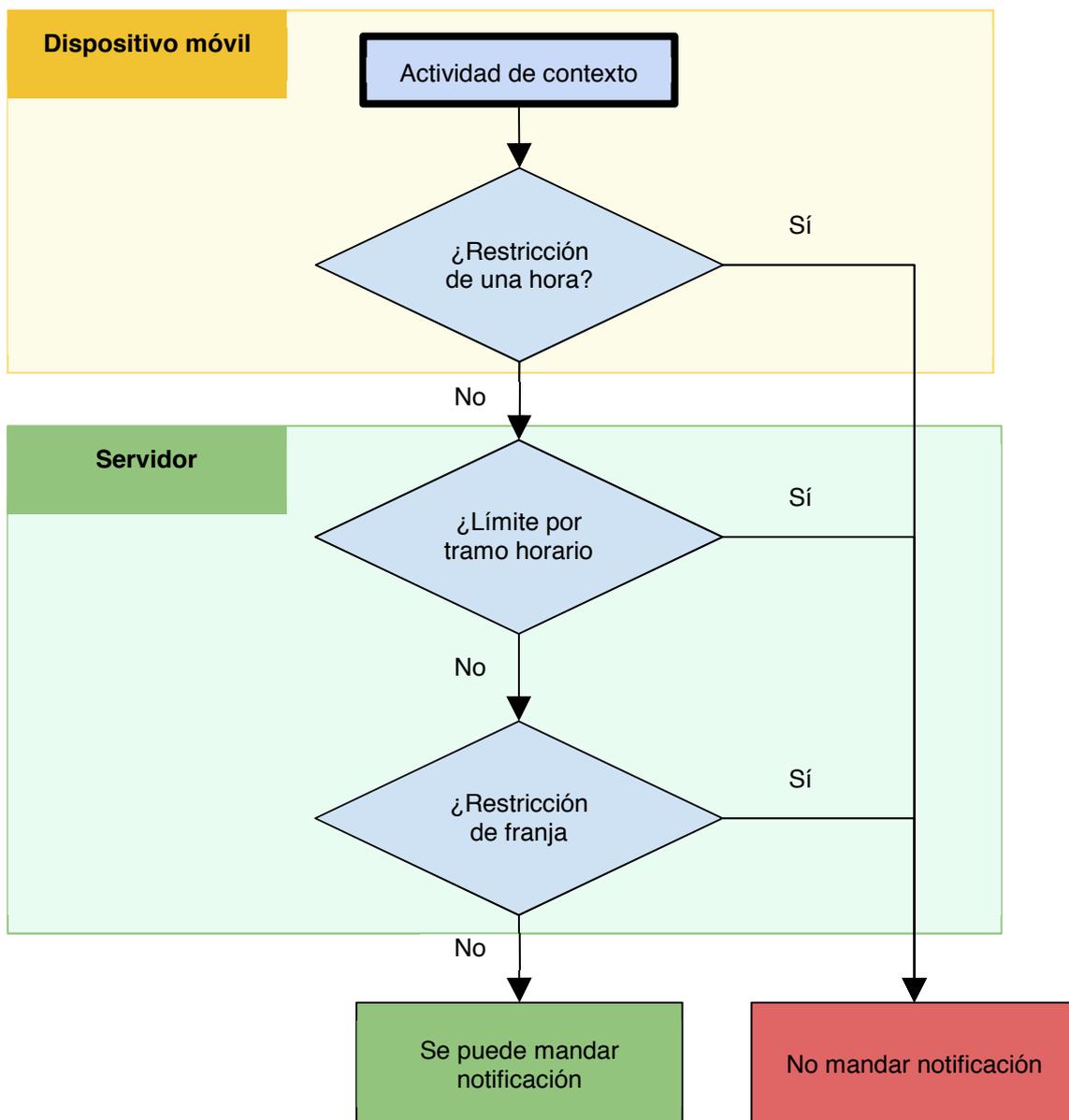
Supongamos ahora que Laura tiene dos turnos de trabajo, uno por las mañanas de 8:00 a 12:00 y otro por las tardes de 16:00 a 20:00. Para adaptar el proceso de aprendizaje a sus necesidades, establece no recibir notificaciones en ninguna de esas dos franjas horarias. Hoy por la mañana ha cogido el autobús para ir al trabajo. A las 7:30 se detectó la nueva actividad, ir en un vehículo. Como no disponía de ninguna restricción horaria establecida a esa hora, le llegó una notificación a su dispositivo móvil con los OAA que se adaptaban al contexto, por ejemplo, escuchar un archivo de audio mp3 a lo que accedió. Más tarde, a las 11:00, se ha detectado la actividad de estar parada pero, como en este horario no desea recibir ninguna notificación, no se le envía.

C) LUGAR

El lugar es la tercera dimensión que se tiene en cuenta al establecer el contexto. Viene dada por la ubicación del estudiante expresada en términos de latitud y longitud y por los lugares donde el usuario no desea ser notificado.

De forma similar a las preferencias de tiempo, el usuario puede establecer preferencias de lugar con carácter restrictivo para evitar la recepción de notificaciones en determinados sitios.

Si se puede determinar la localización del estudiante cuando se asume una nueva actividad, se comprobará si se encuentra en un radio de 200 metros respecto a los lugares que haya establecido en las preferencias. En caso afirmativo, no se le mandará ninguna notificación. Si no se puede determinar la ubicación del estudiante en tiempo real, esta dimensión no será considerada para establecer el contexto.

