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Differentiated Instruction and Pupil Motivation in Language Teaching

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Abstract

A key feature of effective teaching is the ability of teachers to create a positive learning environment for the active participation of pupils. Teachers who support and seek to cultivate pupils' autonomy, tend to motivate the effective engagement of their pupils in and with the learning process and help strengthen their psychosocial adaptation in school. More specifically, curriculum design that help pupils express their values and interests is considered a basic prerequisite for creating internal motivations. At the same time, the cultivation of learning motivations, the encouragement of substantial commitment to learning process, the promotion of autonomous action and the encouragement of interaction between pupils, all are characteristics of differentiated teaching. Differentiation of teaching is considered a basic dimension of effective teaching and is an effective teaching model that responds to learners' needs through the design of multiple and qualitatively different teaching approaches. Effectiveness of teaching is often improved through differentiated teaching techniques. The purpose of this paper is to identify and discuss differentiated teaching techniques such as: jigsaw, cubing, learning stations, think-tac-toe, raft, think-pair-share and KWL and highlight how they can be effectively applied to the teaching of language in ways that motivate pupils to take an active participation in teaching and learning. The application of above-mentioned techniques to the teaching of language is illustrated with specific example from secondary education.

Keywords: differentiated teaching techniques, language teaching, pupil motivation

Introduction

A key feature of effective teaching is the ability of teachers to create proper conditions in order to maximize pupil involvement in the teaching framework. This involvement refers to the pupil's degree of participation, promoting the course's aim in class and consequently leading to learning achievements (Papandreou, 2001). Research data shows that the pupil's maximum involvement in his/her learning duties and his/her minimum de-involvement time during transitional stages are elements of teaching regularly linked to high pupil performance (Brophy & Good, 1986). Thus, it seems that teaching effectiveness tends to increase along with increased pupil involvement time in activities promoting effective teaching.

The pupil's involvement in the learning process starts with the obtainment and provision of proper stimuli that will help him/her be occupied with the selected content to promote the course's aim. The behavior forms related to pupil involvement in the learning process are the following: a) achievement of desirable behavior; b) provision of opportunities for feedback in a non-judgmental context; c) use of personal and group activities as assisting incentives; d) use of verbal praise; e) control of silent tasks and pupil progress (Borich, 1988: 308); f) class organization and g) class administration.

Today, the need to replace the inflexible method of teacher-centered learning and introduce methods that will promote pupil involvement via differentiated instruction has emerged. In this framework it is considered useful to adopt teaching differentiation in disparate classrooms, taking into consideration the pupils' general skills, aptitudes and interests (Theofilidis, 2008). School - in the macro-level of school life - and teachers - in the micro-level of school class - must differentiate and personalize the organization of teaching and learning, allowing pupils to develop their inherent bodily, mental and intellectual skills in a balanced and harmonic way.

Cultivating learning incentives, offering encouragement for substantial commitment in the learning process, promoting independence, assuming initiative and personal responsibility and urging interaction among pupils are basic points of differentiated teaching (Tomlinson, 2005) and at the same time they provide the core prerequisites to create learning communities. The aim of the current thesis is to showcase the importance of differentiated teaching in Language Courses

in Secondary Education, via targeted teaching methods which promote pupil involvement and provide pupils with incentives to participate in the teaching practice.

1. Differentiated Instruction

Differentiated instruction is considered a basic aspect of effective teaching, as it is a teaching model which corresponds to the various learning needs, through the design of multiple and quality-wise varied teaching approaches (Peterson & Hitte, 2003). New ways for class organization and differentiated instruction are applied to each pupil, to provide him/her with the proper guidance and effective means to obtain the teaching and learning aims at his/her own pace, according to his/her personal skills and interests (Kanakis, 2007: 22). Both the pupils' inherent characteristics (gender, ability) and conditions in the wider sense (personal experiences, aptitudes, interests, pre-existing knowledge) create a spectrum of cognitive levels and skills, generating the need to differentiate teaching (Theofilidis, 2008, Kassotakis & Flouris, 2013).

Differentiated instruction covers the requirements of effective learning, providing equal learning opportunities through various aspects, an experiential-investigative character of learning, pupil codependences and building up of knowledge (Theofilidis, 2008) maximizing cognitive and meta-cognitive development for all pupils, by offering learning opportunities in classrooms of mixed abilities (Koutselini, 2009, Tomlinson, 2005). It seems that teaching addressed to the average pupil and requiring all children to process the same educational material provided to them in a single way is unsuccessful and leads to increasingly poorer effectiveness for a large number of pupils in mixed abilities classrooms (Sapon-Shevin, 2000). On the other hand, teachers supporting their pupils' independence by creating the proper conditions in class, tend to promote substantial involvement and commitment of children in the learning process (Assor, Kaplan & Roth, 2002) and help reinforce school adequacy and their psychosocial adjustment in school (Wentzel, 2002). In particular, the teaching design of courses enabling pupils to express their opinions, values and interests seems to be a core prerequisite to create inner incentives.

Differentiated instruction is also targeted on the organizational and pedagogical levels of teaching, in order to cover the needs of all pupils (weak - charismatic) in mixed abilities classrooms (Koutselini, 2009). Differentiated instruction is flexible. This allows it to employ several teaching forms and methods, such as teaching for the entire class, group work in similar or varied pupil groups, partnering plans and personal work (Panteliadou, 2008: 9). The teacher seeks to create learning environments allowing pupils to have active participation and develop the entire spectrum of their personalities. By differentiating his/her instruction, the teacher aims to "help pupils build personal interpretation frameworks, try out ideas within class, experience relations between the whole and its parts and correlate any studying issue with their personal experiences" (Dimitriadou, 2016: 191).

In order to effectively apply differentiated instruction, teachers should (Panteliadou & Antoniou, 2008):

- realize that not all pupils acquire knowledge in the same way as them;
- explain to pupils the available different ways of learning and help them realize their personal ones;
- allow pupils to select activities and teaching approaches (e.g. peer teaching);
- initially focus on differentiation based on a few cognitive profiles and gradually increase it to more.

Teachers who decide to apply differentiated instruction should see themselves and their roles under a different light. Not as the holder and provider of knowledge, but as an orchestra maestro or team coach (Tomlinson, 2005). In both cases, teachers should lead all orchestra members or team players to their maximum possible performance, aiming to the best possible outcome for the team. In order to achieve this aim, musicians will need to practice on their own, athletes will need to strengthen their performance accordingly, with different forms of practice, and each player or musician will have his/her own different character and different approaches. After they all achieve their maximum personal performance, they will be able to work effectively as a team and provide the final outcome. As Tomlinson (2005: 19) characteristically suggests: "an orchestra maestro helps musicians perform music, but doesn't perform it himself".

2. Differentiated Teaching Techniques

Teaching techniques aiming to promote differentiated instruction are presented below, seeking pupil involvement in the teaching act and in particular for Language Courses in Secondary Education.

2.1 Learning Stations

Learning Stations are used to create areas of study and action in class, according to the pupils' interests and abilities. Contrary to learning centers, which provide independence in the issues studied, learning stations offer a thematic correlation, pupil transfer and staging-differentiation of tasks. These are different locations in the teaching class, where pupils work regularly or occasionally. Stations may allow pupils to work on different tasks over the same topic. They provide flexible team composition, as not all pupils are required to visit all stations and remain at them for the same amount of time. Learning stations provide opportunities of personal and group activities, allowing pupils to practice skills, reinforce their comprehension, expand the learning content in new areas of interest or delve in information already acquired (Theofilidis, 2008). In addition, the tasks scheduled for each station may be differentiated from day to day, according to the pupils who will visit the station.

Indicative example of pupils working in Learning Stations in Teaching Vocabulary

Pupils study vocabulary on an "X" topic and then approach it via five different learning stations. Each station requires a different level of readiness from pupils, with regard to communicative aims and different skills. Each station includes staged activities and different means and materials. Each pupil is provided with table of five activities and asked to select four. Each activity corresponds to one learning station. Pupils are instructed that they can advance from one activity to the next at their own pace and according to their own interests, provided they have completed the previous activity and without needing to wait for their classmates to finish as well. Learning Stations and their respective activities are the following:

- **Station 1**_Cards with the chapter's vocabulary. Cards contain photographs and pictures. Each pupil must find the right words within the shuffled cards.
- **Station 2**_Activity utilizing the internet and an accompanying Task Sheet. A TV show or internet video is used. Pupils watch it and then answer comprehension questions related to the "X" topic. Pupils may describe the show's or video's content in written form or orally, providing information to their classmates and using as many new words as they can.
- **Station 3**_Pupils are asked to use various materials to depict scenes or images of the "X" topic and then write five sentences, providing a short description of the topic and orally describe to one of their classmates what they have created.
- **Station 4**_Pupils study parallel texts of respective themes, detecting similarities and differences and reaching conclusions which they announce to their classmates.
- **Station 5**_Pupils choose one part of the "X" topic, they seek information online and then they present their findings to their classmates on Microsoft PowerPoint.

During the planning of Learning Stations, teachers must take into consideration learning aims, expected learning outcomes, learning needs and the pupils' aptitudes and interests, providing staged activities, using a variety of teaching means and materials and offering clear instructions to pupils, before, during and after each activity.

2.2 Think-Tac-Toe (or Tic-Tac-Toe)

Teaching strategy Think-Tac-Toe (and/or Tic-Tac-Toe) is based on H. Gardner's theory Multiple Intelligences. Pupils select themselves the way in which they will show what they learnt, understood and are able to do. This strategy allows pupils to select how they will present the object of their knowledge, choosing out of nine different activities and based on three possible assignments (Sambliis, 2006).

The first step is to determine learning aims and learning outcomes and connect them to the Studies Curriculum. Then, Think-Tac-Toe is created in the form of a nine-square table – in the form of tic-tac-toe – with each square determining a task or a learning product related to one (or several) of Gardner's intelligences. All activities relate to the same topic from a different perspective, allowing pupils to make their selection according to the intelligences they can perform best. The aim is for each pupil to select three squares and commit himself/herself to implement the project determined within a specific amount of time. Upon the completion of all activities, the pupil has scored a "tic-tac-toe".

Indicative example of pupils working in the Think-Tac-Toe strategy in Text Comprehension

Pupils are provided with the text to be processed and the respective Task Sheet, which includes nine different squares. Each square contains a task, activity or learning product. Each pupil must select, based on his/her skills, interests and talents, three squares, in order to successfully complete the "tic-tac-toe".

- **Square 1**_Draw a mask of a character in the text. Put the mask on and recite a small monologue connected to the role of this character in the text.
- **Square 2**_Draw a chart of the text's locations, showing the gradual development of scenes. You can also use small explanatory texts.
- **Square 3**_Create a song with a melody and lyrics related to the topic of the text.
- **Square 4**_Work with a classmate and take notes of "what would happen if...". Give a different title to this particular text.
- **Square 5**_Write a short text on the emotions you feel while reading the story.
- **Square 6**_Create a poster/comic to advertise this text to your classmates.
- **Square 7**_Teach and discuss with your classmates the text's moral.
- **Square 8**_Write a short poem/riddle on a text character, emphasizing on certain of his/her traits.
- **Square 9**_Find elements of the natural world within the text and then search information on them online. Finally, present them to your classmates.

During the planning of Think-Tac-Toe, teachers should assign certain activities for each pupil per square, challenge pupils to try three new activities to score extra points or allow them to pick on their own.

2.3 Cubing

Cubing is a flexible and practical strategy of differentiated instructing, asking pupils to consider an idea, a vocabulary or a theme from different perspectives. A cube is either provided to the pupils or they construct it themselves. Its six sides represent different questions or activities. Cubes may be used for group or personal tasks. Each pupil rolls the cube once and then performs the activity shown. If the pupil dislikes a particular activity, he/she can roll the cube one more time (Iskandar, 2017).

Indicative example of pupils working with the Cubing in Teaching Literature strategy

In the beginning of the teaching session, teachers hand out task sheets with the poem or literature text to be taught in this particular lesson. The teacher reads out the text and following an initial conceptual processing, he/she presents the cube, which includes the following questions:

- **Side 1**_Describe the main character's characteristics, motivation and feelings.
- **Side 2**_Pick out important words or phrases in the text and explain why you consider them important.
- **Side 3**_Correlate elements of the text with other stories you know or have been taught.
- **Side 4**_Express your own view with regard to the text's topic.
- **Side 5**_Describe a different ending for this story.
- **Side 6**_Place yourself at the character's shoes and describe your feelings (if you were in his/her place).

During the Cubing strategy, pupils work alone, in pairs or in small groups with the appropriate cube. Each pupil/pair/team will roll the cube 2 to 4 times, according to the number of activities that the teacher has determined will be completed.

2.4 RAFT (Role Audience Format Topic)

RAFT (Santa, 1988) is a differentiation strategy reinforcing the generation of written text. Raft strategy help pupils to understand and focus on four critical aspects of writing, comprehending their part as authors and assuming roles (Writer's Role), taking into consideration their audience (Audience), the format of the text to be generated (Formats) and the topic they will approach from a certain perspective (Topic).

In particular, RAFT means:

R: the writer's Role (Are you a poet? A journalist? An anthropologist? A witness? A storyteller? etc.)

A: the Audience to whom the writer is speaking (Are you writing to a teacher? To a classmate? To a friend? To an editor? To a president? To people in the community? etc.)

F: the Format for writing (Is it a poem? A speech? An article? A conversation? An advertisement? An essay? A song? An email? A debate? etc.)

T: the Topic of the writing (Is it an object? An idea? A concept? A character of a novel? A place? A meaning? A scientist? etc.)

This particular teaching strategy introduces pupils to topic processing in a fun way. At first, the teacher determines what he/she wants pupils to comprehend and process while reading a text, watching a video, listening to a narration or a lecture. He/she then chooses the roles the pupils can assume as writers and the audience they will address. Then, the format of text requested is announced, as well as the writing topic.

Indicative example of pupils working with the Raft strategy in Language Teaching

The teacher hands out task sheets to the pupils, containing the four basic points (R-A-F-T) of this strategy. During the method's application, the following steps may be followed (Table 1):

- **Step 1** Explain to all pupils-writers that they should consider the four basic points, providing more information for each point.
- **Step 2** Use the "think aloud" technique, thinking aloud with another sample of RAFT, accurately showing your way of thinking to help pupils apply a similar thinking process. Then, brainstorm on a topic.
- **Step 3** Split pupils into groups or pair and pick a topic out of the brainstormed list. Then, offer pupils time to process and present their thoughts.
- **Step 4** Once pupils comprehend the RAFT technique, they should create their own text, from the list provided to them, individually or as a group.

During the Raft planning, teachers may assign the same roles to all pupils or pupils may pick out of different roles the one that matches them, always in relation to the processing of the same topic.

2.5 Jigsaw method (Puzzle)

In this method, pupils are split into groups of mixed abilities. The steps followed are similar to the completion of a jigsaw puzzle. At first, pupils are split into groups (initial groups) studying a common topic. Then, each pupil is asked to work on a different aspect of the common topic, creating new groups (expert groups). In each specialization group, pupils work together on the same aspect of the common topic. Then, they return to their initial groups and try to explain and teach their classmates on the aspect of the topic they studied (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997; Koutselini & Pyrgiotakis, 2015) (Table 2).

Teacher steps during the Jigsaw method

- Separate pupils in groups of 4-6 individuals.
- Pick a coordinator for each group.
- Separate the course into sub-sections (as many as the expert groups).
- Assign one sub-section to each pupil. Provide pupils with time to read it at least twice and become familiar with it.
- Create expert groups, including one pupil from each initial group (e.g. 1-1-1-1-1, 2-2-2-2-2 etc.) who will study the same topic.
- The teacher helps groups and offers feedback.
- Pupils return to their initial groups.
- Ask each pupil-expert to present-teach his/her part to the remaining members of the initial group.
- Complete a quiz as a completion requirement, to make sure all pupils understood.

Indicative example of pupils working with the Jigsaw Method in Teaching Grammar

The teacher presents to the pupils the grammar subject to be studied. The cognitive object-issue is presented to the pupils using the school textbook (notes, interactive board etc.) and each pupil is asked to investigate one part (sub-section).

Members from different groups with the same topic (Expert Groups) meet to study and then help each other on their topic. Then, they return to their initial groups and try to teach their part to the other groups.

Stage 1_ The teacher splits pupils into 4 initial groups (with colored tags - red, yellow, blue, green) so that each pupil knows the group (initial group) he/she belongs in when the teaching process starts. The pupils' previous knowledge is retrieved and pupils are asked to exchange views on the grammar subject studied.

Stage 2_ Expert groups are created, with one pupil out of each (initial) group becoming an expert for a specific part (sub-section). At this stage, each pupil consolidates and processes the part (sub-section) of his/her group and the teacher provides the necessary feedback.

Stage 3_ Pupils return to their initial groups (being experts now) and are asked to present/teach their part to other members of the group and complete the activity assigned together.

In order for the teacher to make sure that all pupils comprehended the grammar subject, he/she may design a completion activity, whereby at the end of teaching pupils will use the "Numbered Heads Together" technique (Kagan & Kagan, 2009) to raise a board and announce their responses.

2.6 Think-Pair-Share

The Think-Pair-Share strategy (Lyman, 1981) offers pupils the time and framework to comprehend and attach themselves to a text or activity, to develop previously acquired knowledge, to ponder on the concepts presented, to form their own personal ideas, to discuss them with a classmate and thus to broaden them and then share them with the rest of the class. In this particular teaching strategy, the teacher decides on the teaching aims and goals of the lesson, e.g. teaching new text, vocabulary, grammar/syntax etc. Then, pupils process the teaching subject on their own, in pairs or all together. Throughout this process, pupils may ask questions to receive the necessary clarifications (Ledlow, 2001; Robertson, 2006).