Figura 5. Representación de la dimensión Lugar

Figura 5. Representación de la dimensión Lugar
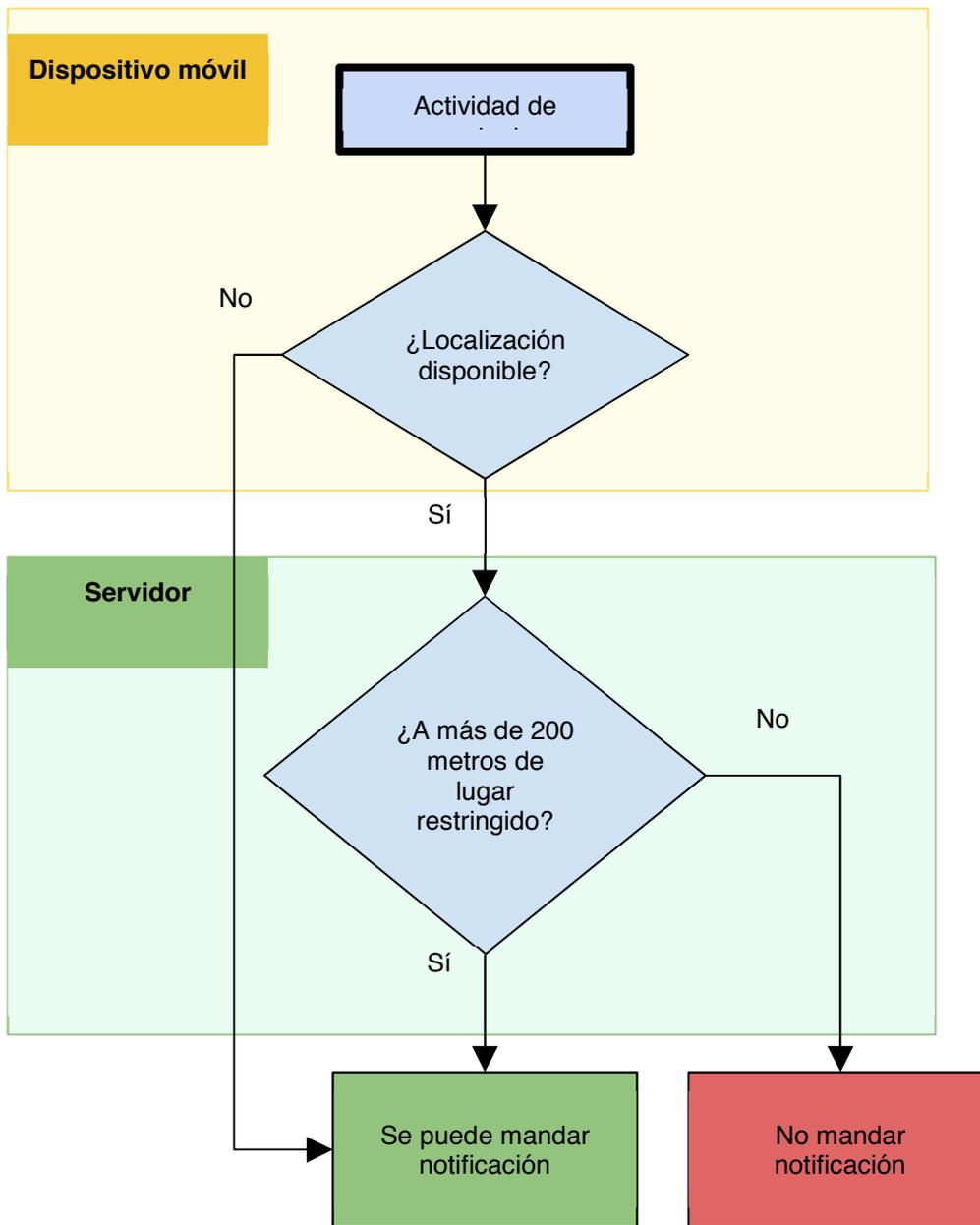
Supongamos que Adela tiene mañana una reunión de trabajo por la tarde en la oficina de uno de sus clientes. No quiere recibir ninguna notificación durante el encuentro por lo que al revisar en la noche su agenda para el día siguiente establece una nueva restricción de lugar indicando el sitio donde se encuentra la oficina. A las 18:00 del día de la reunión, la aplicación detecta que está parada. Como no tiene establecida ninguna restricción horaria se le podría mandar la notificación. Sin

embargo, el sistema comprueba que existe una ubicación que restringe la notificación, y por consiguiente, no se le mandará mientras permanezca en ese lugar.

Cloud Computing

Esta propuesta de aprendizaje móvil basado en contexto hace uso de la plataforma de Cloud Computing de Google continuamente. Las ventajas son varias.

En primer lugar, se derivan las operaciones de computación más complejas del dispositivo móvil a Google App Engine, con lo que el consumo de batería del dispositivo móvil es mínimo y la aplicación móvil funciona de forma fluida, mejorando así la experiencia de uso de los usuarios. El acuerdo a nivel de servicio (SLA) de Google establece que sus sistemas estarán disponibles mensualmente al menos el 99.5% del tiempo, es decir, los estudiantes no tendrán problemas para utilizar los servicios de Google y guardar sus preferencias de tiempo o lugar, por ejemplo, en cualquier momento y en cualquier parte del mundo.

En segundo lugar, Google App Engine ofrece escalabilidad lo cual permite a nuestro sistema soportar un alto grado de usuarios utilizando la aplicación móvil simultáneamente. Para el piloto se está utilizando el plan de tarificación gratuito y estas prestaciones están más limitadas.

En tercer lugar, aprovechamos la integración de Android con el ecosistema de servicios de Google. Específicamente, utilizamos:

–   Google Cloud Datastore para almacenar los datos y las preferencias de los usuarios ya que ofrece un altísimo grado de durabilidad, escalabilidad, disponibilidad y consistencia.

–   Google Maps Android API para que los estudiantes seleccionen de forma fácil e intuitiva la ubicación donde no desean recibir notificaciones mediante la aplicación móvil.

–   Google Cloud Messaging para el envío de notificaciones push a los dispositivos móviles de los estudiantes.

–   Google Analytics para obtener estadísticas de uso de la aplicación Android y estudiar el comportamiento de los usuarios.

SITUACIÓN ACTUAL DEL PROYECTO

En la actualidad, nos encontramos implementando una experiencia piloto por medio de la cual tratamos de conocer las principales mejoras que un grupo de quince usuarios observan que han de hacerse sobre la app después de haber interactuado con ella.

La acción formativa versa sobre los entornos personales de aprendizaje (personal learning environment, PLE). Está organizada en torno a nueve objetivos que buscan acercar a los usuarios al concepto de PLE, a cómo éste se configura y a

cómo puede desarrollarse. Más de 160 OAA se facilitan para completar la formación.

Al término de la formación, se demandará a cada sujeto en particular que cumplimente dos inventarios específicos de evaluación. El primero confeccionado de acuerdo a la teoría unificada sobre uso y aceptación de la tecnología desarrollada por Venkatesh, Morris, Davis & Davis (2003) que ha sido adaptada al empleo de dispositivos móviles en diferentes contextos y situaciones (Magsamen-Conrad, Upadhyaya, Youngnyo & Dowd, 2015; Moran, Hawkes & El Gayar, 2010) y al m-learning (Abu-Al-Aish, & Love, 2013; Wang, Wu, & Wang, 2009). El segundo creado expresamente para valorar el diseño instruccional y tecnológico que ha sido aquí presentado.

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16

FORMAR EN COMPETENCIAS PROFESIONALES PARA EL DESEMPEÑO EN ELEARNING

INTRODUCCIÓN

En las organizaciones empresariales y en las instituciones universitarias se está adoptando un enfoque, de gestión o formación, basado en competencias. Para las primeras, de acuerdo con Blanco Prieto (2007, p.145), su competitividad estaría relacionada con la posesión por parte de sus miembros de las competencias necesarias para lograr los objetivos establecidos y, por tanto, la aplicación del enfoque de competencias a la gestión de los recursos humanos se dirige hacia la triple dimensión de adquisición, estímulo y desarrollo de tales competencias requeridas. En las segundas, los planes de estudios han sido recientemente rediseñados para y desde el EEES introduciéndose, entre otras novedades, la definición de los logros educativos en términos de competencias adquiridas. Y esto, movidas no sólo por la pretensión de tomar una unidad de logro compartida que, por una parte, facilitase la homologación y convalidación entre titulaciones de distintas áreas profesionales y universidades, sean del mismo país o no, y que, por otra, contribuyese al desarrollo de estructuras comunes para las cualificaciones lo que a su vez estimularía la movilidad (González & Wagenaar, 2003). Sino también atraídas por la necesidad de reconocer y acreditar la cualificación adquirida para el ejercicio profesional (Oliveros Martín-Varés, 2006).

En lo que respecta al eLearning, hemos vivido su auge como modalidad formativa impulsado, sin lugar a dudas, por la creciente importancia dada al aprendizaje a lo largo de la vida en este mismo contexto. Nuestras habilidades y conocimientos necesitan actualización constante para mantenerse al día y el eLearning facilita que nos mantengamos actualizados por la flexibilidad de la que dota al sujeto para seguir la formación. Obtenemos datos para constatar su expansión en informes como "El Primer Barómetro de eLearning en Europa". Pero a un mismo tiempo, se contempla su consolidación como sector de negocio. No hay más que consultar trabajos como "El mercado global de eLearning", publicado recientemente.

Si se confirman las previsiones de crecimiento de su industria, se afianzará como ocupación laboral de amplio volumen de personas, entre ellas nuestros estudiantes universitarios egresados. Por lo que cabe preguntarse, ¿estamos preparándolos para esta salida profesional? El estudio que se presenta ha tenido como objetivo analizar y describir las competencias profesionales que son necesarias para el ejercicio en el eLearning de acuerdo a los diferentes perfiles que se ven involucrados en su desarrollo.

REVISIÓN TEÓRICA

Son muchos los investigadores los que, como Cukusic, Afirevic, Granic & Garaca (2010), se han preocupado por definir el proceso de desarrollo del eLearning viniendo a coincidir en que las etapas esenciales, aún cuando en la realidad se pueden desdibujar (Dunn, 2007), coinciden con: la planificación, el diseño y desarrollo, la ejecución o entrega y, finalmente, la evaluación del proceso y sus resultados.

Entre los factores críticos que contribuyen al éxito del eLearning se localizan los relativos a atender a las necesidades formativas del alumnado y conocer de antemano las experiencias previas y el nivel de preparación de los estudiantes para esta modalidad formativa (McPherson & Nunes, 2008). De ahí que se hayan confeccionado instrumentos de evaluación como el de Hung, Chou, Chen & Own (2010) y que, en consecuencia, en una fase inicial sea necesario emprender un diagnóstico de necesidades útil para determinar los vacíos competenciales que deben ser cubiertos y estipular si el eLearning es la mejor solución formativa para ello.

Una vez identificadas las necesidades de formación, y derivados los objetivos formativos, se establecen los contenidos de estudio, se concretan las actividades de aprendizaje y se delimitan los apoyos al aprendizaje (Oliver, 1999, 2001). Es el momento de diseñar la experiencia de formación y numerosos trabajos nos ayudan en la tarea como el de Herrington, Reeves & Oliver (2010) que nos introducen en cómo crear escenarios de aprendizaje auténticos o el de De Freitas (2007) que nos clarifica el proceso de producción de los contenidos. Sin embargo, no sólo se ha de ejecutar el diseño instruccional sino también el diseño de los recursos digitales y de la tecnología y, seguidamente, se ha de acometer su creación. Tómense como guías para este desempeño las publicaciones de Clark & Mayer (2011) o Rosen (2009).

Como parte de esta fase de diseño y desarrollo, un segundo momento de evaluación es posible (Horton, 2001, p. 9). La evaluación es necesaria para garantizar la calidad de las acciones formativas y la gestión de la calidad debe hacerse de manera sostenible durante todo el proceso de desarrollo de un proyecto de eLearning (Botturi, Succi, Cantoni & Inversioni, 2007).

Seguidamente, la implementación de la formación atraviesa por diferentes períodos. Salmon (2004) nos enseña cómo han de abordarse estos y, por ende, nos

muestra cómo motivar a los estudiantes durante el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje o cómo favorecer la construcción del aprendizaje. Bennett & Marsh (2007) también han descrito, a modo de recetas, todo un conjunto de actividades para la promoción del aprendizaje online.

Por último, un nuevo espacio debe ser reservado a la evaluación. Las razones específicas para evaluar el eLearning pueden ser variadas (Horton, 2001, p. 2) pero lo que se debe garantizar es que ésta cubre la totalidad de elementos que inciden en la calidad de esta modalidad de formación tal como se refleja en el instrumento editado por Marcelo & Zapata (2008).

El abordaje que acabamos de hacer del proceso es somero e incluso reduccionista pues adolece de la carencia de referencias a cuestiones propias de la gestión de proyectos, gestión de la formación y gestión de la calidad. Khan & Joshi (2006) lo han descrito de manera más completa en términos de las personas participantes en cada una de las fases. Pero sirve a nuestro interés de llamar la atención sobre el hecho de que en cada una de las fases se ven implicados profesionales que asumen responsabilidades y cuentan con capacidades y conocimientos diferenciados (Atwere, Dennis et al., 2007; Marcelo, 2006, pp. 22-45).