Indicative example of pupils working with the Think-Pair-Share strategy in Language Teaching

The teacher presents the subject to be studied to the pupils (e.g. vocabulary, text, grammar or syntax etc.) and offers the necessary instructions. Pupils: a) think individually over the topic or answer a question; b) form pairs with a classmate and discuss the topic or question; and c) share their ideas with the rest of the class. [To facilitate the above process, the "think aloud" strategy may be used.]

Step 1_Think (before...): The teacher poses a specific question related to the lesson subject. Pupils "think" individually what they know of this topic, retrieving previous knowledge for 1-2 minutes and keeping notes. Two things are important at this stage: clarity and time!

Step 2_Pair (during...): Each pupil creates a pair with a classmate (the teacher will decide whether pupils or himself/herself will pick out the pairs). The pairs discuss their thoughts and exchange views. Then they process the text or complete a related activity, helping each other. During this stage, the teacher supervises the pairs' discussions and asks questions. Pairs are then asked either to find answers in specific questions asked by the teacher or create questions they will then ask the rest of the class.

Step 3_Share (after...): When pairs complete their task, the teacher asks them to share their ideas with the rest of the class. Each pair selects the individual who will present the results of their discussion and the one who will ask questions to the rest of the class.

The Think-Pair-Share strategy may be applied to differentiate any cognitive object. Particularly in Language Courses, it can be utilized for pupils to detect words in a text, expand a story, discover the meaning of a poem, make a temporal replacement etc. In addition, the Think-Pair-Share strategy may be used as an evaluation tool, as it allows teachers to supervise the pairs' discussions and make the necessary interventions.

2.7 KWL (Know– Want to know- Learned)

Another teaching technique is the KWL (Know - Want to know - Learned), a reading strategy utilized to guide pupils via a text. Pupils begin by brainstorming on what they know about the text topic. This information is then added to column K (Know) of a table. Next, pupils create a list of questions related to what they want to know about this particular topic, adding

them to column W (Want to know). During the last stage of teaching, pupils study a text (or other related information) and add to column L (Learned) what they finally learned (Carr & Ogle, 1987).

Indicative example of pupils working in the KWL strategy in Text Comprehension

Before reading the text, the teacher poses questions (Table 3) to the pupils, related to the text topic and a discussion is held. Pupils are encouraged to brainstorm, adding as much information as they can in a task sheet (K). Then, pupils add what they would like to know about the topic (W). Finally, pupils read the text and note down any information received (L).

There is also the option to continue with the KWL Plus Strategy, asking pupils to categorize information in column L, according to questions they will pose themselves and posed by the teacher.

Conclusion

In conclusion, in today's society, teachers should be able to acknowledge and accept each pupil as an individual with different needs, abilities and skills, with the value of his/her own individuality and diversity. Under this light, teachers should create opportunities of expression and comprehension with regard to learning for all pupils, applying differentiated instruction. Differentiated instruction is a teaching approach connecting learning and daily teaching. It is a way to include in teaching research data related to how people learn.

The introduction of differentiated instruction is a necessity and requires daily effort by teachers, in order for them to respond to the latest trends and the educational needs of future citizens. Teachers should assume initiative and apply proper teaching techniques, maximizing pupil involvement. Undoubtedly, the differentiated instruction techniques are merely a small stepping stone in an integrated procedure of change and modification that should be provided by society, school and teachers to future citizens. As Sadler (1900) said: "What's happening outside the school affects pupils much more than what's happening within it". However, teachers should continuously struggle for the best possible outcome, offering support and assistance to their pupils.

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Tables

Role	Audience	Format	Topic
Plato	His students	Email	The concept of the soul
Oprah	TV audience	Talk show	Populations in Africa
Aristotle	His students	Speech	Love
Nikos Kazantzakis	Grandchildren	Dairy	Human
Polar bear	Human	Critical letter	On the changes in life caused by climate change
Marco Polo	Fellow citizens	Presentation	Places visited
Pablo Picasso	Client	Praising comments in essay form	Guernica
Self	Students from abroad	Travel Guide	For the city you live in
The Little Prince	Fox	Conversation	True friendship

Jules Verne	Readers	A chapter of new book	New adventures of Phileas Fogg
Chef	To their trainees	Recipe	Best chocolate cake

Table 1: Example of Raft Strategy in Language Teaching

1st Stage: Assignment of Responsibilities	2nd Stage: Expert Study	3rd Stage: Expert Teaching
Site organization Group composition Announcement of group aim Retrieval of required pre-existing knowledge Supply of new content Assumption of responsibilities and work allocation	Creation of expert groups Supply of materials Encouragement of partnering behavior Consolidation of new content Offer of feedback	Return of pupils to initial group Material presentation Evaluation of cognitive result Evaluation of group work

Table 2: Presentation of instruction stages according to the Jigsaw method

Know	Want to know	Learned
Before reading the text What do you know about this particular topic? What time does it refer to? Who are the basic characters? How is this linked to modern life? What are the similarities and differences? What is your view?	Pupils write down questions related to what they would like to know about the text. "I want to know..."	After reading the text Pupils write down what they have learned with regard to the questions posed in the previous stage (Want to know) and discuss the text content. "I didn't know that... But I learned that..."

Table 3: Instruction stages using the KWL method

Competency Profile of the Teaching Profession in Croatia After Initial Education

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Abstract

The teachers' competence profile is in a constant discrepancy due to demands posed by life in the contemporary world of change. The base for the development of teachers' professional competences is set during initial education, although professional qualifications continue to be developed further through internship, teaching practice and lifelong professional training. Teachers' competences have to be expanded from traditional to new ones, such as the skill to diagnose pupils' needs for learning, the ability to methodically designate the environment for active learning and the development of competences, the ability of critical deliberation about achieved work results and individual research with the aim to implement innovations in teaching, develop collaboration and organization skills and other competences necessary to the teacher who searches for his or her way, and is not only the realiser of other people's ideas. This paper presents the results obtained by comparing teachers' competences quoted in some teacher study curricula in Croatia (Universities of Pula, Rijeka and Zadar) as to determine if the description of competences implies a teacher who is the leader and animator of the learning process, the one ready for reflection and research, or it indicates a teacher who is the technical realiser of the curriculum.

Keywords: Competence Profile, Professional Competences, Teacher, Animator, Researcher

Introduction

In the period between the 60s and 90s of the 20th century the notion of competency gradually passes from economics to pedagogic terminology, often replacing the meaning of one or more of the following terms: knowledge, ability, skill, art, attitudes and values, at the same time creating chaos of different definitions and interpretations (Perini, Puricelli, 2013: 14-15). Between the years 2000 and 2010 the competency approach becomes the base of the overall design of the European educational policy and slowly enters the Croatian educational policy and school practice. It is an extremely complex, controversial and ambiguous notion which has lately been preoccupying Croatian pedagogues, but does still not have a unique pedagogic interpretation or is recognised in the area of pedagogy (Palekčić, 2007: 146; Strugar, 2012: 38-40). Among the important domestic documents on education, the ones based on the concept of competences are *The Croatian Framework of Qualifications* (2009) (abbreviated as CFQ) and *The National Curriculum Framework for Preschool Education, General Compulsory and Secondary Education* (2014) (abbreviated as NCF). The former document, CFQ, recognises the following definition of competences: a set of knowledge and skills, as well as autonomy and responsibility, with an explanation that competences relate to all that can be acquired by learning. The CFQ differentiates *factual* (information) and *theoretical* (links of information) *knowledge*, as well as *cognitive*, *psychomotor* (practical) and *social skills*. The latter, NCF, does not give an expressed definition of competence, but it can be read between the lines that the term used implies knowledge, skills, abilities, values and attitudes.

Numerous Croatian pedagogues have dealt with competences in their theoretical deliberations and empirical research, some of them being: Mijatović, 2002; Vizek Vidović, 2005; Domović, 2006, 2009, Hrvatić, Piršl, 2007; Peko et al., 2007;

Kostović Vranješ, Ljubetić, 2008; Bežen, 2008; Lončarić, Pejić Papak, 2009; Matijević, 2009; Cindrić, Miljković, Strugar, 2010; Jurčić, 2012; Strugar, 2012; Piršl, 2014. According to Bežen (2008) the notion of competence can be considered a replacement for traditional terms as knowledge, abilities and skills used in defining an individual's qualifications to perform certain works. Bežen (2008: 26-27), lacking an accepted definition in Croatian pedagogy, quotes Weinert's (2001:22) definition and derives from it the minimal criteria to determine this ambiguous concept: a) competence is derived from the task which should be performed, b) it consists of cognitive, motivational, wilful, ethical and social components, c) it is complex and enables the performance of whole tasks, d) it is different from a skill which is an automated activity, e) to achieve it, it is necessary to learn. Piršl (2014: 48-49) differentiates among the "*cognitive* (knowledge), *functional* (application of knowledge), *personal* (behaviour) and *ethical* (principles and values in behaviour) dimension" of a competence integrated by individuals during their activities in a specific context. The author emphasizes one's personal creativity in applying the resources, but also the dependence of an individual's action on contextual characteristics.

The advocates of using the concept of competences in the area of pedagogy (Kerka, 1998; Lersch, 2005; Poglia, 2006, Moscato, 2007; Capperucci, 2008; Puricelli, Perini, 2012) think that the concept is a consequence of the operative integration of scientific knowledge and technical skills occurring after the superiority of scientific knowledge, ruling for centuries in the European society, has been overruled. By applying the notion of "competence" the problem of correlating theory and practice, general and vocational education, school knowledge and life reality, gets resolved. However, in the area of educational sciences the correlation between those two components still encounters a low level of practical application. On the one hand, a reason for that can be found in the necessary increase of practical activities in the teaching practice necessary for the development of competences. On the other hand, there are objective limitations to the educational process revealed by this concept (Perini, Puricelli, 2013; Perrenoud, 2000, 2010). It is questionable how much an educational institution can achieve, assess and evaluate the process of competence development which is by its definition dynamic and long-lasting, and depends on the pupil's integration of abilities, knowledge and skills. The knowledge and skills not integrated by pupils into their overall system of personal competences do not have an educational importance and are, in fact, useless and inefficient. However, teachers have a limited influence on the integration process because the activation of this process depends exclusively on individual pupils' decisions. Furthermore, the complexity of the competence concept brings difficulties in the evaluation of its level of development and makes it inseparable from the context they developed in, while the greatest difficulty is found in studying their real genesis, and the controlled monitoring of their development (Castoldi, 2009: 51-62; Palekčić, 2007: 146-147). Namely, human competences have a high degree of vagueness linked to character traits, values and attitudes, so it is very difficult to transform them into coded behaviour patterns and developmental programmes. Moreover, in the school context it is very hard to design a valid assessment of competences for each individual, apply their quantitative assessment and ensure their efficient confirmation. Besides, competences development depends on the overall life environment, both formal and informal (family, friends, sports, religious and cultural organisations, media), not only on school, and it extends over the developmental age in the narrower sense. However, the advocates of competences development at school (Capperucci, 2008; Moscato, 2007; Castoldi, 2009: 22-27; Perrenoud, 2000, 2010; Pellerey, 2004; Perini, Puricelli, 2013) claim that this concept is encouraging and brings along positive shifts in pedagogy and didactics, thus becoming worth of attention from both the psychological-pedagogic research and the educational practice point of view. Therefore, acknowledging competences as the key category for an effective renewal of the school encourages the revision of existing teaching and learning methods, methods and styles of assessment, while demanding from teachers to critically reassess them and find an adequate replacement. Perrenoud (2010:113) agrees with that. He is of the opinion that the process of changing the learning method and assessment of pupils' achievement has to be radical and necessarily demands for giving up usual teaching methods and standardized assessment of individuals' knowledge and skills in favour of active learning and global, holistic evaluation of competences, where the criteria would be publicly agreed on and pupils would participate in the educational process.

The teaching profession competence profile

Since the society's demands, new cognitive paradigms postulates and new findings in educational sciences gradually change the traditional teacher's role, it is clear that they cannot just be passive realisers of other's ideas, but have to become persons searching for their own pedagogic path (Mušanović, 2001; Stoll, Fink, 2000; Cindrić, Miljković, Strugar, 2010). This implies a radical change of the teaching profession: instead of teaching teachers organise and form supportive learning environments, include pupils in activities and activate all their abilities, engage in studying educational issues, actively cooperate with colleagues, professional school's service, the school's administration, pupils' parents, representatives of the wider social community with the aim to commonly achieve the educational activity and improve

activities for the individualisation and personalisation of teaching. Teachers' competences should, therefore, be expanded from knowing, planning and programming the subjects' contents, their methodological processing and transfer to pupils, as well as the evaluation and assessment of knowledge to the skill of diagnosing individual needs for learning, classroom management, methodical designation of active acquisition of knowledge and development of competences, critical deliberation on chosen strategies and achieved results of work, research aiming at the implementation of innovations in teaching, development of cooperative and organisation competence, self-motivation in achieving goals and the control over one's own moods and reactions. It is not easy to reach those changes. First of all, it is necessary to define the basic teacher competences and how to efficiently develop them during the initial education. Their choice can be done in line with theoretical starting points set by professionals in teacher education, respecting the determined competences possessed by successful teachers, the chosen model of the ideal teacher in a certain social context, results of international evaluation studies about quality teachers, research done by teacher associations and institutes for pedagogic research, and documents about international and national educational policies and other criteria (Fumarco, 2006; Razdevšek Pučko, 2005, Terhart, 2005). Terhart (2005:71) emphasizes that the procedure is always similar in its internal logic: the competences which a "good" teacher should possess are derived from the image of a good teacher. Such a choice of teacher's competences is necessarily based on their standardisation and norming which neglects the development of special personal skills. The Italian author Margiotta (2002:51) is of a similar opinion, while the Croatian pedagogue Jurčić (2012) and the Italian Fumarco (2006:51) take the area of professionalism necessary for the performance of the teaching profession as the starting point.

The aforementioned authors quote different classifications and teacher competence lists. Jurčić (2012:16) includes personal characteristics in the list (communicativeness, flexibility, balance, openness, empathy), as well as the subject, communicational, didactic-methodical, reflexive, social and organisational competence. Fumarco (2006:76) mentions subject-content, methodical-didactic, research, pedagogic-psychological, communicational competences and personal characteristics (openness, flexibility, balance, empathy, communicativeness, etc.). The author Vizek Vidović (2011:67) doubts the possibility of development and assessment of such complex competences during teachers' initial education where university instruction and school practice are poorly correlated and students do not have a sufficient possibility of practicing what they have learned in the study programme. Meyer (2002:224) remarks that practicums, pedagogic workshops and school practice should have a prominent place in the study programme to ensure enough space for the correlation of theoretical education and practical teaching.

From the many existing models, the one presented here as an example of teachers' competence profile is the model by the Swiss sociologist and pedagogue Perrenoud (2002), a long-time researcher in this area. His model is structured around 10 competences, grouped into three areas: *the area of learning, administrative and extracurricular activities, and contemplation about the profession*. He is also interesting due to his innovative vision of the teaching profession and the school it is based on, without turning it into a utopia. What follows is the presentation of the mentioned model:

A) *The area of learning*

1. Organise and animate learning situations (know the learning content, express contents in learning outcomes, plan and conceive teaching sequences, include pupils into research activities, etc.).
2. Manage learning progress (conceive and manage problem situations in line with pupils' capabilities and long-term educational aims, correlate teaching with learning theories, observe and assess pupils in learning situations, prepare periodical reports about developed competences and consider them when planning follow-up activities).
3. Conceive and develop differentiation systems (manage the group heterogeneity, remove obstacles, practice integrated teaching, offer support to endangered pupils, develop cooperation among pupils).
4. Actively include pupils in learning and instruction (encourage the wish to learn, raise consciousness about the relationship to knowledge, link learning to life reality, develop the pupils' ability for self-assessment, set up pupils' councils and negotiate conduct rules with them, make a contract about class rules, offer the possibility of choosing elective modules or subjects).
5. Organise group work (develop group work projects, animate the work group, conduct meetings, form and renovate the work group, face and analyse complex situations and problems, manage crises or conflicts among individuals).

B) *Area of administrative or extracurricular activities*

6. Participate in school management (take part in the creation of the school curriculum, manage school resources, coordinate and animate school's external associates: local political authority representatives, parent associations, etc., organise and improve the participation of pupils in school management).
7. Inform and include parents into the educational process (animate informative meetings and discussions on school activities, conduct talks with parents, include parents in the valorisation of teaching activities).
8. Use information technology (use the multimedia in teaching, document editing programmes, pictures, audio and video recordings, the educational software potentials in line with educational aims, as well as communication via e-mail and e-learning).

C) Area of contemplation about the profession

9. Face the professional obligations and dilemmas (analyse the pedagogic relationship with pupils, teacher's authority, classroom communication, develop the sense of responsibility, solidarity, sense of justice, prevent school violence, fight prejudices against ethnic, social, religious and sexual discrimination, participate in the creation of classroom rules).
10. Manage their professional training (know how to present their teaching practice in front of others, evaluate their professional competences themselves, conceive their personal programme of continuous professional training, agree upon a project of education individually or with colleagues).

The presented model lacks *organisational* and *research* competences, as well as teachers' personal characteristics like openness, balance, flexibility, communicativeness, empathy. The last ones are not included into the competence profile by some authors because they should be general conditions for the access to the teaching profession and, besides, they can be limitedly affected during education (Fumarco, 2006:76). Each model is different and does usually not explain in details all teacher competences, and this should certainly not be aimed at since long lists of fragmented skills lose sight of global competences. Beginning from the chosen profile a curriculum for the education of teachers is being prepared, and the activities are directed toward the development of competences. If the students are going to really develop advisable competences during their study depends on the structure, organisation and dynamics of the study. Research has shown that in designing the teachers' initial education curriculum certain elements make the difference, and they relate to:

1. *content of teacher's education* – what is learnt and how it is correlated, how much are candidates helped to form the mental map of the teaching structure which would help them to notice relations among areas of pedagogic knowledge and to correctly correlate theory and practice which support their professional training
2. *learning process* – to which extent does the study programme develop competences and enable candidates' readiness to work in schools, and to what extent is it based on experiential learning and teacher training to understand the context and reach decisions in the classroom
3. *learning context* – to what extent is the future teacher's learning carried out in contexts which enable the development of the professional practice; such contexts include areas of subject methodologies and communities of practice which encourage the exchange of personal experience through the presentation of good practice examples and deliberation about them, which enriches the acquired knowledge. (Darling Hammond, Bransford et al., 2005:394-395).

We completely agree with Perrenoud's (2010:144) opinion stating that the necessary integration of theoretical and practical knowledge is possible only if teachers' initial education is distnced from the prevailing acquisition of academic and pedagogic-psychological knowledge which should be reduced to a smaller, but more conscious part in the overall study programme. What does not contribute to the development of future teachers' professional profile at all is, as claimed by Terhat (2005:71), to rely full of enthusiasm and hope on planned effects, perseveringly claiming that with more education the teachers' actions will become more efficient.

Besides, university institutions for teacher education are not completely independent in designing the curriculum of teachers' initial education because they have to take care about the prescribed national standards and international recommendations to ensure the acquisition of necessary competences (Domović, 2009:28). This is also introduced in Croatia, where the professional standards for the teaching profession are to be prepared based on the European Framework of Qualifications and the Croatian Framework of Qualifications which has been designed in line with the former one. This European Union initiative represents a tendency toward the standardization of competences which could hinder

the flexibility of initial education and the development of the teaching profession, as well as limit the teaching profession to the technical training to perform teaching instead of research and reflexive competences to be developed as the priority.

Research methodology, aim and sample

The research is based on the qualitative methodology which includes the analysis of Teacher Study programmes at Universities of Pula, Rijeka and Zadar (Croatia). The research base was the analysis of Teacher Study curricula with the aim to define the pedagogic concept of competence, as well as to determine which competences are developed during the teachers' initial education. The research sample consists of collected teacher study curricula at Universities of Pula, Rijeka and Zadar.

Results of the analysis of teacher study syllabuses in Croatia regarding the development of general and specific competences

During the university reform in 2005, all higher education institutions in Croatia opted for the introduction of learning outcomes in curricula. Since "during the designation of new curricula what was lacking (...) was the definition of the national standard in the area of teachers' professional competences" (Domović, 2009:16), in 2005 the institutions of the analysed sample introduced learning outcomes only at the intermedial and micro level, which means that they are operatively defined only in certain subject's syllabi (detailed performance teaching plans) and during teaching the teaching units. In the academic year 2013/2014 the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport officially demanded for the list of competences developed by single teacher studies. In the meantime, university institutions were preparing teacher competence profiles using as the starting point the referential guidelines given in different European educational policy documents, the basic provisions of national and international documents about competences which teachers should develop in pupils, the existing examples of list of competences which contemporary education demands from teachers and the analysis of professional jobs and tasks which should be done by teachers. A few years ago most teacher studies carried out a revision of the 2005 curricula, or were completing this ample work during the academic year 2013/2014. That is why it is important to remark that the following lists of competences are only a working version of the higher education institutions from the sample and during this research they were not found in the curricula available at university web pages, except for the Zadar University. The first in Croatia to publicly publish a study of a possible teacher competence profile for their teacher study were authors from Rijeka, Lončarić and Pejić Papak in 2009. This programme is presented in the following part and it is compared to working versions of the teacher study competence profile of the Universities of Pula and Zadar.

There are many doubts in understanding the concept of competence which influences its formulation. Clearly and precisely defined competences at the level of the syllabus are a support in planning the expected outcomes at the syllabus level and have to be in agreement with competences in a certain profession and CFQ. Initial education has to ensure to students the development of competences demanded by the contemporary teaching profession and the realisation of the national framework curriculum for lower grades of primary school. In any case, the concepts of works and competences cannot be equalised. Namely, competences imply a set of knowledge, abilities, skills, attitudes and values which an individual is able to use to perform certain works and solve familiar and unfamiliar problem situations. Competences as a concept are a nuance to pedagogy and educational institutions which have to operationalise this concept. It is normal that the need for contemplation is present to form a theoretical and practical-operational framework for the application of this concept for pedagogic-didactic purposes. All the more since the concept is primarily used in the area of sociology, economy, occupational psychology and linguistics, all being areas not close to pedagogy and education (Perini, Puricelli, 2013). Therefore, the disagreement found among pedagogy expert in defining, classifying, identifying and using this concept in the area of pedagogy is not surprising. The aforementioned definition points out, besides the skill to perform a certain work, personal creativity, style of behaviour, engagement of the whole self, including convictions, values, attitudes and emotions. Competences unite all those characteristics into a unique approach to solving a certain working task. Besides, an individual's activity is to a great extent conditioned by the social context and an actual educational situation. To equalise competence with the qualifications necessary to perform a certain job means that the complexity of this concept is not accepted, and neither are the consequences it brings along in planning and realising the educational process.

Before starting to analyse curricula according to the competence development principle, it is necessary to clarify differences in the formulation of educational aims as transfer of knowledge and acquisition of skills compared to the development of competences. Contrary to knowledge and skills which can be simply expressed as educational process aims, it is much harder to define competences as learning aims. To notice the difference, a competence will be defined as a complex

learning outcome: each student has to know how to successfully do a task in any situation using the skills and knowledge at his/her disposal. The unknown in the former description of a competence is linked to the unique approach of each individual to a defined concrete situation, as well as to the specificity of the context in which this individual will act. The mentioned characteristics of the concept of competence lead to the conclusion that it is possible to describe it as an educational aim only by excluding the personal component, i.e. by eliminating all the unpredictable dimensions of learning. The following conclusion is derived from the formerly mentioned stating that it is not completely possible to teach or learn competences.

It is possible to study usual procedures and practice the use of various teaching tools and aids used to solve a task successfully, while everything else depends on the students' personal reaction and procedures. Furthermore, since competences are not culturally defined and transferable knowledge, it is not possible to manage the process of their acquisition externally, but individuals have to build and develop them themselves. It can be derived that teaching understood as the traditional transfer of knowledge does not contribute to the development of competences. It is much more useful to give support in learning and organising adequate environment. Next, during the assessment and evaluation of competences, since they are not completely predictable, it is not possible to use a unified assessment model which would suit each individual because students are significantly different. Accepting competences as indeterminate and unpredictable, subject to only partial learning and teaching, their implementation in pedagogy opens for the possibility of personalizing education and evaluation of personal differences, accepting the free and responsible expression of the individual self.

In the following part the competence definition which excludes elements of personal interpretation of competent actions will be used. Although there is no definite version of analysed curricula' competence profiles at disposal, it will be presented since one of the aims of this research was to determine which competences are developed during initial teacher education. For reasons of transparency, the criteria of general and specific competence was applied which the Rectorial Court (2004) suggested in its instruction for the design of new curricula during the implementation of reforms linked to the Bologna process. What follows is the analysis of the working version of general and specific competences in the chosen sample of curricula.

Table 1: The competence profile of teachers at the University of Pula, Zadar and Rijeka Teacher Study (general instrumental competences)

General competences Teacher Study - Pula	General competences Teacher Study - Zadar	General competences Teacher Study - Rijeka
Demonstrate a wide general culture.	Communicate mathematically, make logical conclusions and give arguments for personal mathematical ideas as part of elementary mathematics.	-
Plan and organise one's own learning and training (lifelong learning) individually	-	Reassess one's own work and work upon its improvement.
Communicate in the mother tongue fluently and with arguments.	Communicate in the mother tongue in spoken and written forms; apply standard linguistic norms at all levels (spelling, grammar, lexical, orthoepic and stylistic).	Apply knowledge and understanding as to responsibly encourage linguistic literacy adequate to situations, age and level of education.
Use one foreign language at the level of active communication.	Communicate in one foreign language in spoken and written form.	-

Actively use information technology (ECDL)	Use computer technology to create and edit texts and photographs, and to communicate.	Apply knowledge and understanding to responsibly encourage information and communication literacy.
Demonstrate the possession of personal qualities significant for the teaching profession (communicativeness, empathy, openness, flexibility, etc.).	-	-

It is important to remind that all educational areas are responsible for the development of general or transferable competences. Transferable competences can be used in many situations which are not exclusively linked to the specific academic context and they include instrumental, interpersonal and system competences. Specific competences relate to theoretical and practical knowledge, skills and techniques characteristic for a certain study programme or area, including the specific demands of aimed professions (e.g. teachers). The level of the competence profile abstraction has to be high, but applicable in practice and based upon a real possibility of developing the planned competences by successfully mastering a programme.

Table 2.: Expected general competences at the University of Pula, Zadar and Rijeka Teacher Study (general interpersonal competences)

General competences Teacher Study - Pula	General competences Teacher Study - Zadar	General competences Teacher Study - Rijeka
Establish cooperation relationships with work colleagues and the society as a whole (organise team work, peacefully solve disputes, take over responsibility for the performance of tasks, respect set deadlines).	-	Collaborate with colleagues, professionals and others to promote learning.
Respect the professional ethic.	-	Appreciate oneself as a professional. Appreciate the community and work devotedly for the community.
Respect differences and multiculturality.	Apply the principles of human rights, democratic values, differences, social sensitivity. and tolerance in working with children.	Appreciate and show devotion for social justice. Respect children's rights and the principle of equal possibilities for development through education. Describe traits in pupils with special needs' behaviour and notice their developmental potentials.

The aforementioned general competences (Table 1. and 2.) are under the influence of European documents about key competences¹ which should be acquired by each citizen and which each successful learning outcome, employment and coping with everyday life depends on. Those are the following competences: a) communication in the mother tongue, b) communication in a foreign language, c) mathematical literacy and basic knowledge of science and technology, d) digital competence, e) learn how to learn, f) interpersonal and citizenship competence, g) entrepreneurship, h) cultural expression.

Taking into consideration that general competences are not linked to a certain area and that such a division was not used in the analysed curricula, it was extremely difficult to determine how much and which part of a certain curriculum includes their development. All the analysed programmes have mother tongue and foreign language courses, at least one, and it is possible to learn more foreign languages as elective courses. Two programmes consist of the module training students to become English language teachers in lower grades of primary school. Computer science has also been included in all programmes, while two programmes consist of the module of information and communication technology which prepares students to teach computer science in primary schools. The reinforcement of personal characteristics significant for the successful performance of the teaching profession, and the knowledge about how to study on their own, depend to a great extent on subjective factors which can be only partly influenced by teaching. Most of the aforementioned competences have a high level of vagueness, and without indicators transforming them into coded behaviour patterns and enabling the assessment of their presence in curricula it is not possible to determine if their development was planned. Therefore, attention was directed toward the analysis of specific competences representation.

Table 3.A: Expected specific competences at the University of Pula, Zadar and Rijeka Teacher Study

Specific competences Teacher Study - Pula	Specific competences Teacher Study - Zadar	Specific competences Teacher Study - Rijeka
Demonstrate knowledge of artistic areas and basic sciences and their disciplines which interpret laws, occurrences and processes included in the first cycle programme of primary education.	Describe and display kinesiological operators with the aim to make an advancement in pupils motor, functional and cognitive abilities.	Use thorough practical knowledge in the class.
Plan, programme and evaluate curricula in all educational areas (linguistic-communicational, mathematical, scientific, technical and information, social-humanistic, artistic, and physical-health) according to pupils needs and interests.	Define and apply elementary mathematical definitions, procedures and concepts in the methodical designation of mathematical contents according to the prescribed syllabus for lower grades of primary school. Define and apply elementary scientific concepts in the methodical designation of content in teaching nature and society according to the prescribed syllabus for lower grades of primary school.	Individually plan teaching for efficient learning. Correctly interpret fundamental educational concepts. Design a teaching plan which supports efficient learning. Determine teaching aims with regard to learning outcomes.

¹ Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning. // Official Journal of the European Union L394/10, 2006, p. 4-9.
Available at: http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2006/l_394/l_39420061230en00100018.pdf. Report on Key Competencies for a Successful Life and a Well-Functioning Society Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/47/61/35070367.pdf>.

The list of expected specific competences (tables 3.A, 3.B, 3.C) in three teaching programmes has a different level of abstraction and degree of correlation with contents of appropriate courses. Common elements of analysed programmes are teachers' competences relating to programming and preparation of teaching, methodical processing of teaching contents, the conduction of teaching and classroom management, monitoring and assessment of pupils' achievements, or the capability to perform traditional teaching jobs.

Table 3.B: Expected specific competences at the University of Pula, Zadar and Rijeka Teacher Study

Specific competences Teacher Study - Pula	Specific competences Teacher Study - Zadar	Specific competences Teacher Study - Rijeka
Individually conduct the teaching of all subjects and areas represented in the primary school lower grades' syllabi, in Croatian or Italian, in all forms of work they are realised (compulsory, elective, remedial and additional classes, extracurricular activities, cultural and public activity).	Articulate and analyse the Croatian language, Mathematics, Nature and Society, Physical Education, Art, Music lessons according to the prescribed syllabus for primary school lower grades. Apply practical knowledge and skills in the realisation of music activities (singing, playing and instrument, listening to music and music creativity). Understand and apply various art media and techniques and articulate the Art lesson in primary school.	Individually conduct organised forms of work in educational areas. Correctly interpret the fundamental concepts for subject methodologies. Analyse and critically reflect upon programme contents. Show the ability to teach individuals, groups and classes. Encourage creativity in interest areas at the focus of pupils. Individually plan, programme and conduct pupils out-of-school activities.
Efficiently use the information and communication technology in the educational process.	Use computer technology to create and edit texts and photographs, and for communication.	Individually use the computer in the realisation of educational aims. Apply different multimedia teaching activities in practice.
Actively correlate and evaluate the theoretical principles and practical experience in the area of education.	Manage the teaching process in changeable conditions, respecting pedagogic principles and principles of differences.	Individually practically apply the fundamental psychological-pedagogic-didactic processes of cognition. Understand and use the main elements of the educational system; show their attitude and opinion about educational issues; understand the nature and areas of the primary school curriculum. Justify their approaches to learning and teaching and understand their effect on the pupil.
Create and apply different teaching strategies and encourage learning and the development of the child's self and monitor and note down advancement done by each child in all developmental areas (cognitive, emotional, social and motor).	Apply various teaching methods, depending on the children's developmental dimension and possibilities.	Use various strategies and approaches to work adapted to the topic, subject and pupils needs. Harmonise expectations and working pace to the pupils' needs. Discipline pupils' behaviour in a right, socially sensitive and consistent way. Evaluate and advance teaching using evaluation results.

Table 3.C: Expected specific competences at the University of Pula, Zadar and Rijeka Teacher Study

Specific competences Teacher Study - Pula	Specific competences Teacher Study - Zadar	Specific competences Teacher Study - Rijeka
Create and apply various strategies of the teaching process and pupils' achievements evaluation (including the evaluation of the personal practical experience, organisation and efficiency of work).	-	Apply the principles of monitoring and assessment. Show knowledge in the use of various methods of evaluation adequate to the children's age and determine the levels of achievement. Monitor advancement according to aims, identify problems, confirm achievements and outcomes. Use evaluation to determine the following aims of work.
Creatively and efficiently designate the educational environment according to pupils' needs and possibilities.	-	Efficiently organise work and teaching.
Recognise and together with other members of the expert service team evaluate children's special needs (giftedness, developmental impairment)	Recognise specific pupils' needs conditioned by their differences and peculiarities at the individual level.	Show the capability of adequate reactions to gender, social, cultural, religious and language differences among pupils. Designate creative contents to work with gifted children.
Collect, create and keep simple and complex didactic means of working with children and take care about the aesthetic and functional arrangement of the space where teaching and other activities are conducted.	-	Plan and ensure a well organised class aiming at pupils' safety and motivation, with various social forms of work. Use the environment and resources out of the school to enrich teaching.
Establish close cooperation relationships with parents, members of the school expert team, and other professionals and participators of children's education in the local community, and engage into the achievement of active participation of the school and pupils in the local community life.	Organise activities for the inclusion of parents into their children's education Organise and conduct various extracurricular and out-of-school activities.	Cooperate with colleagues, professionals and others to promote learning. Have a successful cooperation with parents. Respect the need for scientific and nature education and show responsibility for their personal progress and the community.
Actively follow and critically evaluate relevant professional and scientific literature in the area of education with the aim of lifelong training.	Critically evaluate various sources of knowledge in the area of education.	Understand research and its contribution to education. Find and evaluate professional and scientific literature.

Conduct a scientific research and thus achieve new knowledge with the aim of improving the educational process.	Conduct research with the purpose of the advancement of the profession, taking into consideration the ethical codex of researching children participants.	Competently conduct scientific research and thus create new knowledge in the interdisciplinary area of education.
-	Understand and analyse contents of the national and world's history. Understand the pedagogical aspect of children's literature and correlations with other areas of educational work.	Apply knowledge and understanding to responsibly support mathematical and scientific literacy adequate to the situation, age and level of education.

Competences formulated in the area of teaching indicate the different conceptualisation of the teaching profession in certain programmes: a) *"Plan, programme and evaluate curricula ... according to the pupils' needs and interests."* b) *"Create a teaching plan which supports efficient learning."* c) methodically shape *"contents of Nature and Science teaching according to the prescribed curricula for lower grades of primary school"* or *"articulate and analyse the Croatian language, Mathematics, Nature and Society, Physical Education, Art and Music lesson according to the prescribed curriculum for lower grades of primary school"*.