Llegados a este punto, cabe preguntarse ¿cuáles son los perfiles profesionales vinculados con el eLearning?, ¿cuáles son las competencias que requieren para un desempeño eficiente?

MÉTODO

Para dar respuesta a estos interrogantes, en primer lugar, definimos un modelo de competencias para el eLearning. Entiéndase por "modelo de competencias" el marco organizativo que enumera las competencias requeridas para un desempeño eficaz en un puesto de trabajo específico, un proceso o una familia profesional (Marrelli, Tondora & Hoge, 2005) y por "competencia" una acción o conducta observable relacionada causalmente con un rendimiento bueno o excelente (García Sáiz, 2011).

Las competencias que enunciamos se concretaban en diferentes elementos de competencias, los cuales fueron asignados a diferentes perfiles profesionales. En base a esto, las competencias pudieron ser clasificadas en genéricas (pertinentes a todos los perfiles) y específicas (propias de alguno/s de los perfiles).

Una vez que dispusimos de su versión final, el modelo fue convertido en el *Inventario sobre competencias y perfiles profesionales para eLearning*. El inventario se componía así de 108 ítems, los cuales se correspondían con la totalidad de los elementos de competencia que definían a las 6 competencias que identificamos. Sin embargo, a los sujetos que respondieron el inventario no se les mostró todos los ítems sino una selección de ellos. Al iniciar sus respuestas al inventario, debían

indicar con qué perfil se identificaban en su actividad profesional además de su sexo, edad y situación laboral. En función del perfil seleccionado, el inventario ofrecía la relación de ítems que debían valorar con puntuaciones entre 1 y 5.

En un segundo momento, procedimos a realizar entrevistas individuales y semiestructuradas a una muestra de profesionales del eLearning. Las entrevistas tenían por finalidad que los entrevistados describieran qué tareas desempeñan cotidianamente en sus puestos de trabajo y que enumeraran qué capacidades y conocimientos requieren para un ejercicio eficaz de las mismas.

A los datos recogidos por medio del inventario se les aplicó todo un análisis estadístico de carácter descriptivo haciendo uso del software SPSS. Para el análisis de los datos de naturaleza cualitativa desarrollamos un sistema de categorías. Éste fue diseñado siguiendo un proceso inductivo, emergente a partir de los propios datos. El análisis del contenido de las entrevistas nos aportó información descriptiva acerca de cada una de las categorías y subcategorías del sistema.

Muestras

El inventario fue contestado por 317 personas, de las cuales 120 eran hombres (37.9%) y 192 eran mujeres (60.6%). Las edades de los sujetos oscilaron entre los 23 y 68 años. Mayoritariamente eran residentes en España (77.9%), más específicamente en Andalucía (61.2%). El 34.4% de los sujetos eran empleados de una gran empresa (más de 300 trabajadores), el 15.1% se encontraban trabajando para una empresa de entre 50 y 300 trabajadores (mediana empresa) y el 11.5% se ejercían en una pequeña empresa (entre 10 y 50 trabajadores). El 10.8% estaba en situación de desempleo y el 21% trabajaba por cuenta propia.

Por su parte, los entrevistados fueron 46 profesionales del eLearning. De ellos, 21 eran hombres y 25 mujeres. Mayoritariamente eran residentes en España. Ejercían profesionalmente en empresas que ofertan la producción de contenidos formativos y la impartición de acciones formativas (Formación Digital, TAC Learning, AGE Formación o Sadiel), entidades que distribuyen soluciones tecnológicas para la formación (Samoo o e-learning Solutions), Confederaciones de Empresarios, Escuelas de Negocio, Escuelas de Idiomas, fundaciones e institutos que disponen de programas de formación online (CEA, ESADE, EOI, Fundación CEDAC, Institut Obert de Cataluña, Mondragón Lingua), empresas con planes de formación interno online para su personal (Grupo Pelayo o Asepeyo), universidades que trabajan por la implantación del eLearning (Universidad de Sevilla, Universidad Pontificia del Ecuador, INACAP) u organismos públicos que financian acciones de eLearning (Servicio Andaluz de Empleo), etc.

RESULTADOS

A continuación, se presentan los resultados descriptivos alcanzados que dan respuesta a las preguntas planteadas. La exposición de las competencias específicas se hará atendiendo a las etapas por las que atraviesa el eLearning.

PREVIO A LA FORMACIÓN

Gestión comercial y de inicio de proyectos
La búsqueda de nuevos clientes y proyectos a desarrollar es una tarea que ocupa, principalmente, a los **directores de operaciones** o **responsables de proyectos** de entidades que comercializan la producción de contenidos formativos e impartición de acciones de eLearning o distribuyen soluciones tecnológicas para el diseño y desarrollo de la formación. En el momento actual se ejecuta especialmente a través de las redes sociales donde, además, publicitan y promocionan la institución a la que representan y los servicios y productos que ofrecen.

Los que están empleados en empresas de suministro de recursos del tipo software para lograr nuevos compradores deben hacer además un esfuerzo por mostrar, a través de demostraciones y en función de los intereses de los posibles clientes, la funcionalidad y utilidad de la solución tecnológica que comercializan y resolver las dudas que existan sobre ella. Lo que nuestros entrevistados denominan "*hacer la preventa*".

Previo a cerrar un contrato con un cliente, ellos desempeñan con asiduidad dos tareas indistintamente de lo que la organización comercialice, a saber: establecer los requisitos de lo que demanda el cliente en una reunión inicial con él y concretar la oferta (qué se le ofrece) la cual será posteriormente negociada con el cliente.
Ahora bien, la captación de proyectos puede conllevar, asimismo, tener que analizar convocatorias públicas que se dan a conocer en boletines oficiales como el Boletín Oficial de la Junta de Andalucía y redactar y preparar la documentación que sea requerida presentar para participar en las licitaciones o concursos. En la preparación de propuestas a presentar ante organismos públicos o privados de acuerdo a la normativa y procedimientos establecidos (M= 4.21 DE= 1.220) se ven también ocupados los **gestores de formación**, cuya otra responsabilidad en este momento es promover alianzas con otras instituciones y/o empresas para el desarrollo de proyectos conjuntos (M=4.36 DE=1.032).