The first and the second description of competences implies a teacher leader and animator of the learning process, while the third formulation indicates a teacher who is the technical realiser of the curriculum. When there is a transfer from teacher competences for the performance of the traditional function of the teaching professional to new roles and adequate competences, like for instance, the explorer of the educational reality, organiser and animator of social occurrences, professional who recognises the pupils' special needs, the described competences are more a reflection of the idealised professional profile of a good teacher than the really possible development of these competences during initial education. Descriptions of competences which cannot be developed based on syllabi planned for that purpose also appear. This is confirmed by course syllabi which are included in the study programmes with the aim to develop certain competences, and they include all the typical characteristics of teaching directed to the transfer of knowledge, beginning from the planned teaching methods to tests as a method of knowledge assessment.

Conclusion

The teaching profession is very complex, multidimensional and extremely demanding in the contemporary society of continuous changes. To be a competent teacher demands for a synergic integration of knowledge, abilities and action, because teachers act in complex, changeable, insecure situations which almost never repeat in the same form. To achieve autonomy and responsibility for work, the future teacher has to develop dynamic qualities of their professional profile, namely the art of critical thinking, initiative, creativity, research abilities, which are contrary to static characteristics like order, discipline and the feeling of duty. The latter are sufficient if teachers fulfil the prescribed curriculum and face the familiar educational situations, but not in the new and unfamiliar ones, when they have to find an original solution themselves. According to Donald Schön (1987) in facing a problem situation, teachers can act in two different ways:

Applying the technical rationality (familiar behaviour patterns)

Applying the reflexive rationality (there are no familiar solutions, but teachers have to find them contemplating on the formed experience)

The level to which students change and integrate the theoretical cognition and teaching practice as part of their study programme has an unmeasurable importance for the development of abilities of deliberation and correlation of the acquired knowledge with practical experience. This goes along the educational theses characteristic for the postmodern period which avoid the separation of theory and practice present in traditional curricula, and emphasizes the importance of personal experience in learning and deliberating about the same, instead of remembering huge amounts of factual and procedural knowledge.

To become a competent practitioner who thinks of his/her activities includes intellectual engagement, the theoretical understanding of educational reality and the autonomous application of found solutions. Thus, the development of teacher competences is impossible without the constant practicing of procedural and metacognitive knowledge, and organised research and deliberation. Initial education is only an introduction to the process of "becoming" a teacher, but it has to set the foundations to the critical-reflexive competence for a continuous reorganisation of personal emotional and cognitive resources.

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Low Cost Private Schools: 'Helping' to Reach Education for All Through Exploiting Women

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Abstract

The rapid growth of Low Cost Private Schools (LCPS) in developing countries has led to increasing interest in the model's 'sustainability'. Nearly all the literature is based on the proponents' claims that the model is more cost-effective than government schools rather than of the implications of the model depending to a large extent on very low paid young women teachers. The article is written against the backdrop of the model of an autonomous, respected, well-prepared teacher and framed in terms of human rights and gender (dis-)empowerment. Drawing on material on literature mainly from India and Pakistan, it documents the educational levels and employment opportunities for women; reviews the arguments for and against the model pointing out the lack of attention to the high rates of profit and the plight of teachers; and demonstrates that the (mostly young women) teachers are not only very low paid but are also poorly qualified with very precarious conditions of employment. Simply put, paying women teachers less than the minimum wage denies their human rights, further disempowering those who are already socially marginalized and excluded. This is not sustainable for gender equality in the long term and, finally, detrimental to education in developing societies as a whole.

Keywords: Exploitation of young women teachers; India and Pakistan; sustainability of low-fee model

Introduction

1. JUSTIFICATION AND APPROACH

1.1 The Low Cost Private Schools Model

The model of low cost private schools, referred to as LCPS, has grown for several reasons over the last 25 years: inadequate or uneven distribution of government finance leads to a demand for schooling that non-government schools can fill (Colclough, 1997); non-government schools provide alternatives to (perceived) low quality and/or inefficient public education; hidden costs in government schools; and language of instructions or religious preference (Phillipson et al. (2008). In addition, Tooley (2010), one of the major proponents of the model, claims that low-cost private schools are likely to provide lower teacher absenteeism (due to increased accountability to school owners and thence to parents), more engaged teachers (due to more local recruitment), smaller class sizes and therefore potentially more individualized attention.

India and Pakistan are two developing countries receiving widespread attention in education and development research because this low cost private sector provides millions of children a primary education, with nearly one-third of all pupils in South Asia aged 6-18 attending private school (Dahal and Nguyen 2014). This has supplemented the national progress to EFA—for the universal primary education as well as gender equality goals - leading to both praise for and questions about the involvement of the private sector in education, in particular concern over the quality of the education that is being provided.

1.2 Major problem of education in developing countries seen to be quality

As all development institutions have stated, quality is one of the most significant issues to tackle post-2015. UNESCO first defined its mission as promoting education as a fundamental human right; but now also emphasises quality. However, this has proved hard to achieve. In particular, it requires the teachers who are capable of delivering that quality education. In

developed countries, most commentators now agree that excellent teachers play a critical role (e.g., UN, 2013). This is seen to be a consequence of:

- pre-service teacher education programs that prepare teachers in content, pedagogy, and educational theory, as well as the capacity to do their own research;
- significant financial support for professional development, reasonable and equitable salaries, and supportive working conditions;
- teachers having considerable authority and autonomy, rather than just a technical implementation of externally mandated standards and tests;
- teacher's work is an independent and respected profession, attracting the most able young people to teaching. (Sahlberg, 2011).

This model of teaching as a respected, well-prepared and well-paid profession with autonomy and independence to deliver quality education is the backdrop to this paper where we are focussing on the sustainability of the LCPS model in terms of the situation of the teachers – and specifically of the female teachers – drawing on evidence from LCPSs in several States of India and several Provinces in Pakistan.

1.3 Increasing Emphasis on Human Rights

In the twenty-first century, emphases on human rights, gender empowerment and education have cut across global development efforts. There are clear international compacts against human exploitation and trafficking as well as to protect a child's right to free and compulsory education. The rights-based approach (RBA) became widely used in education in the 1990s, following Jomtien and the initial EFA declaration. The RBA 'puts people first and promotes human-centred development, recognizes the inherent dignity of every human being without distinction, recognizes and promotes equality between women and men, promotes equal opportunity and choices for all...' (Hausermann, 1998). Whilst international law and global compacts do not easily apply to non-state actors, such as individuals or corporations running LCPS, when evaluating the behaviour of those providers towards their clients and their staff, this definition emphasises the objective situation of the latter (has their dignity been recognised; has equality and opportunity been promoted, etc.) and not their felt situation. It applies equally when evaluating the position of those who support LCPS providers – whether corporations, donors or governments.

UNICEF and the EFA Global Partnership Team (2014) said 'Effective regulation is crucial to ensuring that private schools work with government to deliver equitable and good-quality education.'(p.17). This has been followed by the recent UN Human Rights Council resolution urging States to regulate and monitor private education providers and recognising the potential 'wide-ranging impact of the commercialization of education on the enjoyment of the right to education (Geneva, 2nd July, 2015) adopted by consensus of its 47 members. The resolution demands that States '**put in place a regulatory framework**' that establishes minimum norms and standards for '**monitor(ing)aa private education providers**'. It confirms that '**education is a public good**'; and insists on the '**significant importance of public investment in education, to the maximum of available resources**'. Overall, it is a striking response to those who have been trying to reduce education to a private commodity, rather than a universal right.

The gender implications of the growth of low-cost private schooling have been a key public policy concern. Two main questions dominate the literature in this regard. First, are girls disadvantaged in terms of their enrolment in LCPSs? Second, are they more (or less) disadvantaged in LCPSs than in government schools, in relative terms? On each of these questions, the evidence is inconsistent and not generalisable (Day-Ashley et al., 2013). But, apart from observations that a pool of unemployed female secondary school graduates is fertile ground for the growth of LCPS (Andrabi et al 2008;Day-Ashley, 2013), there is no discussion of the gender implications in terms of disadvantaging *teachers*.

Empowerment

A rights-based approach also often overlaps with an emphasis on empowerment, in the sense that education is meant to be a process of removing barriers to making informed choices. This is an understanding of education as a positive human right—one that must be actively provided and protected, as opposed to the idea of education as a good or service to be delivered (McCowan, 2011). From this perspective, this involves the provision of or realisation of the three following rights:

to education—access and participation; **within** education—appropriate education environments, processes and outcomes; and **through** education—relevant education outcomes that link education to the wider process of justice in society (Subrahmanian, 2005).

Women's Rights and Gender Empowerment

In comparison with human rights (Coleman, 2004), the recognition of women's rights is more recent. A generation ago, gender issues were avoided in international accords; now, gender justice serves a focal point of many educational initiatives implemented in developing countries.

Empowerment as it relates to gender is difficult to measure and assess. We take the definition to be a combination of process and agency that together comprises empowerment, which, as Kabeer (2001) explains, is 'the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them.'

Of course, women's empowerment is more than just education; it is economic space and how women participate within such economic contexts. Women may now have wage employment and be active in the labour force to some extent, but income or income increases alone mean little. There must be parallel increases in property, access to assets, and—most importantly—*control* over such property, assets and income (Deshmukh-Ranadive 2005: 111). Similarly, Malhotra and Schuler (2005) argue that, whilst schooling has traditionally been used as a proxy for empowerment, it would actually be better understood as a catalyst of change, an enabling factor or source for the process of empowerment. They conclude that not all interventions in education for women are necessarily toward the process of 'empowering' women; increasing access to resources does not necessarily translate to increasing in control over resources—or even oneself.

1.4 Methods/Approaches

In the second section, we document the educational levels and employment opportunities for women in India and Pakistan; in the third, we summarise the arguments of the proponents and of the debates on either side, noting the lack of attention to profit margins in LCPS and to the plight of female teachers; in the fourth, we present the main thrust of the argument, demonstrating that (mostly young) women are being paid well below the minimum wage and have very few employment rights.

2 WOMEN AND GIRLS IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Of course, sexism and low pay is rife in India and Pakistan. Traditionally, women and girls in India and Pakistan experienced protracted discrimination and exclusion from education because education was seen as leading to employment in the modern sector, which were not culturally available to women. But, this has been changing in India [and Pakistan]: 'And now poor people have started thinking that education is for empowerment, education is for emancipation.' (Satyarathi, 2015)

At the same time, just as education for employment, education for emancipation and empowerment still promote the value of learning as an important step toward gainful employment. Attitudes toward female education have changed in every country in recent decades. In India, many parents now see investment in girls' education as much more important for her marriageability prospects and her ability to run a good household through keeping accounts (PROBE report, 1999, p.19).

2.1 Development of Schooling in India and Pakistan

2.1.1 Primary Schooling and Educational Attainment of Females

In 1990, the literacy rate among adult women was 34% in India and 20% in Pakistan (compared to 62% and 49% for men); and the gross enrolment ratio (GER) for girls in secondary was 38% in India and 13% in Pakistan (Table 1). With such low school attainment levels, most women had little or no skills and were unable to find gainful or well-paying jobs. Poor(er) parents were therefore reluctant to invest in their daughters' education, preferring to marry them off young (Aslam et al, 2008) thereby 'triggering a vicious cycle'. But now, both India and Pakistan are reporting primary GERs around 100 and GERs in secondary have nearly doubled in both countries, with mean years of schooling now having reached 4.4 and 4.6

respectively¹. The average time girls are remaining in school for these two countries, and the proportion of the female population 15+ that was receiving any secondary schooling in 2010 was still low overall (Table 1) for both Pakistan (30% compared to 40% for males) and India (66% compared to 71%) but the trend since 1990 is indicative of changing times, a paradigm shift valuing women learning.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

2.1.2 Types of Schools and Schooling

In India, there are three distinct types of school management in India: government, private aided and private unaided (Kingdon, 1996). Government public schools are completely funded and managed by some level of government, private aided schools are privately-managed with all salaries usually provided by the government (Tooley et al., 2010); whilst unaided schools must meet all the costs including teacher salaries. These private schools² enrol about 30% of children at primary level (James and Woodhead, 2014).

Private unaided schools themselves can be divided even further. There are recognised private schools that are licensed either because they actually meet the state requirements or through 'unofficial' – i.e. undocumented – payments to officials. Unrecognised private unaided schools do not exist in any official government lists or census data, so that learning about what goes on within unrecognised private unaided primary schools is difficult. The limited fieldwork suggests that unrecognised private schools perform less well than recognised private schools, although still better than government schools (Tooley and Dixon, 2005). In this paper, we are including both recognised and unrecognised low-cost private schools in our evaluation.

In 2009, the Indian government passed the Right to Education Act (RTE), re-iterating that primary education is compulsory for all children and provided by the state. The parts of RTE most relevant for private schools were (a) it did not differentiate between private and public schools in specifying that teachers' pay, working conditions and qualifications needed to become a teacher were to be the same for teachers in all schools (b) the section 18 requirement that all (unregistered) private schools had to be registered within three years and (c) the section 12(1)c requirement that all private schools set aside one quarter of all enrolments, from the start of the primary cycle until completion, for children from families defined as disadvantaged (Srivastava and Noronha, 2014), with the state subsidising the tuition fees that private schools would otherwise charge, to a fixed limit.

There have been many critiques (Sadagopal, 2010) but little evidence. Limited research (e.g. Singh, 2010) suggests that, although unrecognised schools do understand the threat of closure they face in principle, the implementation of the section 18 requirement has been patchy. More extensive research on the actual implementation of the section 12(1)c requirement (the 25% rule) suggests that it has been poor (Singh, 2010; Srivastava and Noronha, 2014); and RIGCS (2015) report that less than 30% of the mandatory 25% reservations had been utilised; and very few, if any, in unrecognised private schools. Whilst India Institute (2016) documents the closure of several unrecognised schools, this is an isolated example. Despite the importance of RTE in Indian education policy debates, we argue that the implications for our evaluation of the conditions of LPCS teachers are limited.

In Pakistan, about 59% of primary school population is in government primary schools, 38% in LCPS, 2% in NGO/Trust run schools, a small number in elite private schools, and some in madrasses³. The growth of LCPS has been encouraged by aid agencies, mainly through foundations (e.g., in the Punjab and Sind) or other forms of Public Private Partnerships.

2.2 Education and Employment for Women in India and Pakistan

Although the proportion of educated women in developing countries is growing, the employment opportunities for them have not grown at the same rate. In South Asia, the drop in labour force participation rates since the 2008 global crisis is partly explained by a strong increase in enrolment in education. Bhalla and Kaur (2012) also suggest that discrimination,

¹ Unrecognised schools do not report enrolment to the Ministry (e.g. Singh, 2010, p.3), the cited estimates are based on household surveys, which are themselves suspect and likely to over-estimate in low income countries [Author x 2].

² There are an unknown number of unrecognised private schools, which are nearly all low cost, and also religious schools but the latter are small in number and not the focus here.

³ There are about 13,000 madrasses compared to 163,000 government primary schools (i.e. madrasses are about 8% of all establishments), but their total pupil population is only about 1% of all enrollees at all levels.

both in terms of wages and of type of job (e.g. difficult entry for women into paid employment), is among the reasons for low participation. They estimate that the share of urban Indian women who work or study was 5 percentage points higher in the 2000s compared to the 1980s.

Ghani and Kharas (2010) explain that the transition of the economy from agriculture to services in South Asia helped to bring new workers, such as women, into the labour force. Similarly, they find that in East Asia, assembly jobs in the garments and electronics industries have been mainly taken by women who left family farms.

But there remain 5 key gaps for women vis-à-vis men (ILO, 2012): being in employment, being unemployed, their Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR), their vulnerability, and occupational segregation. For example, in terms of vulnerability in India and Pakistan, of women who were working in 2012, only 16% were in waged or salaried occupations compared to 23% of men.

It is often argued that women in developing countries often turn to teaching – usually locally - because it is one of the only socially acceptable activities in which to be involved outside of the home. Female teachers in India display, 'a feeling of privilege because the job opportunities that are available for women in their area are limited to teaching and these women were lucky to be employed as teachers' (Ohara, 2012, 81). This gratitude is confirmed by others (Tooley and Dixon, 2003; Aslam 2009; Sommers 2013), reinforcing the low cultural status of women. Indeed, Tooley and Dixon (2003) believe that teaching as a profession for women, single or married, is respected in the cultural and religious perspectives of India and Pakistan, although the evidence suggests that the level of economic development and social as well as religious norms are relevant as determinants of female LFPR (Ghose et al, 2008, p.16). Studies specific to female teachers are careful to mention that teaching and education are 'feminised spaces', offering a cultural acceptance of women becoming teachers (Manjrekar, 2013). This is partially due to the fact that teaching in a local school allows a woman with an education, and possibly familial obligations, to be seen as *supplementing* her household income and, at the same time, tend to household responsibilities (Indumathi and Vijaysimha, 2011; Manjrekar, 2013). We must emphasise that we are not challenging the courage of these young women in overcoming social and cultural barriers that have held her, her mother, and her grandmothers back for generations, nor their gratitude or job satisfaction; but we are problematizing:

the legitimacy of the consequences in terms of their salaries and working conditions;

the extent to which their situation can offer a role model for girl pupils (de Silva et al., 2015); and

* querying the intentions of the providers and especially of their international supporters.

3. LOW COST PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Parents want their children to get an education and eventually have good and productive lives, regardless of wealth. Poor parents have drastically fewer choices than the affluent, but their hopes remain the same: educating their children. Increasing dissatisfaction of parents with government schools is one of the reasons for the growth in private provision (UNESCO, 2008, p.16); although of course, failure of one system does not *de facto* mean success of another.