Cuando se trabaja en la concreción de una oferta para un cliente o de una propuesta de acción formativa para presentar a concurso o licitación, se hace también sobre una propuesta económica. Específicamente son los responsables de proyecto quienes han de definir el presupuesto del proyecto a desarrollar aún cuando

pueden hacerlo con el apoyo de los contables de la institución y en algún caso de los gestores de formación (M= 3.88 SD= 1.562).

El desempeño de estas tareas requiere:

– Disponer de conocimientos tanto del producto o servicio que se comercializa como del sector, de habilidades sociales como expresarse bien en público o de empatía, de habilidades de venta y marketing y capacidad para captar las necesidades de las personas y sintetizarlas o recogerlas en una propuesta.

– Mantenerse informado de los productos y servicios de la competencia, de los nuevos que aparecen en el mercado, de las tendencias en el sector, etc.

Al inicio de un proyecto es responsabilidad de estos cargos directivos concretar qué se debe hacer, prestando atención entre otros aspectos a los requerimientos recogidos en la primera reunión con el cliente, y definir cómo llevarlo a efecto, esto es, proporcionar las pautas técnicas para el trabajo. Asimismo han de hacer "*un project con tareas, perfiles y horas*", o lo que es lo mismo, asignar el personal que participará en el proyecto, estimar los recursos que se requieren, concretar el cronograma de ejecución y marcar los hitos a cubrir según se hayan pactado. Si es necesaria la incorporación de nuevo personal, de su selección y contratación se encargan asimismo ellos.

Hay casos en los que para este cometido se ayudan, porque en un momento determinado los idearon y definieron, de unos procedimientos de trabajo y esquemas o flujos de procesos en los que son representados todos los trabajos a desarrollarse en el marco de un proyecto tipo, los puntos de decisión, los equipos o personas intervinientes y los productos u outputs que se deben generar, etc. Los cuales, en tanto que son concebidos para ser pautas de acción perdurables, "*hay que someterlos a revisión para que no queden obsoletos*". Esta revisión, no obstante, puede quedar a cargo de ellos o de los **técnicos de calidad** de las instituciones según se ha desvelado en las entrevistas.

El desempeño de estas tareas requiere, en primer lugar, tener una visión global de lo que es un proyecto de eLearning, conocer las fases o momentos por los que atraviesa y saber de lo que sabe cada miembro del equipo participante para de este modo disponer de conocimientos de hasta dónde puede llegar el trabajo del personal y cuánto tiempo hay que asignarle para la ejecución de sus labores. Hay que saber, asimismo, organizar, estructurar y planificar el trabajo de las diferentes personas o equipos involucrados. En segundo lugar, se debe ser analítico y tener la capacidad de pensar en procesos y flujos.

Gestión inicial de la formación

En instituciones que ofertan acciones de formación incluso en aquellas con programas internos de formación para su personal, los **gestores de formación** son los encargados de determinar las acciones formativas que se van a desarrollar y confirmar la modalidad en que se desarrollarán. Aprobadas las propuestas, procede

hacer la publicidad y la pertinente captación de alumnos. Ellos han de idear e impulsar la puesta en marcha de las estrategias que se seguirán para ello.

Si bien junto a los **diseñadores instruccionales** definirán la información relevante para los posibles destinatarios de la formación cubriendo cuestiones como el programa o el tipo de evaluación, son los gestores quienes han de proporcionar mayor información sobre plazos de matriculación, certificación, etc. a las personas interesadas en la oferta (M= 4.07 DE= 1.022) y sobre los requisitos técnicos que deben de poseer en sus ordenadores y dispositivos tecnológicos (M=4.19 DE= 1.087). También han de ofrecer información en relación con los compromisos de calidad del programa, tarea que recae de igual modo sobre los **técnicos de calidad** (M=4.46 DE= .776).

Para dar una respuesta pertinente es necesario que conozcan bien qué se está ofertando. Esto requiere estar familiarizado con el programa de formación pero también con el entorno y los materiales de aprendizaje.

Asimismo han de diseñar el proceso de selección del alumnado estableciendo los requisitos de acceso, pudiendo estar auxiliados en ello por los **diseñadores instruccionales** (M=3.77 DE=1.336), seleccionarlo de acuerdo a los criterios establecidos y administrar las matriculas. Si el alumnado ha de sufragar los gastos de matriculación, deben supervisar y controlar que se ha procedido a hacer efectivo el ingreso.

También deben seleccionar a los tutores para el desarrollo de la acción formativa (M=4.40 DE=1.211) aunque la tarea es compartida con los diseñadores instruccionales (M=4.33 DE=1.084). Junto a ellos y, más específicamente con los **técnicos de calidad** (M=4.64 DE=.505), establecerán los procedimientos de coordinación entre tutores. Los tres colectivos proporcionarán información y orientaciones al profesorado y tutores en relación con la estructura, modelo y orientación pedagógica de la acción formativa.

El desempeño de estas tareas requiere de conocimientos generales de lo que es el eLearning y cómo se desarrolla, de dominio en ofimática y gestión de bases de datos, de habilidades comunicativas como saber escuchar, de capacidades como las de redacción y de una actitud de apertura permanente a mejorar.

Diseño y desarrollo instruccional

Tanto los **gestores de formación**, los **diseñadores instruccionales** como los **expertos en contenidos** pueden realizar el diagnóstico de necesidades de aprendizaje. Los primeros lo hacen en el contexto de sus propias instituciones previo a determinar las acciones formativas que se pondrán en marcha como estrategia de formación interna. En este caso, como nos describía un entrevistado, la recogida de datos se hace a partir de entrevistas a los directores de áreas y cuestionarios a los empleados, datos que se acompañan con los resultados de la evaluación del desempeño (de las competencias) de los profesionales de la entidad. Los siguientes

lo hacen en el escenario de la organización que les ha solicitado y contratado el diseño de contenidos y/o una acción de formación. Realizado el diagnóstico, gestores y diseñadores junto a los **diseñadores de recursos digitales**, y en algún caso los expertos en contenidos, determinarán la viabilidad de un diseño de eLearning en relación a la necesidad formativa detectada.

Posteriormente, son los diseñadores instruccionales y expertos en contenidos quienes redactan los objetivos de aprendizaje o competencias a desarrollar con la formación, definen la estructura de la acción formativa considerando entre otras cuestiones las características del alumnado, identifican los criterios de evaluación y describen las evidencias de logro necesarias para que el alumnado acredite el dominio de las competencias objeto de formación. En el diseño de estrategias variadas de evaluación acordes con las competencias perseguidas por la acción de formación intervienen además los **técnicos de calidad** (M=4.85 DE=.378). La creación de los instrumentos para evaluar los aprendizajes que puedan utilizarse en cambio corresponde además los diseñadores de recursos digitales (M=4.10 DE=1.261).

Cabe matizar que el diseño de las actividades de aprendizaje, de carácter formal o no formal o de tipo individual o grupal, recae exclusivamente en los diseñadores instruccionales aún cuando después los **tutores** puedan proponer otras en el transcurso de la experiencia formativa. Los diseñadores han de definir acciones de aprendizaje que produzcan evidencias de logro utilizables en los procesos de evaluación (M=4.50 DE=.797). Y que, según nuestros entrevistados, en ocasiones los diseñadores, en colaboración con los tutores, han de establecer cómo se desarrollará la función de tutoría definiendo lo que denominan "*guión didáctico*". Ahí determinarán, por ejemplo, qué preguntas se debatirán en el foro, qué recursos se recomendarán, qué mensajes se enviarán, etc. y todo esto cuándo.

El desempeño de estas tareas requiere de conocimientos acerca de las estrategias y métodos didácticos para el aprendizaje online y de los principios pedagógicos.

Diseño y desarrollo de contenidos digitales

Los **expertos en contenidos** reconocen trabajar de manera coordinada con otros profesionales en la organización y presentación de los contenidos de estudio (M=4.71 SD=.713). Éstos son los **diseñadores instruccionales** (M=4.35 DE=1.234) y los **diseñadores de recursos digitales** (M=4,45 DE=1,057) que también señalaron sobre el inventario esto como característico de sus perfiles.

Específicamente, los expertos en contenidos se ocupan de redactar el texto que será objeto de estudio respectando las diferencias de género, etnia o cultura. Pero los tres colectivos trabajarán en organizarlos y secuenciarlos permitiendo itinerarios flexibles que faciliten el aprendizaje del alumnado. Los tres contribuirán a su preparación para la virtualidad procurando hacerlos comprensibles, usables para

la web y reutilizables y garantizando que se respetan las normas y condiciones éticas aplicables y se evita el plagio.

Para la redacción de contenidos se necesitan conocimientos y experiencia profesional en la materia que se aborda, conocimientos de los aspectos metodológicos de la enseñanza online, domino de la gramática y la ortografía, habilidades en expresión escrita y capacidad de redacción, imaginación y capacidad de concentración y constancia.

El desarrollo digital de los contenidos y recursos de aprendizaje, haciendo uso de los programas informáticos necesarios y respetando no sólo los principios de usabilidad y las normas de accesibilidad sino también los estándares de interoperabilidad (M=4.05 DE=1.203), es tarea de los diseñadores de recursos digitales.

El proceso de producción digital tiende a iniciarse con el diseño de un storyboard que permite previsualizar con antelación cuál será el efecto del recurso digital que finalmente se genere y que ayudará a guiar la posterior tarea de creación. Durante su confección, los diseñadores de recursos digitales procuran que la estética, que después reproducirán, sea homogénea e invierten esfuerzos en que el diseño estético presente y comunique la información de estudio claramente (M=4.40 DE=1.273).

Lo más frecuente es maquetar el contenido para que esté disponible en formato video, texto en HTML o animación. Así, los diseñadores han de diseñar contenidos formativos digitales utilizando recursos audiovisuales (M=4.43 DE=1.287), recursos web (M=4.29 DE=1,231) o animaciones y demostraciones (M=4.14 DE=1,153) que promuevan la interactividad y la motivación del alumnado. Sin embargo, no reconocen que estos deban estar adaptados para dispositivos móviles (M=3.43 DE=1.399). Ni que ellos deban incorporar las herramientas de videojuegos y mundos virtuales en sus diseños (M=3.30 DE=1.625).

Esta fabricación suele llevar aparejado el tener que indagar qué herramientas de autor se pueden emplear, valorar la utilidad de éstas, descubrir cómo funcionan, probar a modificar las hojas de estilo predefinidas y comprobar las compatibilidades de los productos, que con ellas se generan, en navegadores y dispositivos. Nos decían en una entrevista:

> "Siempre me toca investigar si el producto que vamos a generar es compatible en cuatro ó cinco navegadores, si lo soportan por ejemplo todos los teléfonos móviles, las tablet…, eso siempre me toca a mí".

También el deber localizar los recursos más adecuados a los contenidos que se diseñan y seleccionarlos mediante la utilización de una variedad de repositorios digitales. Pero esto también es tarea del experto en contenidos y diseñador instruccional.

Una vez producidos los recursos, si fuese el caso de que éstos fueron demandados, los **responsables de proyecto** validan que se ajusta a lo que el cliente requiere y velan porque se cumplen los criterios de calidad.

El desempeño de estas tareas de diseño requiere conocer las formas variadas en que se puede presentar el contenido en un recursos digital, disponer de creatividad para hacer diseños diferentes, tener conocimientos de HTML, CSS, etc. y de edición de imágenes, disponer de dominio en el uso de programas de autor y en ofimática y contar con facilidad técnica (capacidad de aprender rápido a usar algún software).

Desarrollo de software

Del mismo modo que existen entidades que suministran software útiles para el diseño y desarrollo de la formación online, existen otras cuyo énfasis está en la creación de estos programas. También en el seno de las universidades se están implementando proyectos cuya finalidad es lanzar al mercado herramientas que nos faciliten la tarea de edición de recursos digitales. Por su parte, en algunas de las entidades dedicadas a la comercialización de la producción de contenidos digitales para la formación, los **programadores** de la propia institución se están dedicando a tal cometido. Uno de ellos nos decía:

> "mi labor ha consistido en desarrollar un sistema para que los guionistas [diseñadores instruccionales] cojan esos contenidos y los editen en MSWord. Yo he desarrollado un programa que ese MSWord lo transforma en páginas web maquetadas con los ejercicios y demás".