3.1 The Origins

LCPS¹ charge a 'small' fee to poor families for enrolling a child (Dixon, 2012). We use the term 'Low-Cost' because our evaluation is focussed on teacher salaries, which is the largest cost a school spends in education delivery. When they first began, LCPS ran on a decentralised market system, solely owned and managed by individual local entrepreneurs, totally without state control; and, as shown above, in India, there has been little change since the RTE (2009). These LCPS for the poor seem to respond more to parental concerns about the quality of government schools than to government regulations.

LCPS in Pakistan and India are subject to community demand and local supply. According to Tooley and Longfield (2014), this means poor localities, including urban slums and rural villages, although earlier Andrabi et al. (2008) had found that LCPS were more likely to flourish in areas with already-existing infrastructure and higher populations than those of

¹ While we refer to this schooling model as LCPS, Srivastava (2013: 4) uses the term 'Low-Fee' (operationalized as charging a monthly tuition fee not exceeding about one day's earnings of a daily wage labourer at primary and junior levels) to differentiate them from private schools catering to the elite charging substantial fees.

geographically isolated villages. Usually LCPS are created near already-existing government schools, which offer a cohort of potential pupils; and also a pool of young women who have completed secondary education. The latter's availability and their inability to find other employment because of cultural constraints is a very important factor for LCPS.

Unlike elite private schools, looking for significant profit from the wealthy, or 'free' government schools¹, LCPS offer the owner a moderate but usually guaranteed revenue stream without substantial government regulations—although sometimes subsidized by governmental bodies or NGO donors. Operating costs in these private schools are much lower than those of public schools, but the fee required to enrol a child is not negligible for poor Indian and Pakistani families (James and Woodhead, 2014; Srivastava, 2013). Tooley (2013), even though a vocal proponent of LCPS, acknowledges that paying tuition may not be ideal for parents whose income is very low already, but argues that the fees are paid, and thus affordable. At least for some: Härmä (2009, 163) repeatedly found interviewees saying, 'we have to cut our bellies to afford private schools'.

3.2 Functioning corporations, model

If centred only on the individual LCPS, one might conclude that, because primary education is an individual's human right (and hence a responsibility of the state to provide to its citizens), there is a wide gap between the state's public education provision (or supply), and its citizens' need (or demand) for education - whether because of excess numbers of new students or because parents are searching for different types of schools (Lewin and Sayed, 2005) - the growth of LCPS is justified (at least in the short term). If the state could provide an education that parents feel is adequate for their needs, there would not be a market for LCP schooling creation or expansion.

But the 'market' has changed. There has recently been a surge in scaling up the LCPS model in India and Pakistan, partly due to their 'healthy' net profit margin of more than 50% (ILM Ideas, 2014, p.40), as well as in countries like Kenya and Ghana; unsurprisingly therefore larger actors, including private corporations, bilateral aid agencies and public-private partnerships (PPP) have become investors in the sector (Srivastava, 2013). Tooley himself is the founder of the Omega School Franchise, a chain of LCP schools in Ghana, which have enjoyed 'significant investment from Pearson's Affordable Learning Fund' (Tooley's website at Newcastle). This connection to the world's largest textbook company is curious given the lack of books in these LCP schools.

Aid agencies – for example, DFID and the World Bank - invest heavily in public-private partnerships, supporting the Indian and Pakistani governments financially where primary education is structured as LCPS. They vary in terms of cost to enrol the student, although payment by agencies does not appear to affect the employment structure for teachers, despite the agencies being signatories to various international conventions about employment. (DFID, 2012; World Bank, 2012).

3.3 For and Against

Researchers are split about the effectiveness of LCPS for ensuring universal quality primary education. Those broadly or strongly in favour cite some or all of the reasons given in the introduction to this paper. Those broadly or strongly against have six major arguments, most strongly and consistently expressed by Lewin (e.g. 2007), against the use of non-government schools to achieve universal basic education: (i) that basic education is a human right that only states can deliver; (ii) that non-subsidized providers depend on community revenue; (iii) that claims of greater efficiency can only be true under conditions of informed choice, accountability, and an effective regulatory framework; (iv) that no OECD country depended on non-government schooling to achieve universal basic schooling; (v) that relying on private schools can undermine the public system; and (vi) that low-cost private schools will never be able to accommodate the poorest households.

We can agree with most of the latter arguments, but our concern is about the very low salaries for the teachers and specifically the gender implications of those low salaries. For this reason our choice of literature is also focussed on those which have evidence about the salary levels - which is why we have only cited a small proportion of Tooley et al.'s production (especially as, when he does present information on salaries, it is not disaggregated by gender).

¹ Government schools may entail 'voluntary' contributions to various funds, charges for school means, expenses for travel to school, uniforms, etc.; and so are not actually 'free'.

3.4 Summary

The LCPS model rests on the claim that LCP schools or LCPS-based schools provide the poor citizens of developing countries with primary education that is not only better than that of the respective public school, but also primary education that is much more cost-effective and efficient than that of the state sector. Most agree that the LCPS system addresses a gap in education provision that the state has not addressed while, at the same time, they provide employment and a minimal income for women with at least a secondary school education (all of those 'for' and some of those 'against'). Nearly all point to the low salaries for teachers without further comment; but this is the issue that concerns us: for the profit levels to be high, the - mostly women - teachers have to be very cheap!

4. TEACHERS: QUALIFICATIONS, TEACHING AND SALARIES

The number of teachers in India has almost doubled between 2000 and 2012 from just above 3 million to nearly 6 million; but the proportion of female teachers has increased from 33% in 2000 to about 47% in 2013; equally, in Pakistan the number has doubled from 200 to 400 thousand in 2013 and the proportion of female teachers has increased from about 33% in 2000 to about 49% in 2013 (Table 2). The absolute increase in the number of female LCPS teachers has been even sharper from about 150 to 338 thousand¹ (Mehta 2013; NEMIS 2013). In both India and Pakistan, the proportion of females amongst all LCPS teachers is now well over half (59% in India and 79% in Pakistan), whilst the proportion of females amongst all Government teachers is now well under half (42% in India and 39% in Pakistan).

In Pakistan, over four-fifths (82%) of teachers in private schools are female compared to 39% in Government schools (NEMIS, 20140); in India, the breakdown by gender does not appear to be available but Karopady (2014) reports from a randomised study in 5 districts of Andhra Pradesh that in 2013, 57% of teachers in 599 government schools are female compared to 78% of teachers in 427 recognised private schools.

Female teachers are important. Parents are more likely to consider sending daughters to school if there is a female teacher for safety reasons, and the presence of female teachers should show girls that there is a reason to learning (Muralidharan and Sheth, 2013). But do female teacher in LCPS in fact provide a positive role model for girls?

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

4.1 Qualifications and Conditions

LCPS do not require the same teaching certificates and official qualifications as required by the government to teach—requirements vary across the unregulated LCPS system. However, it is generally required that teachers must have completed some secondary schooling in order to teach at the primary level (Andrabi et al 2008; Sommers 2013). Over ten years ago, Mehrotra (2006) reported that over half the teachers in Private Unaided schools across 8 Indian northern States were untrained (compared to less than 12% of government teachers being untrained). At the national level, in both India and Pakistan, the percentage of female teachers in private schools is much higher than in government schools (see Table 2); In India, in States with high levels of training, there was not much difference according to type of management but in States with low levels of training, teachers in Private Unaided schools were half as likely to be trained (Table 3); and whilst there does not appear to be a breakdown by type of management in Pakistan, Carr-Hill and Murtaza (2012) showed that 43% of the teachers in their sample of private schools had a B.A. or higher.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

'Advantages' of Flexible Private Schools

Some authors argue that teachers in LCPS are more accountable, more often actively teaching and exerting more effort into teaching than those in government primary schools (Andrabi et al 2008; Day-Ashley et al 2014; Tooley and Dixon 2003; Tooley and Longfield 2014). At the same time, even Tooley and Dixon (2003) have described the curriculum of these budget private schools as just as 'stultifying' as many government schools. Parents were very willing to have periods in other subjects converted into extra English classes. The practices of the teachers were completely geared towards rote

¹ Note that this is a recent phenomenon – of the twenty-hundreds - as Muralidharan and Kremer (2008) present results of a 2002/03 representative survey in rural India, where the female share in private schools was 41% only slightly larger than the female share in public (36%).

memorisation. If anything, these budget private schools are likely to stress children by compelling them to engage with extensive rote learning of incomprehensible English 'Question-Answers'; hardly something that one would associate with 'quality education.'

Summary

The LFPS model relies on 'flexible' hiring of teachers, many of whom are untrained. In Srivastava's study in India, parents spoke of teachers' inexperience, frequent turnover, and lack of qualifications. As teaching is a specialist skill, an under-qualified workforce cannot usually be able to adequately teach to a high standard (OECD, 2016).

4.2 Reliance on Low paid – mostly female - teachers

4.2.1 India

Minimum wage legislation is complicated in India with as many as 1,200 minima specified but a rough median now (2015) would be c.300 Indian Rupees or US\$4.50 a day. Teacher salaries reported in a number of studies are shown in Table 4¹.

TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

All of the salaries found offered in LCPS are less than absolute minimum wage current at the time. The highest monthly salary (in a recognised private school in 2013) was equivalent to 2.5 days at the national then current minimum wage. More recently, Kingdon (2017) reported that the ratio of salaries in Government schools to those in Private Unaided schools was 12.5. Given that the starting salary in a Government school was about INR34,000 per month, this puts the average salary in LCPS at 2,720 or US\$42 per month.

4.2.2 Pakistan

Andrabi et al., (2008, p.16) found that the average female teacher in a public sector school was paid PKRs.5,897 per month, with a male getting Rs.6,408 (8.7% more). In private schools the average female teacher was paid PKRs. 1,069 per month with a male getting 1,789 per month (67.4% more); respectively 18% and 28% of the public sector salaries.

Carr-Hill and Murtaza (2012) conducted a survey in the Punjab province, finding salaries in schools under EVS (Education Voucher Scheme), where the Punjab Education Foundation (PEF), a government organisation, pays tuition fees. The PEF - a Public Private Partnership with no differences in the teacher structure from an actual LCPS - is heavily subsidized by DFID. The breakdown of their salaries is shown in Table 5: half of the sampled teachers, mostly women², are paid less than one dollar a day (although the 5 male teachers were paid 40% more than the females); and the contemporaneous minimum monthly wage in the Punjab was 8,000 PKR, equivalent to about US\$2.60 a day.

TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

Monthly salary for all teachers sampled ranged from 1,500 to 10,000 PKR, but only one person reported a salary of 10,000; the next highest reported salary was 7,500 and only reported by two teachers Carr-Hill and Murtaza (2012). Excluding the handful with education higher than a BA, 31 EVS teachers earn an average of 2,702 PKR a month, equating to \$0.95 a day for full-time professional teaching (using contemporary currency conversion rate).

ILM Ideas (2014) surveyed 305 schools in KPK, Punjab and Sindh. Average salaries in LCPS primary schools were PKR2,000/- for those with only Matriculation, PKR3,000/- for those with FA and PKR4,500/- for those with a B.A; all well under the minimum wage.

Malik et al. (2015) surveyed 122 private school teachers in Peshawar, KPK, Pakistan (not divided between LCPS and other private schools but most would have been LCPS). Although the salary levels were not broken down by gender, 78 of his 122 teachers were women. In the year of his study, the national minimum monthly wage was PKR8,000/-; just under half of all teachers surveyed earn below minimum wage³, with one-fifth earning significantly less (Table 6). If one looks at these rates taking into consideration purchasing power parity for private consumption (the last column), then roughly half of the

¹ Some of those studies were from 2000 and so would have much lower minimum wages, because of inflation as well as real growth.

² It is interesting to note that only 20% of the managers of LCPS are women (ILM Ideas, 2014, p.22).

³ Fees are twice as high in urban than rural areas (ILM Ideas, 2014, p.12), resulting in higher salaries.

teachers earn less than the national minimum wage in one of the most dangerous areas of Pakistan, for full time, professional teaching.

TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE

4.2.3 Other Restrictive Conditions

There are no standard benefits, pensions or other assurances for teachers in LCP-based systems. Should a women teaching in a LCP school decide to start a family, she has no recourse to retain her position after going on (unpaid) maternity leave. In effect, women in low-cost private schools and schools based on the LCPS structure can be forced to choose between work and family. From the employers' perspective, private schools retain better teachers by renewing their contracts and firing the less effective ones (Dixon, 2012).

Adding to low pay and restricted employment choices detracting from women's empowerment is the lack of stability in teaching and therefore the lack of stability for pupils. Large proportions of the budget private schools studied in literature are short lived. Decentralised and de-regularised, LCPS can open and shut without checks or repercussions, which "...directly suggests that we have no reason to believe that they are stable players in the 'market'" (Sarangapani and Winch 2010, 507). Female teachers in LCPS suffer very uncertain employment due to the short history of schools. A woman has few choices for gainful employment, no standing to demand a higher salary than she is being paid in the LCP-based schools, and can be cut off from that pay with no recourse. Sarangapani (2009) goes so far to label teachers as the 'sacrificial lamb' in order to make the system function.

4.2.4 Other commentaries

Otherwise, commentary on the remuneration structure for teachers in LCPS within policy studies has been limited to date. Some authors cite reasonably well-funded programmes as evidence that women appreciated the financial security and independence: for example, Bangay and Latham (2013) analyse the Gyan Shala programme in Gujerat where community teachers are paid about INR4,000 (c.US\$80 a month at the time), on a par with the minimum wage for non-teaching staff, considerably above the levels noted in Table 4 for unrecognised private schools and higher than those in recognised private unaided schools. Others, for example Andrabi et al. (2006a and 2007), argue that rural, young, less-educated or -certified women are attracted due to limited employment opportunities.

Walford (2014) recognises that critics would call the pay levels exploitative but explains that teachers are 'prepared to tolerate these low salaries for a short period while adding to their experience of teaching and waiting for a job in a government school'. This is naïve, at least for India and Pakistan: when looking at the requirements, there are very few LCPS teachers who would be eligible for a position in a government school. Moreover, even if teachers do obtain professional qualifications and become eligible to apply for government-funded schools with good salaries and security, 'it is highly competitive even for those with professional qualifications and generally requires an unofficial cost (bribery) in addition to [having] a connection with the officer in the influential post', (Ohara, 2012; Interview, School G, 4 February 2010; see also Jain and Shelly, 2013).

Day-Ashley et al (2014) refer to the salaries for mostly female teachers in developing countries as 'possibly exploitative'; McLoughlin (2013) lists the exploitation of women with restricted mobility as a possible 'unintended consequence'. Whilst the teachers may be glad of the 'pin money' to supplement their household income, apart from these being weak excuses ('possibly', 'unintended'), neither cite any evidence; Srivastava (2013) calls this the 'potential exploitation of the female labour market'.

Teachers working in private schools accept lower pay for a variety of reasons, including dedication to teaching in the case of non-profit schools, or because the teachers did not meet public sector teaching qualifications; some private school teachers were simply individuals, particularly women, seeking any form of employment, as they were unable to access stable employment opportunities. Even teachers with professional qualifications voiced contentment with their status for personal reasons such as being able to look after small children. While many private schools may provide employment opportunities – especially for female teachers in rural areas – they undermine the full realisation of the right to work (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1976).

In countries that require parity of salaries and working conditions between public and private teachers, this creates a situation whereby some private schools operate outside of the formal system, which means that these schools are not accountable and are often corrupt¹ (Kingdon, 1996; Ohara, 2012).

5. LOW COST PRIVATE SCHOOLS; DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Impact of Low salaries

Andrabi et al. (2008) agree that female wages and thus fees are kept low, by a distorted labour market and specifically a restricted female labour environment. Tooley (2010,p.183) goes further to argue that LCPS should be praised, not condemned, because they give jobs to thousands of college and high school graduates in countries with massive unemployment problems and is unconcerned about the low salaries. Dahal and Nguyen 2014, 27) turns this around, saying 'One common indirect finding of studies on private schools is that government teachers are greatly overpaid with respect to student achievement outcomes'. In terms of student achievement, they are - probably rightly - more critical of how *much* public teachers earn, and not how *little* private teachers earn.

Regardless of qualifications or experience, women are paid very little to teach in low cost private schools. This endures in spite of international efforts – both public and governmental - to stop exploitation in general. Carr-Hill and Murtaza (2012) highlight the irony, explaining:

'DFID has also signed up to the International Labour Organisation's Decent Work programme in which "Decent work involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income"..... These LCPS schools are the only source of employment Essentially, this is an exploitative exercise of non-competitive (monopsony)² market power' (Carr-Hill ad Murtaza, 2012, 27).

For Jain and Saxena (2010, 80), 'paying this salary without the benefits of job security and pension and health-related benefits is not seen as exploitation [by the employers], but the introduction of market discipline in the period of globalisation'. They contrast the globalising, commercial world with that of human rights, capabilities, and sustainable development. It should be emphasised that we are not taking issue with the views of teachers in LCPS who may welcome the 'pin money', but with the growing involvement of corporations, donors, governments and PPPs in what is objectively exploitative in practice (Srivastava, 2013). Most teachers are not being paid the minimum wage.

When the Rana Plaza collapse happened in Dacca in 2013, killing more than 1,100, but where the garment workers were already being paid more (US\$40 a month) than teachers in LCPS, the Bangladesh government increased the minimum wage by 77% and commercial companies such as Gap and Next were forced by public pressure in the West to demand better working conditions of their Bangladeshi sub-contractors; why should Pearson et al. not be subject to the same market pressure?