Estos profesionales dedicados al desarrollo de software acometen básicamente las siguientes dos tareas: crear programas informáticos e incorporar sobre él las mejoras que sean necesarias para, entre otras razones, ampliar su funcionalidad y mejorar su usabilidad. Lo que supone: hacer una primera recogida de requisitos (qué se espera que el software produzca y con qué características), hacer el análisis técnico de la solución, investigar sobre librerías y lenguajes existentes, proporcionar soporte sobre cómo usar el programa y resolver las incidencias y problemas que sobre su utilización se presenten, dar a conocer las modificaciones y cambios hechos sobre la herramienta… Para esto se requiere, esencialmente, de conocimientos de programación y de ingeniería de software.

Administración de la tecnología

Ya sea en instituciones donde los directores o **responsables del área de tecnologías** diseñan la arquitectura tecnológica necesaria para el desarrollo de acciones de eLearning o no, las plataformas tecnológicas son el desarrollo informático por excelencia que da forma al entorno en que tiene lugar la formación.

Es por ello que entre las tareas de administración de la tecnología encontramos las relativas a:

–   seleccionar la plataforma o las herramientas tecnológicas más adecuadas, lo que es responsabilidad de los **gestores de contenidos** (M=4.78 DE=.548), los **administradores** (M=4.73 DE=.550) y en algún caso de los **diseñadores de recursos digitales** (M=3.85 DE=1.348).

–   crear espacios en la plataforma, personalizarlos, añadir y configurar herramientas como crear las evaluaciones pertinentes lo que es competencia de los gestores de contenidos (M=4.50 DE=.514), los diseñadores de recursos digitales (M=4.10 DE=1.334) y en algún caso de los administradores (M=3.77 DE=1.478).

–   diseñar la navegación del espacio tecnológico con adecuada organización a fin de facilitar por parte de los alumnos la comprensión de su estructura, lo que ocupa a gestores de contenidos (M=4.72 DE=.575), administradores (M=4.43 SD=.746), **diseñadores instruccionales** (M=4.31 DE=1.022) y diseñadores de recursos digitales (M=4.55 DE=1.101).

Al término de las acciones de formación, los entrevistados señalaron que los administradores debían de hacer copias de seguridad. Es así que, si lo que se va a implementar son nuevas ediciones de alguna acción formativa ya desarrollada, han de duplicar los espacios y poner a punto las herramientas para la nueva versión.

Previo al desarrollo de la acción formativa, también han de dar de alta a los usuarios (M=4.36 DE=,953). Los **gestores de formación** son los que comunicarán, finalmente, el nombre de usuario y contraseña de acceso asignados y habrán de asegurar la correcta recepción de ellos (M=4.26 DE=1.170).

La revisión del funcionamiento del diseño organizativo y tecnológico antes del inicio de la formación, por su parte, compete a los gestores de contenidos (M=4.67 DE=.594), los gestores de formación (M=4.49 DE=.840) y a los **tutores** (M=4.34 DE=.885). El mantenimiento de los contenidos en la plataforma, en cambio, es tarea de los gestores de contenidos (M=4.56 DE=.616), administradores (M=4.09 DE=1.377) y diseñadores de recursos digitales (M=4.14 DE=1.283).

El desempeño de todas estas tareas requiere básicamente de conocimientos de administración de servidores y sistemas, estructuras de directorio, etc., conocimientos y dominio en el uso de las plataformas de eLearning incluyendo conocimientos del lenguaje de programación en que están escritas y saber programar.

Gestión personal, económica y del desarrollo de proyectos

Durante la ejecución de los proyectos, a los **responsables de proyectos** quedan relegadas entre otras las siguientes tareas:

–   Dar respuesta a las consultas que pueda formular el personal sobre el trabajo a desempeñar,

–   Hacer el seguimiento de los proyectos para controlar que se hace en tiempo, se ajusta al presupuesto y atiende a las pautas dadas. Si es necesario algún ajuste, lo medita y lo demanda.

–   Poner a disposición de los demás las herramientas y recursos que necesiten durante el proceso de desarrollo del proyecto. Si es necesario hacer alguna adquisición, del tipo de software o hardware, deben gestionarla.

–   Ante desfases temporales o problemas tienen que volver a estimar los tiempos calculando las posibles holguras y retrasos, hacer ajustes en el cronograma y tomar decisiones (del tipo variar el alcance, incorporar a más personal…) teniendo presente los riesgos y el coste.

Con el cliente el contacto debe ser constante "*ya sea en persona o normalmente a través de videoconferencia*". Por un lado, para informarle sobre el avance del proyecto. Por otro, para demandarle la entrega de inputs y/o validaciones o feedback. Al término del proyecto, al cliente le pueden solicitar asimismo que exprese su grado de satisfacción con respecto al proceso y el trabajo desarrollado.

Son imprescindibles para ello capacidades como las de trabajo en equipo, de toma de decisiones, de resolución de problemas y de negociación. El liderazgo y las habilidades comunicativas son también necesarios.

DURANTE LA FORMACIÓN

Facilitar la inmersión, la participación y el aprendizaje del alumnado
Durante el desarrollo de la formación, los **tutores** adquieren un papel relevante. Son los encargados de dar la bienvenida al alumnado, proporcionarle las primeras orientaciones, resolver los problemas que se les presentan en el uso de las herramientas disponibles en la plataforma o sobre el programa (M=4.70 DE=.648) y promover un primer contacto entre los estudiantes para "*fortalecer el conocimiento mutuo*".

Ellos harán efectivo el acompañamiento y la asistencia al alumnado. Los tutores supervisan la actividad de los estudiantes en la plataforma y contacta con ellos si observan, bien al inicio o durante el desarrollo de la acción de formación, que baja su actividad *("¿te pasa algo?, ¿puedo ayudarte?, tienes que seguir, esto necesita un ritmo")*. Es usual que hagan llegar recordatorios sobre cuestiones pendientes y eventos próximos, consejos y sugerencias (M=4.69 DE=,601) en su empeño por guiarlos durante el proceso de aprendizaje, mas lo hacen con la precaución de no mermar su autonomía puesto su objetivo es otro, a saber: afianzar su capacidad de autoaprendizaje.

Han de conformar una viva comunidad de aprendizaje invirtiendo para ello esfuerzos en motivar la participación y favorecer la comunicación en las diferentes herramientas (M=4.66 DE=.706), crear espacios de colaboración (M=4.51

DE=.738) y promover el intercambio de documentación, trabajos, etc. (M=4.52 DE=.796).