5.2 Education as a Human Right

Both India and Pakistan have mandated primary education for their respective citizens as free and compulsory. Whilst gross primary enrolment rates—including both public and private — are closer to 100 per cent than ever before³, learning levels are still very low (ASER, 2014; ASER, 2015), private schools account for an increasing proportion of primary provision (although the increase has to date been more modest in Pakistan). Expanding private provision of education raises two concerns. Firstly, the state has the responsibility of providing a quality basic education to all its citizens (UNHRC, 2015), which means that all primary schools should be subject to the same minimum regulations and standards. Secondly, as a human right the understanding of gender inequality, and what would constitute gender equality, in development is concerned with more than parity in numbers and quality of provision between girls and boys in schools but also in the extent to which they can benefit from ('*through*') their education. Some authors reluctantly accept the low salaries for the sake of EFA but women's rights *through* education are not being recognised to the same degree as the right *to and within* education.

¹ For example, maintaining one account to submit to government officers to show that teachers are paid as prescribed and another account to the actual records of teacher salaries (Ohara, 2010; Kingdon, 1996b).

² A market where there is only one buyer who consequently has total control.

³ With the caveat that these are certainly over-estimates.

Note that we are not arguing against the principle of low cost schools. To paraphrase Barakat et al. (2014, p.10) who say that 'A lowcost school should charge fees that are still affordable to parents earning poverty line wages.', we are saying that a teacher – usually female – should be paid a living wage; and that donors should not be subsidising any programmes that pay less than that.

5.3 Education for Emancipation

It is in the environment of increasing demand for education for children as a right clashing with the frustration of lacking access to effective provision for the poor that the LCPS model found its niche, growing from the bottom up into a 'system' in countries like India and Pakistan. It is possible that LCPS do offer cost-effective alternatives to public schools and may also be offering students better learning than in state schools, although this is contentious (Sarangapani, 2009; Tooley et al., 2010); but children's right to a free quality schooling (UNHRC, 2015) is being denied.

Our specific concern with the LCPS model regards these rights one should have *through* education; that LCP schooling perpetuates gender inequalities through education, denying the rights and capabilities of the teachers. Throughout, policy-makers and experts alike do not seem to acknowledge the process of disempowerment occurring through LCPS. Primary schools based on the LCP model are essentially disempowering large numbers of educated women in developing countries for the sake of meeting Millenium Development Goals about access. Negating the rights of teachers for the rights of children in primary schools, does not promote equality and respect, especially when one remembers that teachers in the LCPS system are overwhelmingly female. In fact, we have argued that, for these women teachers, education could even be considered a dis-enabling resource because women are actually dis-empowered in LCPS.

5.4 Women's Empowerment.

The model of LCPS offers a restricted set of opportunities to women through education. When assessing the impact of their programs based on the LCPS model in Pakistan, the World Bank (2013) found that the female teachers made the female students want more from life than to simply be housewives; they were more likely to 'envision their future as teachers'. No other profession was mentioned and the issue of teacher pay was only discussed regarding quality of education; there was no consideration of gender empowerment or equality.

Instead, we suggest that until the teacher profession is treated as a skilled, professional occupation for which someone should be paid a liveable wage, girls cannot develop agency or empowerment; without that, becoming a teacher would bear strikingly similar characteristics to housewifery: no economic assets or control over such assets, no independence, and reliant on another. Educated women in those developing countries where LCP schools have strong growth rates seem to be caught in a cycle of *dis-empowerment*

5.5 The Impossible Fiction of Sustainability of Very Low Cost Schools

When evaluating the sustainability of LCPS, Barakat et al.'s (2014, 13) DFID-funded report suggests that the availability of educated women to teach at low wages would be more accurately described as an 'enabling' factor rather than a sustainability factor. Of the 44 studies in their final data set, only 15—or about one-third - mention teacher pay or availability as a factor that would affect the long term viability of LCPS; and the reviewers overall comment is that 'increased employment opportunities for these women [might] mean that they can demand higher salaries', thus forcing LCPS to raise fees. The term *exploitation* is only mentioned in the review of Verger (2012) who laments the constraints on exploiting teacher labour more intensively!

These issues regarding teacher pay also raise concerns the rights of children to receive quality education, which requires having qualified teachers. The impact of having under-qualified, under-paid teachers on students may be devastating, as they are left with potentially inexperienced, dis-incentivised, and disenfranchised educators at the head of the classroom. Improved teacher pay alone is not likely to resolve all issues regarding teacher accountability and quality education, but it is a key factor. The recent GMR report (2015) expounds on the good influence that female teachers have on female students, especially in terms of student formation of gender identity and gender roles. But, as Jain and Saxena (2010, 80) paraphrase from Erich Fromm, 'a servile and docile teacher create independent learners?'. Walkerdine (1990) would call this conundrum the 'impossible fiction'.

'And we have to actually work a little bit harder for that'

Kailash Satyarthi (2015) may not have meant quite what we mean here, but his statement rings true as a warning that education for emancipation, education for empowerment will be a much more difficult task than education for employment. From a rights-based perspective, we as a global community need to work much harder—not just a bit—for emancipation and empowerment both through and by education, and this has been reinforced by the recent UNHCR Resolution on regulating private education.

But nearly all of the studies we reviewed, nor the recent study by the India Centre for Civil Society (2015) did not examine the position and status of female LCPS teachers. Effectively, these women being paid less than the minimum wage are denied their human rights, disempowering those who are already socially marginalized and excluded. This is not sustainable for gender equality in the long term and, finally, detrimental to education in developing societies as whole. The global community is either supporting - or at least passively tolerating - exploitation of female teachers and the violation of their human rights. This must be turned around to ensure instead that education is a process for empowerment and for developing agency of the individual – and especially women.

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Table 1: Female (compared to Male) Educational Attainment, 1990 to 2010 in India and Pakistan

	India			Pakistan		
	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010
Female (Male) Adult Literacy Rate %	34 (62)	42 (69)		20 (49)	28 (56)	
Female (Male) Primary GER %	91 (113)	104 (111)	112 (112)	30 (57)	57 (80)	83 (101)
Female (Male) Secondary: GER %	38 (59)	47 (58)	66 (71)	13 (28)	19 (26)	30 (40)

Sources: Mehta, 2011; NEMIS, 2013

Table 2 Primary School Teachers in India and Pakistan: overall numbers ('000s), percentage female and percentage trained (2013 data)

	INDIA			PAKISTAN		
	Government	Private Unaided	Total	Government	Private	Total
Total ('000s)	4,612	2,208	6,529	317	98	423
% female	57% (AP only)	78% (AP only)	47%	40%	83%	51%
% trained	83%	75%	80%	86%		

Sources: for India, figures in total column from Mehta (2013), breakdown between male / female for government and private, for Andhra Pradesh only, from Karopady (2014); for Pakistan all figures from NEMIS (2016).

Table 3 INDIA: Percentage of trained teachers in different types of schools in selected States compared to percentage teachers who are female in those States, 2013-14

	Low levels of training			High levels of training		
	Assam	Bihar	Tripura	Andhra Pradesh	Rajasthan	Tamil Nadu
Government	51	47	46	100	97	100
Private Aided	6	57	43	99	87	100
Private Unaided	11	27	25	91	83	93
Unrecognised	4	14	12	81	85	87
% female, All Schools	34	40	49	48	33	74

Source: DISE (2013-14) Elementary Education in India; Progress towards UEE

Table 4 Average Monthly Salaries in Several studies in India

Notes (1) In Karopady's study 78% of teachers in private schools were females compared to 57% in government schools; (2) Singh and Sarkar were studying mainly English medium schools; (3) the higher salaries in Lall's study were for those in higher classes, and for teaching specific subjects; (4) the minimum wage in Bihar is about double the national median.

Table 5: Average Monthly Salaries for Primary School Teachers in PEF's EVS by Gender

	Average Salary	US \$	Number in each Salary Range		
	Rupees (PKR)		< 3,000	3,001-5,000	>5,000
EVS (38)	3,608	38.10	22	12	3
Male (5)	4,800	50.80	2	1	1
Female (33)	3,428	36.20	20	11	2

Source: Carr-Hill and Murtaza (2012)]. US Dollar conversions are by authors'

Table 6: Gross Monthly Salary Ranges for Private School* Teachers in Peshawar (2012)

Pakistani Rupees (PKR)	Percent of Respondents (N)	US \$	US \$ (with PPP)
3,000-5,999	20.7% (25)	32.15—64.28	109.85—219.66
6,000-7,999	28.9% (35)	64.29—85.71	219.70—292.90
8,000 & above-	50.4% (61)	85.72+	292.93+

Source: Malik 2015. US Dollar conversions are authors' calculations.

*Includes Primary and secondary- data does not differentiate

Pathways of Professional Identity Development: A Grounded Theory of Female School Principals

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Abstract

This paper examines a female school principal's perceptions of professional identity development. Recently education management has undergone the process of managerial transformation whereas new requirements and standards have been raised for school principals. Managerial transformations have been influenced by political, economic and cultural factors that (re)shaped school principals' professional identities. These social identity changes are especially important in the shift of managerial paradigms that evoke challenges in social identification processes. Two major approaches to professional identity include a feminist standpoint and a social construction approach. The former claims that females are underrepresented as leaders in most facets of work life due to gender role stereotypes, prejudices and unequal power distribution. The latter subscribes to the notion that person's identities are multiple and fluid due to their cultural, historic, and social situatedness. The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the pathways of female school principals' professional identity development. The main research question of this study was how professional identity development is described by female school principals. The study focuses on two in-depth interviews with experienced school principals. The constructivist grounded theory methodology has been applied for the research. Comparative analysis allowed to generate analytic units ranging from small to large and from micro (individual), and meso (organizational) to macro (regional, national or worldwide) levels in disclosing professional identity development process. Fifteen themes comprised the results of the interview research unfolding the essential phenomenon of professional identity development.

Keywords: female school principals, education management, professional identity, grounded theory.

Introduction

Professional identity is one of the most important aspects denoting social identity that specifies the notion of individual's positioning of oneself and within a selected professional field. The importance of professional identity in contemporary society is emphasized through prevailing discourse. Despite of being widely researched the concept of professional identity still is highly debated among different representatives of philosophical paradigms (Sutherland & Markauskaite, 2012; Tsakissiris, 2016).

In scientific discourse the relation with profession is usually defined through classical division into pure professions (Greenwood, 1957) or by applying the wider attitude of hybrid approach (Keamy & Sinha, 1988). The first approach rejects the notion of profession outside traditional professional occupational fields, thus emerging new professions are not considered to be professions due to lack of substantive strength and institutional control (Noordegraaf, 2007). The so-called *purified* professions such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc., are characterized by wide range of specialization, complexity and codification, whereas the rest are considered to be occupations. The opposite view is stated by hybrid approach that foregrounds non-fixed meaning of a profession promoting the renewal of professional field. Hendrikx and van Gestel (2017) present a simplified definition of profession that includes relationship of individual with and within the social group doing the same job.

It could be noticed that definition of teacher's, or pedagogue's, profession has undergone controversy and has been termed as craft (Edmond & Hayler, 2013), service provider (Hampton, Wolf, Albisson, & McQuilty, 2009), occupation (Adams,

2010), profession (Whiteman, Scribner, & Crow, 2015; Fitzgerald, 2016; Kaczmarek, 2016) or quasi-profession (Darling-Hammond, 1999; Fincham, 2012). In accordance with the subject of this research – female school principals – two main attitudes can be observed. The first reflects classical viewpoint that distinguishes managerial positions as occupations due to lack of substantive and institutional control and absence of codification (Mintzberg, 2004). The second approach, that I follow in this paper, claims the relative state of profession in time and space, thus managers, as well as school principals, cannot be considered as qualified specialist excluding the notion of being professionals. In order to avoid questioning whether managing a school, that is being a school principal, is considered to be a profession I refer to *the European Classification of Skills, Competences, Qualifications and Occupations* that subsumes school principalship into the category of professions.

Saaruka (2017) raises the question of conceptualizing professional identity of a school principal by considering dimensions for defining this construct whereas one more question emerges if professional identity of a school principal is one-dimensional. In the response, Crow, Day, and Møller (2017) claim two dimensions compiling school principals' professional identity: individual and collective. It is important to mention Ritaco and Bolivar (2018) insights that professional identification of a school principal might be constituted of several professional lines such as a manager vs a teacher. Furthermore, Robertson (2016) maintains the idea that situational roles are implied as a professional identity, that is a transition from school principal into teacher and vice versa. Zabalza and Cerdeira (2012) draw a distinction between being, acting and feeling a school principal.

Initially professional identity construction depends on many factors. In this paper I rely on Murakami and Törsen (2017) who amplify the factor of gender and arising negative stereotypes in relation to females in managerial positions as well as school management. What is more, Metiu and Obodaru (2008) claim that males and females have different approach to the process of socialization whereas females internalize predominant stereotypes due to unequal power disposition concerning masculine dominant managerial fields. This suggests applying Butler's (1990, 2010) theory of performativity in disclosing the pathways of female school principals' professional identity construction.

Research purpose

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the pathways of female school principals' professional identity development.

Research question

The main research question for of this study was how professional identity development is described by female school principals.

Methodology

This grounded theory study, viewed from a feminist standpoint, social construction approach and symbolic interactionist perspective, used interview data collecting method and essential grounded theory methods to answer the research question. Symbolic interactionism is founded on the belief that people's understanding of the world is developed through interactions – that people are actors responding to their environment (Charon, 2010). Thus, learning about female school principals' professional identity construction requires interactions between school principals, teachers, community and representatives of authorities. Feminist standpoint claims three principles to the research: (1) knowledge is socially situated; (2) marginalized groups are socially situated in ways that make it more possible for them to be aware of things and ask questions than it is for the non-marginalized; (3) focus on power relations (Harding, 1987). Social construction assumes that people *construct*, create, make, invent their understandings of the world and the meanings they give to encounters with others, or various products they or others create, moreover, it claims that they do this *jointly*, in coordination with others, rather than individually (Berger & Lukmann, 1966).

Institutional ethics approval was received, and purposive sample of female school principals were invited to participate initially.

The research task has been accomplished by application of the constructivist Grounded theory (CGT) approach (Charmaz, 1990, 2000, 2006, 2011, 2014) as the methodology and the method for the study. The focus of CGT is to determine how the actors respond to different conditions and the consequences of their actions (Charmaz, 2000). Thus, the purpose of CGT is to develop a theoretical explanation for a process or an action through the process of constant comparison. The

theoretical explanation is grounded in and generated from the qualitative data that has been produced by the participants. As Charmaz (2006, 2014) highlights, a theory goes beyond a set of findings in that it offers an explanation about phenomena. In the case of this research, the aim was to explain female school principals' professional identity development grounding that explanation on the actual experience and understanding of research participants.

The data was collected through semi-structured interviews with two participants – female school principals – one is a former school principal who managed school for twenty years, the other is currently being a principal for five years. The interviews were conducted during the meetings with school principals in their working and leisure environments, they were recorded and transcribed. The length of the interviews varied from 15 minutes to one hour. The interview questions invited the interviewees to reflect on and describe their first encounters of becoming a school principal and discuss challenges they faced.

In CGT data collection and analysis are interrelated processes: the analysis starts with the first bits of data and directs the next steps in data collection. In this research, the first bits of data were collected through observations in the working environment. These observations guided the interviews and informed the formation of interview questions. As the interviews were being completed, they were first listened to again and transcribed, after which the transcripts were read through repeatedly. This initial process allowed the researcher to immerse in the data, become more familiar with it by identifying initial points of interest. This stage was followed by the process of coding, which involves identifying concepts in the data. The coding procedures described by Charmaz (1990, 2000, 2006, 2011, 2014) were applied to follow the analysis: (1) initial coding was applied to the close data analysis, whereas all details are important including word-by-word coding, line-by-line coding, incident-by-incident coding; (2) focused coding enabled researcher to synthesize and explain larger segments of data; (3) axial coding related categories with subcategories, this involved creation of the model of phenomenon defining reasons, context, strategies, interfering factors, results that allow to identify the core phenomenon; (4) theoretical coding emphasized the guidance reconsidering the codes selected during the focused coding.

Limitation of the study

This is a research study grounded on CGT of tracing two female school principals. The small sample size might be seen as a limitation to research of the quantitative nature. However, the purpose of the study was not to generalize the findings. Rather, this research aims to evoke the problem of social power relations and gender positionality in masculine dominated managerial field and to provide a better understanding of female school principals' professional identity constructional pathways. Due to the limited available contact time with participants, the study was only conducted within a short period of time.

Findings

After applying axis coding there were distinguished fifteen categories comprising of fifty-eight subcategories. The categories were divided into groups defining the core phenomenon by creating a model. The model of phenomenon is composed by the following components: reasons, context, strategies, interfering factors, results, and the core phenomenon that is described in the paper through the mentioned components disclosing the impact they make on the core phenomenon.

The core phenomenon

The core phenomenon is defined as a concept (or word) that unites the codes and is the result of the research object that interests researcher (Žydžiūnaitė, 2017). After conducting the axis coding professional (self)development was identified as the core phenomenon. The research showed that professional development refers on permanent learning by ranking the priorities – what are the goals of this process, how they are related to vision of performance and what are the ways of achieving them in the systematic way. Moreover, professional identity development in masculine predominant area is followed by stereotypes of women incapability in performing so called male tasks. Thus, in successful process of professional identity development female school principals have to withstand the mentioned presuppositions by finding the pathways of showing professionalism not gender.