Inevitablemente deben motivar y despertar el entusiasmo por la acción formativa haciéndoles ver la relación de la materia con sus necesidades de aprendizaje (M=4.80 DE=.536). Ellos han de facilitar un aprendizaje auténtico aportando al alumnado ejemplos de aplicación práctica de los contenidos (M=4.72 DE=.600) y proponiendo actividades alternativas de puesta en práctica o profundización (M=4.52 DE=.751). Deberían apoyar la aplicación de lo aprendido desarrollando actividades de aprendizaje en el puesto de trabajo, cuando sea posible (M=4.51 DE=.888).

Es responsabilidad de ellos introducir modificaciones en la programación adecuándola, cuando sea oportuno y las circunstancias así lo requieran, al progreso y necesidades de los alumnos (M=4.30 DE=.965). Tarea esta última en la que se verán involucrados también los **gestores de contenidos** (M=4.59 DE=.618). Es igualmente importante que favorezcan la inclusión del alumnado con necesidades especiales adaptando los medios y procesos según normas de accesibilidad (M=4.27 DE=1.058).

A tutores y gestores corresponde supervisar los materiales que serán empleados con objeto de que se adapten a los objetivos y evitar la existencia de información desfasada. Por otra parte, los gestores, en ocasiones también los tutores y los **técnicos de calidad**, habrán de asegurar el funcionamiento de los dispositivos tecnológicos y contenidos digitales a lo largo de la formación mediante su revisión permanente. Los **administradores de la tecnología**, por su parte, han de supervisar el funcionamiento de la plataforma y hacer el mantenimiento de los servidores para evitar la presencia de problemas y garantizar su rendimiento óptimo. Asimismo han de resolver las incidencias que se les presenten a los usuarios y proporcionar soporte sobre cómo funciona la plataforma.

Por último, los tutores evalúan al alumnado de acuerdo a los criterios de evaluación establecidos (M=4.66 DE=.670) y les proporcionan feedback sobre sus progresos y orientaciones para mejorar su aprendizaje (M=4.77 DE=.637). Junto a los técnicos de calidad, realizarán el seguimiento de la evolución de los aprendizajes del alumnado mediante el análisis de su actividad en la actividad formativa.

En consecuencia, los tutores requieren disponer de conocimientos de la materia objeto de estudio, de la capacidad de generar confianza, de empatía y sensibilidad, de dominio de los entornos colaborativos y de manejo de las herramientas de comunicación. Sería pertinente asimismo tener experiencia como alumno en eLearning para entender la relevancia de una tutoría efectiva en el proceso de aprendizaje online.

DESPUÉS DE LA FORMACIÓN

Gestión final de la formación y de la calidad

Al término de la formación, puede corresponder a los **gestores de formación** la entrega de la certificación al alumnado, "previa comprobación de que han superado las evaluaciones del aprendizaje". También es de su competencia redactar informes para la dirección u organismo financiador dando cuentas de "cuántos alumnos se han formado, cuántos han aprobado, cuántos han suspendido, qué cursos han hecho…".

Los gestores, así como los **técnicos de calidad**, han de diseñar mecanismos de evaluación del grado de aplicación práctica en el puesto de trabajo de los aprendizajes conseguidos y evaluar el retorno de la inversión realizada tomando en consideración el ahorro producido, el aumento de productividad o cualquier otro indicador. También deben gestionar procesos de evaluación externa a través de la aplicación de normas estandarizadas específicas. Por su parte, los **técnicos y tutores** se encargarán de revisar la satisfacción del alumnado con respecto a la acción formativa en la que han participado y redactar propuestas de mejora.

A partir de las evaluaciones realizadas, se habrán de articular planes de mejora. En este cometido se ven ocupados los tres colectivos pero además los **diseñadores instruccionales,** los **diseñadores de recursos** y los **gestores de contenidos.**

Finalmente, los gestores y técnicos tomarán decisiones estratégicas a partir de las evaluaciones realizadas y de los planes de mejora acordados y los técnicos realizarán el seguimiento de los planes implantados introduciendo los ajustes necesarios a lo largo de su desarrollo.

CONCLUSIONES

Tras describir los perfiles involucrados en eLearning atendiendo a las competencias necesarias para su desempeño, hay que matizar que la asignación real de los profesionales a estos perfiles no es sistemática ni la correspondencia de los perfiles con la totalidad de las competencias enunciadas automática. Todo lo contrario. Es arbitraria en tanto que los profesionales pueden verse representados con todos, varios de ellos o uno único e incluso sólo con aspectos concretos o puntuales. Esto es algo que entendemos dependiente de factores como el tamaño de la institución para la que trabajan, de cómo estén organizados los profesionales dentro de ella, etc. En este momento, no nos hemos preocupado por analizar y reseñar las posibles diferencias en base al contexto de los sujetos. Para nuestro objetivo era de interés considerar y relacionar la totalidad de los perfiles y competencias sin más. Cabe preguntarse en próximos trabajos por esto así como por el grado de influencia que

tiene cada una de las competencias en el desempeño, rendimiento y éxito de los profesionales en el puesto de trabajo para poder priorizarlas. No obstante, nuestros resultados sirven para fundamentar la programación de aquella formación que trate de facilitar la adquisición de las competencias que los diferentes profesionales en eLearning han de poner en ejercicio.

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We held a research Conference of this network at the University of Seville (Spain) between 25th and 27th November 2015, organised by the convenors of the network (Barbara Merrill, University of Warwick, UK; Adrianna Nizinska, University of Lower Silesia, Poland; and Andrea Galimberti, University of Milano Bicocca, Italy), in collaboration with the University of Seville (José González-Monteagudo and Miguel Ángel Ballesteros-Moscosio).

This Conference was attended by 65 delegates coming from 15 countries, mainly from Europe, but also from other geographical areas.

This e-book presents some contributions from papers presented and discussed at the mentioned Conference. The e-book has three sections. Firstly, we include six papers on Perspectives from adult learning and higher education.

The second section includes six papers and it is organised around Perspectives from community and social education. The last section contents also five papers and it is focused on Perspectives from schools and e-learning. To be inclusive, we accepted papers in several languages, including, besides English, papers on French, Spanish and Portuguese. As coeditors of this e-book, we wish to thank all the authors who have contributed to this volume for their time, passion and efforts to produce a final high-quality paper.

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