Context

The context expresses distinctive conditions, their positionality and place (Žydžiūnaitė, 2017). The axis coding distinguished the categories of requirements on quality with subcategories of education, qualifications and other requirements for school principals. Contextual factors comprise diversion consisting of two categories: teacher becoming

a school principal and balancing defining the functions of school principals', behavior influenced by unstable economic and demographic situations. It could be claimed that requirements and demand for high qualifications and standards, competences of school principals and balancing between performing the functions of school principals in trying to satisfy the expectations of school community and the society comprise the contextual situation of a school principals' working environment that impel to search for tools to combine the requirements and expectations of others. Furthermore, one more contextual situation could be determined as the process of becoming a school principal delineating the setting such as work experience in teaching and other significant circumstances of becoming a school principal. The mentioned contextual situations influence relation with the core phenomenon.

Reasons

Reasons comprise a set of events that ascribe the qualities of the core phenomenon (Žydzūnaitė, 2017). In the analysis process there were distinguished three categories that were attributed to reasons influencing and forming the process of professional development. The first is motivation that is related to having a vision and striving to accomplish the goals. Motivation refers to present and state what influences future prospects and is based on values, commitment, and aspirations. The other category embraces the feeling of security that defines the choice of strategies for professional identity construction. The feeling of security usually operates with the components of organizational fragmentation, reduced clarity of roles that might lead to confusion and competition. Therefore, female school principals face underestimation in individual ability and unrealistic expectations of performance that result in balancing in between self-confidence while fulfilling the needs of others. The category of discontent is related to enhancement of motivation as disinclination for status quo impels to seek for perfection and professional growth. Thus, this strive can be linked to adoption of appropriate strategies for further professional development.

Strategies

Strategies are influenced and constructed through reasons that shape the core phenomenon (Žydzūnaitė, 2017). As previously mentioned, choice of strategies contributes to revelation of the core phenomenon that is selection of effective tools in construction of professional development. The need for perfection and demand of lifelong learning constitute the category of resolution. The inevitability of lifelong learning in knowledge-oriented societies implies that school principals have different objectives and characteristics regarding their needs for continuing learning that leads to professional growth. Becoming a leader of a school requires not only to strive for professional growth but no less important is maintenance of professionalism and professional identity. It is worth mentioning that in masculine predominant managerial fields such as educational institutions management to maintain female school principals' professional identity is extremely challenging due to prevailing stereotypes of hard management. Thus, acquiring expedient strategies for professional identity construction may lead to maintaining a desirable identity.

Results

Results or consequences are defined by strategies or methods applied in a certain context (Žydzūnaitė, 2017). At the core concept of consequences is the category of satisfaction that could be defined as a result of applied strategies through which school principals influence themselves toward higher levels of performance and effectiveness. Furthermore, self-empowerment is related to participative management and self-determination. Self-empowerment leads to the feeling of satisfaction with work and results in an active, not passive approach to work that causes to strive toward and feel capable to shaping roles at work and adapt to work contexts in developing professional identity.

Interfering factors

Interfering factors are related to context and consequences (Žydzūnaitė, 2017). Interference of various factors shape the ways female school principals construct their professional identity. There have been excluded four categories as interfering factors in professional identity construction. The first is identified as fairness or incertitude after entering the position of a school principal. It is based on the dynamic capabilities of complex adaptive systems and focuses on the strategies and behaviours that foster organizational, subunit, team, group or individual creativity, learning and adaptivity that are woven with interdependent relationships that create informal emergent constraints and complexity within the process of professional identity development. The mentioned factors might result in distrust that asserts mainly in over-control of public authorities. During the conducted interview school principals emphasized the mechanism of control which is oriented to punishment procedures and penalizing not to support or to provide assistance. The third category is ostracism that was

observed on the site of women. According to Zimmer (1988) the concept of tokenism is widely used to explain many difficulties women face as they enter traditionally male occupations. Through observations and interviews with female school principals I identified the consequences of being the few among the many that included not only women's treatment by other women, but also women's behavioral responses to the differential treatment they received. This heightened visibility creates overwhelming pressure to perform successfully and obtaining obstacles for further professional identity development. As a result, the category of adaptability emerges that creates unwillingness or hesitation for improvement and learning. Considering all the factors that interfere the processes of female school principals' professional identity development two subsequent constructional pathways can be observed. The first, resignation with discrimination, alienation, and ostracism by adopting the performative (Butler, 1990, 2010) professional identity that satisfies the needs of others but contravenes the authentic personal identification. The other one speaks about determined personalities ready to construct strong professional identity by resisting to predominant stereotypes.

Conclusions

Professional identity of female school principals' is the multilayered concept, which is related to roles and context of the school and education management traditions as well as its organizational structure and values. In the process of professional identity development, it is essential to perceive, understand and define the own role, obligations and vision to school, community and society. As data analysis and coding procedures showed the core phenomenon of professional identity development to be (self)development that mainly refer on permanent learning by ranking the priorities and defining the goals to be achieved. Furthermore, as one of the main interfering factors in professional identity development gender was identified. It was noticed that female school principals face tokenism phenomenon that creates obstacles for further professional identity development. Consequently, it can be stated that female school principals' professional identification is related with its performance in and for others. Thus, making the process entwined and contrasting with the roles of a school principal, whereas an essential factor in developing professional identity becomes ownership of the work and personal commitment to one's values and beliefs engaging with the role performance at school.

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The Innovative Integration of SBIRT raining Using Standardized Clients and Computer Simulation in Social Work Education

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Abstract

Through a Screening, Brief Intervention and Referral to Treatment (SBIRT) grant from NORC and the Conrad Hilton Foundation, the Department of Social Work at California University of Pennsylvania (Cal U) integrated SBIRT throughout the social work curriculum. A combination of computer simulation and standardized clients was developed to evaluate students' skills in assessing for substance misuse and engaging with clients. Along with the development of students' skills with assessment, motivational interviewing and active listening were an unintended outcome of student activism. Students, drawing from their new knowledge, training, and experiences, organized advocacy events on campus to promote awareness of the opioid epidemic impact on surrounding rural communities.

Keywords: SBIRT, social work students, advocacy, social work education

Introduction

The common teaching format of social work education in the United States consists of traditional lectures, face-to-face role-playing, video viewing, and field practicum and internships. Recently, social work schools have incorporated simulated client practice in their curriculum. Simulated training has been used in medical and health training for decades. Oftentimes, simulated patients are actors drawn from the community who have been trained to act and respond as everyday patients would in given situations. The benefits of simulated patients have been well-documented in various studies (Tofil, et. al, 2010; Wang, et. al., 2013; Williams, et al., 2016). Recently, medical schools have also found tremendous benefits in using computerized simulation to help train students (Abas and Juma, 2016). However, simulated training alone does not support long-term learning outcomes (Kohl and Dubrowski, 2016). Accordingly, this project granted CalU Department of Social Work the opportunity to combine the traditional curriculum of social work training using both real-life simulated clients and computerized simulation. The results have been not only positive but also transformative.

Background

The opioid epidemic has plagued the United States with crippling addiction and exponential death rates for over a decade. Pennsylvania (PA) is one of 20 states in the United States of America to experience a statistically significant increase in overdose deaths from 2016-2017. PA ranks third in the highest rates of death due to drug overdose (44.3 per 100,000) (CDC, 2018)¹. The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) and the University of Pittsburgh recently released a report titled "The Opioid Threat in Pennsylvania," providing up to date information for every PA county. In the communities that surround CAL U, overdose deaths have increased significantly over the past two years and many of the highest overdose rates in the country occur within this region. In 2017, the national average of overdose deaths was 21.7 per 100,000 people; every county within our area of focus has double this rate. Allegheny County experienced 49 overdose deaths per 100,000 people, Fayette County experienced 44 overdose deaths per 100,000 people, Greene County experienced 41 overdose deaths per 100,000 people, Washington County experienced 44 overdose deaths per 100,000 and Westmoreland County experienced 46 overdose deaths per 100,000 people. From 2015-2017 overdose deaths increased 74% in Allegheny County, 88% in Fayette County, 33% in Washington County, and 53% in Westmoreland County. These counties also rank

4th, 10th, 9th, and 8th respectively out of 67 counties in overdose deaths statewide. Though Greene county saw a 7% decrease in drug overdose deaths during this time, it still ranks 12th statewide.

California Borough, home to CalU and the basis of this project, is a fine example of community life in Northern Appalachia. It is a small town with a mixture of both rural and industrial in character. Its total population 6,795 (U.S. Census Quick Facts, 2018) is less than the total enrollment at the University. Sited on flat land at the edge of the Monongahela River, its one stoplight illuminates a historical marker named not for a member of the economic elite, but instead for a leader of laborers. Joseph "Jock" Yablonski, a resident of California, was well known for his leadership and commitment to and on behalf of miners through the United Mine Workers Union (UMW).

Of recent concern, to not only the nation but also counties close to the University, like Washington, Fayette, and Westmoreland, is the opioid crisis. In August 2015, Washington County made headline news in the Washington Post for eight overdoses in 70 minutes. In a recent report by the University of Pittsburgh in conjunction with the US District Attorney Western Division, David Hickton, Washington County was cited as having the highest accidental poisoning deaths for white females between 25-34 years of age (University of Pittsburgh, 2016) This report also highlights the opioid crisis is as much a rural issue as an urban issue.

Cal U is in a rural region, where area providers have limited financing options and are more dependent upon government programs for funding (such as Medicare and Medicaid). Given the characteristics of the population in this rural area, it is not surprising that these counties include medically underserved areas and places that lack access to health care professionals, including behavioral and mental health care professionals. The at-risk populations of the surrounding areas exacerbate these problems. Two of the four counties near Cal U, Greene and Fayette, currently have the highest death rates for drug overdose cases in Pennsylvania (PA). With PA having an increase of 89 percent of drug-related deaths since 1999, the need to train social work and counseling students to address substance abuse in our community is critical.

SBIRT Grant

This epidemic in the University's backyard prompted faculty to apply for an SBIRT grant to prepare BSW and MSW students to assess and intervene with individuals, families, and communities affected by the opioid crisis. CalU's Social Work Department received a seed grant from NORC/Conrad Hilton Foundation to infuse SBIRT with Adolescents into the Master Social Work (MSW) and Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) curricula in spring 2016. At that time, Cal U Social Work Department had 217 students, of which 120 were undergraduates and 97 were graduates. Undergraduates' ages ranged from 18 to 56, and graduate students' ages range from 22 to 54. Ninety percent of BSW students were female, and ten percent are male. Eighty-five percent of MSW students were female, and fifteen percent were male. Aside from the international students, who matriculated from the Middle East and Africa, the racial/ethnic compositions of the students reflected our surrounding rural communities. This composition of students was approximately 65% White (non-Hispanic), 17% African-Americans, 1% Asian American/Other Asian, and 17% Other (Multiple Race/Ethnicity or Unknown).

Although two of the thirty-six courses in the Social Work Department focus on substance abuse and addiction, the social work curriculum at Cal U needed to expand this topic more depth. For example, the substance abuse courses were offered as electives and students would use role-playing to practice case scenarios. In fact, aside from the field practicum, the majority of in-class practice for students is role-playing. The seed money from NORC, University of Chicago and Conrad Hilton Foundation not only provided funding to begin infusing the Adolescent SBIRT in the curriculum but also added more dynamic and robust tools for teaching and training students in the classrooms by adding a computer-simulated training (KOGNITO) along with the use of standardized clients to train social work students on SBIRT. Kognito is an interactive role simulation where health professionals build and assess their skills in conducting substance use Screening and Brief Intervention with adolescent populations and providing referrals to treatment where appropriate.

The goals of the grant program were: to infuse SBIRT content in the social work programs; improve the provision of SBIRT and mental/behavioral health referrals and services available to youth and adults; and create a strong network of service providers that are better able to address the needs of adults and youth at-risk of substance abuse. Goals were met by the Department through the infusion of SBIRT in our BSW and MSW foundation and MSW specialization courses. Additionally, the MSW Department hosted continuing education programs for the community on SBIRT and substance misuse topics with the Washington County Drug and Alcohol task force and other related programs and departments on campus. The

Social Work Department is currently working on collaborating with a large social service agency to train social workers and other professionals who work with children and adolescents on SBIRT.

METHODS

Cal U's, Department of Social Work implemented SBIRT through traditional and online teaching formats. Our MSW students' area of expertise is Advanced Generalist with a Rural Social Work focus; however, our students are not circumscribed by this focus and have found employment in metropolitan areas. Students in the MSW Foundation practice courses, advanced practice courses, and Differential Assessment received classroom lectures and reading on SBIRT and substance misuse, as well as, completed the online Kognito computer simulated training along with standardized clients. Standardized clients are a teaching technique more often used in medical and nursing school and less often in social work education (Sacco, Ting, Crouch, Emery, et al., 2017; Osborne, Brenner & Sprague, 2017). In order to enhance training for both BSW and MSW students, BSW and MSW students were recruited as simulated clients for the different programs. The BSW students acted as clients for the MSW program and the MSW students acted as clients for the BSW program. All students were required to go through the Kognito prior to their training and preparation by MSW faculty to be the simulated client as well as debriefed after the sessions.

With the implementation of Adolescent SBIRT, we enhanced knowledge of substance abuse; provided new practice for our students, field supervisors, and faculty; provided a new plan in addressing an important social problem; and enriched our skills lab by adding the computer simulated training of Kognito with our current use of standardized patients. We also uploaded the recordings in our skills lab using Adolescent SBIRT to our website for further training and education and to increase the awareness and exposure of the project.

RESULTS

In one year, overall 423 BSW and MSW students were introduced to SBIRT through classroom instruction, KOGNITO simulated computer training and/or simulated standardized clients. Table 1 describes how SBIRT was integrated into the curriculum. In addition, all thirteen full-time faculty (five BSW, seven MSW and one Field Coordinator) and five part-time faculty were trained. Nine faculty members also serve as Faculty Field Advisors (FFA). We trained 48 of our Field Placement Supervisors (MSWs) in the community.

Table 1.

Name of Course	Program Level	Course Setting	Actual Number of students trained	Educational Activity or Content Covered	Evaluation: Competencies Assessed/Measures Used	Additional Notes/ Comments
Generalist Practice	Masters	Traditional	53	SBI & Motivational Interviewing; practice with Kognito	Kognito scoring, final exam with content on SBI	Course completed with students trained in Kognito with post scores 75% and above.
Field Practicum II	Masters	Internship	34	Practice SBI with clients in the field; practice with Kognito	Progress notes, field supervisory reports, rating of competencies	9 students Completed practicum; found SBIRT useful; 13 students are currently in progress for the Spring semester since this is a yearlong course.
Differential Assessment (Advanced Practicum)	Masters	Traditional	71	Substance Abuse and SBIRT training with Modules 1-4 & Kognito	Practice with Kognito and standardized client; instructor and peer evaluation of simulated interviews in class	33 students completed standardized clients practice using SBIRT for the final exam. All scored 85% and above. Two students dropped the course.

Practice with Children and Youth	Masters	Traditional	96	2 sessions/6-hr lecture (Risky behaviors, substance use, CRAFFT, SBI video demo)	Practice with Kognito	22 MSW students completed this online course with lectures on SBIRT and practice with Kognito.
Substance Abuse (Elective)	Masters	Traditional	75	5 sessions/3-hr lecture per session on substance abuse, motivational interviewing, SBI with youth	Online lectures; reflection papers; case studies with discussion	Course was changed to online. 25 students completed coursework on youth and addiction and KOGNITO was given extra credit for those who have not completed it.
BSW Field Education (Practicum Seminar, Capstone)	Bachelors	Internship	44	Learner's Guide Module 1&2	Pre-/post-tests; practice with Kognito	18 students completed training with Kognito
Family Practice	Bachelors	Traditional	30	lecture on youth substance use; motivational interviewing practice	Role play in class; practice with Kognito	15 students completed training this semester.
Field Practicum II	Masters	Internship	20	Students placed in educational plan	Supervisors will evaluate students	20 have completed; 20 more in progress this semester and the next. This is a yearlong course.

Findings

Results of assessment of Differential Assessment the year of the grant indicated that 61% of students achieved mastery of knowledge and skills in Engaging and Assessing clients; and 12% of the students achieved accomplished.

The original integration of the computerized simulation of SBIRT provided students with training and practice that they could not have had in the traditional lecture format with role plays. The computer simulation gave students opportunities to apply their knowledge with computerized clients and was critiqued and encouraged by computerized coaches and trainers along the way. Students who received SBIRT training reported:

"SBIRT was such a wonderful learning experience because it assisted me with improving my ability to assess clients. It was helpful taking on the roles of both the client and the social worker. I enjoyed reviewing the scripts and scenarios and I remember all of the laughs when we were all getting into character. We were provided with the opportunity to give and receive constructive criticism, which was extremely helpful, as well. Overall, it was fun and it was an experience that I will always remember."

"My experience as a Standardized Client for students in the Masters of Social Work Program has been eye-opening and enriching to my own education in the Bachelors of Social Work Program and career development. Gaining empathy-evoking experiences around issues of drugs and alcohol, especially in younger populations, has already proven to be crucial as a Mentor for a non-profit-conducted After-School Program. The practice and feedback that Masters students receive through these simulations has granted necessary and valuable opportunities for young social workers to put their knowledge and skills to the test before stepping into the real world with real clients."

"I enjoyed the SBIRT experience. I found it very helpful in terms of motivational interviewing and how to reframe questions or responses to make them more strength based. I remember the number scale when if you asked someone where they were on a 1-10 if they respond 3 you say great that's good you are at a 3 versus something like why aren't you a 7. I found those the most helpful."

The SBIRT training in the BSW and MSW programs provided a unique opportunity for students to practice and demonstrate many of the Council on Social Work Educations' (CSWE) competencies. This included Research Informed Practice and Practice-Informed Research, as well as, Assessing, Engaging, Intervening and Evaluating practice with Individuals, Groups, Families, and Communities and most interestingly Advance Human Rights, Social, Economic, and Environmental Justice.

An unintended outcome of the research was BSW student's reaction to serving as standardized patients and their ability to integrate policy and practice.

Social Work Student Advocacy

The unintended consequence of the SBIRT grant was the conscious-raising and the student advocacy that resulted from learning about SBIRT and taking on the roles of clients. The process is similar to the Paulo Freire's *conscientization* or the process of awakening or opening awareness of a person to be more sensitive to social, political, and economic conditions in the environment (Freire, 1993). Although we did not use a collaborative teaching format with the SBIRT curriculum, we quickly embraced an intentional collaborative learning approach with our students when they approached us about being affected by what they had learned about the opioid crisis in our region and how SBIRT had made them aware that people do not discuss substance use and abuse enough in their communities. The incorporation of Freire's theory into social work research practice entails facilitating and actively listening to the community to understand their needs and collaborate with community members on finding ways to meet those needs, resolve problems, and foster growth (Branom, 2012; D'Cruz, Gillingham, and Melendez, 2007; Pham, 2016; Sachs J. , 1992; Sachs and Newdom, 1999). The community in our case included our social work students.

During a time when some BSW students were role-playing with MSW students in the use of SBIRT, the death of a fellow student gave rise to an impassioned desire to reduce the stigma that is too often associated with opioid use and overdose. This led to students organizing one week of events on campus designed to educate and empower students to address issues relating to the opioid epidemic and overdose awareness and focus on the impact of substance use. Students organized and collaborated with social work faculty, university administrators and community leaders to present various events.

The students focused on the events designed to advocate for awareness of the effects of the opioid crisis in rural populations and to promote a reduction of stigma around this topic (Drake, 2018). These students, focusing on the dignity and worth of individuals and the implementation of empathy among the student body, made use of resources provided through the Bachelor of Social Work Association (BSWA) student organization to host a campus-wide candlelight vigil, panel discussion, and lunch and learn presentation.

A brown bag luncheon included a student presentation of information about addiction, opioid use, treatment options, and local, state, and federal statistics regarding the impact of the opioid epidemic. The candlelight vigil allowed individuals to acknowledge, honor and celebrate the lives of those most dramatically affected by the opioid crisis and to share a dialogue about International Overdose Awareness Day (Harm Reduction Coalition, 2018).

"The Impact of Opioid Use in the Rural Communities" was the subject of a panel discussion among professionals in the substance use arena and covered topics including program development, stigma, the use of suboxone in treatment, and availability of Narcan and Naloxone on campus (Harm Reduction Coalition, 2018, Pennsylvania Department of Human Services, 2018). The Centers of Excellence, Harm Reduction Coalition, and campus Counseling Center are some of the resources available for addressing the need for accessible services regarding opioid use. Additional opportunities have been provided on campus to learn about Naloxone, its availability, and how to use it to prevent overdose fatality have been offered, at no cost, to students, faculty and staff members of the university.

Conclusion

Through the SBIRT grant, CalU's Social Work Department has been able to increase student's knowledge of substance misuse, enhance student's intervention skills and change attitudes. Along with the traditional teaching format, simulated client training, and the computerized simulation, social work students acquired the knowledge and skills to screen, briefly intervene, and refer clients for treatment for substance misuse and abuse. What was not anticipated in this educational process, was the advocacy and leadership role that the students took.

With the support and encouragement of faculty, the social work department, counseling center, and campus drug and alcohol facilities, students were able to achieve their aim, as the message of advocacy and empathy reached many

individuals through this series of events. The BSWA leadership received verbal feedback and positive recognition about the events from members of the Panel, fellow BSW students, and social work professors.

They are hopeful the next leaders will carry on this tradition and continue to make substance misuse a priority for the organization.

The SBIRT grant did more than prepare students for clinical practice, it also prepared students for leadership roles and advocacy.

The collaborative project with social work students raised awareness of the opioid epidemic in our communities and provided leadership and service-learning experiences for our students.

It is unfortunate that Paulo Freire's theory of practice has not been widely known in social work curriculum in the United States (Hegar, 2012).

This combination of practice and advocacy has created a unique teaching-learning experience.

It is the combined experiences both inside and outside the classroom that are essential for quality education (Spicuzza, 2003). It is this type of experience and education that will better prepare social work students for leadership and advocacy.

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Professional Profile as Life Reflection Story

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Abstract

According to the theories of Life Design (Savickas 2010; 2005) the making of the professional profile can be interpreted as a "life story", a construction and a narrative reconstruction through which to fix experiences, thoughts, contents, but also give «a personal meaning to past memories, present experiences and future aspirations, combining them in a theme of life that shapes the professional life of the individual» (Savickas, 2005, p. 43). In this sense, the professional profile can be considered a dynamic process supported by reflection as a device through which people learn from their experiences in order to improve themselves through conscious immersion in their own experience.

Keywords: Life Design, reflection, professional profile, narration.

Introduction

The making of the professional profile, according to the theories of Life Design, is to be understood as a holistic process, a life story, a set of relationships and choices that contribute to configuring the professional project as a process as active and creative (Savickas 2010; 2005).

«The professional path represents a subjective development that gives personal meaning to past memories, present experiences, and future aspirations, combining them in a theme of life that shapes the professional life of the individual. Thus, the subjective professional path that guides regulates and supports vocational behavior emerges from an active process of creating meaning and not of discovering pre-existing facts» (Savickas, 2005, p. 43).

In implementing the educational, cultural and social scenario, the making of the professional profile and career path are understood as increasingly directly dependent on the person and the ability to adapt to a changing scenario rather than the organization (Guichard, 2013; Savickas, 2011; Duarte, 2004) and to act entrepreneurial skills in facing continuous changes and transitions (Di Fabio, 2014; Biasin 2012).

In this scenario, it's necessary to give meaning to the different "pieces" of the professional and personal paths, narrating, writing and rewriting personal biographies through a constant action of monitoring, planning and redesigning professional and life trajectories, career counseling and future orientation (Savickas et alii, 2009; Nota, Soresi, 2010) while developing social skills, coping and resilience; adaptability, self-empowerment skills.

In facing these challenges, a narrative device is a tool and a process of elaboration, construction, and management that allows both to fix the contents, experiences, and thoughts.

Narr(action) and reflection in professional profile

The narrative is an essential element of the human being, we could say that life is itself narration and that, therefore, the latter constitutes a need for life and an ontological condition of social life (Somers, 1994, p. 38).

As Bruner reminds us, without narration there would not be identity, since «we create and recreate identity through narrative, that the Self is a product of our narration and not some essence to be discovered by digging into the recesses of subjectivity» (Bruner, 2006, p. 98).

Narrating, in this context, means writing and re-writing one's professional profile, retracing one's professional and/or life experience through written form, in order to (re)-construct one's own story (McAdam, 2006).

Outlining the professional profile through narration, it's not a fantasy operation or simply rethinking of events; it means focusing on the fundamental or problematic aspects and the actions and reflections they have generated, the solutions and/or any new knowledge generated.

Through the narrative process, therefore, it's possible to generate one's own existential and professional perspective direction by connecting the present to the past in a perspective of the future. It's a trans-formative perspective in which the re-definition of meaning moves towards the development of increasingly full awareness of one's own life experiences, monitoring the change and orienting it from a future perspective.

The biographical reflexivity through narration generates and makes real events and thoughts. As theorized by Dewey, reflection is an «active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and further conclusions to which it tends» (Dewey, 1933, p. 9).

We move, therefore, in the training of a "reflective practitioner", as theorized by Schön (1983) who considered reflective practice as a "synonymous" of professional thought, as to be able to reflect in and on action, as well as for action.

According to Schön, reflection-in-action takes place during the action and it's a way to known-in-action at the same time we are acting. During the reflection-on-action, the practitioner makes an action that produces an effect on the current situation and feedback aimed to reaffirm or modify his approach.

Acting in this way the practitioner generates external and internal changes: he changes the situation (external) and the situation changes his approach and/or ideas (internal).

Reflection-on-action happens after an event or experience has occurred and represents an activity of reconstruction.

Through it, the practitioner steps back into the past experiences and explores memory and feelings, tries to re-compose and give a sense of the different fragments in order to learn from experiences and improve practices and approach.

Reflection-for-action is a planning activity for the future. This reflection is linked closely to in- and on-reflection with the purpose of improving or changing practice.

Reflection and narration allows the experience to take shape: by writing, words acquire a material and real consistency, they become permanent objects among which it is possible to identify and build links and connections that in the moment of the speech and of the happening can escape, become less clear, become fleeting (Mortari, 2007).

In order to encourage and support an effective reflecting activity, it's possible to follow a model to guide the writing activities and process. Based on Borton's (1970) developmental model, Rolfe, Freshwater, and Jasper (2001) elaborated a reflective model based upon three questions: "What? So what? Now what?"

What? So what? Now what? Model (figure 1).

Descriptive level of reflection	Theory and knowledge - building level of reflection	Action-orientated level of reflection (reflexive)
What ...	So what	Now what ...
... is the problem/difficulty/ reason for being stuck/reason for feeling bad/reason we don't get on/etc., etc.?	...does this tell me/teach me/imply/mean about me/others/our relationship/ <u>my</u> attitudes/others' attitudes, etc.?	... do I need to do in order to make things better/stop being stuck/resolve the situation/feel better/get on better/etc., etc.?
... was my role in the situation?	...was going through my mind as I acted?	... broader issues need to be considered if this action is to be successful?
... was I trying to achieve?	...did I base my actions on?	... might be the consequences of this action?
... actions did I take?	...other knowledge can I bring to the situation? - experiential - personal - scientific	
... was the response of others?	...could/should I have done to make it better?	
... were the consequences for myself? for others?	... is my new understanding of the situation?	
... feelings did it evoke in myself? in others?	... broader issues arise from the situation?	
... was good/bad about the experience?		

These questions "What? So what? Now, what?" are related to three different levels of reflection, in details (figure n. 1):

- "What?" level is a descriptive level and it requires to describe the situation using descriptive language. We can find in the model several questions to support the reflection such as: what was my role in the situation? What was I trying to achieve? What actions did I take?....;

- "So what" level happens once the event's description has been completed and it helps to analyze and clarify the deep meaning of the experiences. The language and the writing are, at this level, analytical and critical. The model supports this reflecting level using the following questions: so what was going through my mind as I acted? So what did I base my actions on? So what could/should I have done to make it better? ...;

- "Now what?" level represents the final step of the model and it supports the definition of the development paths according to an action plan aimed to improve practices and learn from experiences. In order to manage the action plan, the model suggests as key questions: now what broader issues need to be considered if this action is to be successful? Now, what might be the consequences of this action?

The professional profile: a personal and community journey

The making of a professional profile could be understood as a personal and community journey. It's dynamic and in progress "journey", defined continuously both according to results, activities, aspirations, visions, contexts and through meetings, experiences, and activities, constant reflection, and monitoring of development paths.

We could say that the making of the professional profile is configured as a lifelong common journey (Magolda Baxter, 2001) in which play a key role the generation of new shared knowledge, the sharing of resources and skills, a continuity between individual learning and organizational learning (Nonaka, 1994).

According to Magolda Baxter, we are direct to "self-authorship": a path of development that happens throughout four phases:

«The first phase involves following formulas – where what you believe, how you define yourself, and what is important in the relationships you have – is determined by an "authority" (e.g. parent). [...] At this phase, the emphasis is on seeking approval in a relationship or doing things to make the other person happy, even if that may not be in your best interests.

The second phase is called the crossroads, and as the title suggests, this is the point where the person might start to wonder if the things they "believe" are the things they really believe. In this phase, the person starts to see the problems associated with letting other people define who they are – in a sense, they start to feel "fake". At this point, we start to realize that we might believe things that the people we look up to might not, and we begin to realize that it's okay for that to happen [...] we see that we don't want to seek approval, but respect and caring.

The third phase is where a person becomes the author of one's life when we start to choose beliefs, values, and identity that feel "real" to us. In relationships, we look to negotiate ways that both individual's needs can be met. Finally, a person develops an internal foundation, where s/he feels comfortable and grounded in their identity [...].

It's important to know that this is a life-long journey and that it is not a steady climb. We all "slip" back to previous phases at different points in our lives [...]. But wherever the journey takes you, it will be worth it, as long as you remember that you are here, now» (Baxter Magolda, 2001 p. 186).

Therefore, the key node is the generation of habitus for reflection and self-evaluation, starting from the first stage of the education, through the realization of activities supporting the development of critical, reflective and metacognition skills.

In this sense, the traineeship could be an important self-training opportunity: it certainly refers to the concept of practice, but moreover to the reflection in and on the practice.

After having carried out the internship activities, students could analyze activities, reflections, and ideas in an academic contest at two different levels: personal and community.

At a personal level students could analyze their own internship experiences, for example, writing reports, reflective diary, personal portfolio,... At the community level, it's possible to share internship experiences with the supervisor and /or internship tutor, and with other students during the "indirect internship" moments.

At this stage the activity of reflection is aimed at enhancing the cyclicity of the relationship between practice and reflection: after the immersion in context with the "testing" of the theoretical aspects learned, there is the moment of distance and reflection aimed at identifying small routines, possibilities of connection and expression of the theory in practice, or to hypothesize transformative actions that, after reflection on practice, identify new opportunities, further ways of intervention. The transformative action is placed in a recursive dimension between being in a situation and reflecting on the situation.

These processes could constitute an important formative function when they are supported by documentation actions, through a narrative-biographical approach, which allows us to retrace and reread the process, to reconstruct it, to relive it and reinterpret it.

In this sense, we can say that the making of the professional profile begins before entering the professional community and the working world.

Certainly, the development, and therefore the adoption, of reflective practices aimed at the constant monitoring of one's own educational and professional development processes, starting from the university course, can constitute an effective basis and an opportunity for students to continue with these practices during all the working life.

Conclusion

Through reflection, narrative writing and biographic reconstruction could be possible to start a path and /or process that, through conscious immersion in one's own experience, supports the generation of learning from experiences, the monitoring and the making of paths of development and the managing of the professional profile.

The narrative practice, supported by reflection, represents the process and the tool to become sense makers of their own stories, re-interpreting retrospectively and/or prospectively facts, events, relationships, and emotions.

It also allows the development of entrepreneurship skills in order to make people "authors" of their own personal and professional paths.

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Educational Association Children's Library Publishing: the Case of Fairy Tales

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to highlight aspects of the publishing activity of the Educational Association founded in Athens in 1910. The main aims of the Association were the educational reform and the diffusion of the *vernacular language* form of Greek, the demotic, in education. From 1913 to 1919, the numbered book series Educational Association Children's Library published fairy tales in the demotic language in three books. Members of the Association *worked* for the fairy tales: the authors Penelope Delta and Julia Dragoumi, both specialized in juvenile literature and the educator Alexander Delmouzos as a translator. The fairy tales, written or translated by the members of the Association named above, were for specific age groups of children and covered the entire spectrum from the very young children to the older. This article evaluates the role of fairy tales in the Educational Association's aims. In that context, fairy tales were of paramount importance both as a literary text for the spread of the demotic language and as a pedagogical tool.

Keywords: Demotic language in education, "Children's Library of the Educational Association", Fairy tales

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to highlight aspects of the publishing activity of the *Educational Association*¹ (1910-1927). Especially, the publication of fairy tales by the *Educational Association Children's Library*, in order to evaluate their contribution to the main aims of *Educational Association*: educational reform and spread of demotic language in education. This research is based on the reviewing of relevant literature², the historical hermeneutic approach³ and the thematic analysis of text⁴.

During the years 1899-1900, the doctor Photis Photiadis (1849-1936) published six letters, in favor of the demotic language in the newspaper *Tachydromos*⁵ of Istanbul⁶, as a response to an article of *Tachydromos* against Alexandra Papadopoulou (1867-1906)⁷. The young teacher from Istanbul published a short story in the demotic language entitled *Virtue and Evil*⁸. As a consequence, A. Papadopoulou was excluded from all schools by a decision of the Patriarchal Central Educational Committee.

In 1902, Ph. Photiadis published the book *Our Language Issue and the Educational Regeneration* for the introduction of demotic in education⁹. He adopted a modernist student-centered approach and the personalized learning. He considered "that every educational process should begin with the child, his needs and his potential"¹⁰. It could be argued that his opinions were part of

¹ Ekpaideytikos Omilos.

² Bryman, A. & Burgess, R. (2015). *Business Research Methods* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 99-126; Bell, J. (1993). *Doing your Research Project, A Guide for First-time Researchers in Education and Social Science* (2nd ed.). Buckingham-Philadelphia: Open University Press.

³ Cohen, L. & Manion, L. (1994). *Research Methods in Education* (4th ed.). London-New York: Routledge.

⁴ Guest, G., MacQueen, K., & Namey, E. (2012). *Applied Thematic Analysis*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

⁵ Tachydromos' means Postman.

⁶ Papakostas, G. (2000). *Photis Photiadis and the "Aderfato of the National Language"*. Athens: Bookstore of Hestia, p. 56.

⁷ Vitti, M. (2008). *History of Modern Greek Literature* (3rd ed.). Athens: Odysseus Publishing, p. 313: The collection of *Greek short stories*, in 1896, includes the short story, which was first published in *Hestia* of a girl from Istanbul, Alexandra Papadopoulou (1867-1906). Her observation is focused on the faces and the traditions of civil society in a mood to reveal their defects.

⁸ See, Tsevik-Baivertian, K. (2012). *The issue of language in Istanbul, Reason and counterpoint to the newspaper Tachydromos (1898-1908)*. Athens: Tsoukatou, pp. 97-283; Papakostas, G. (1980). *The life and work of Alexandra Papadopoulou*. Athens: Greek Literary and Historical Archive.

⁹ Kriaras, E. (1987). *Literati and demoticism*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon SA, pp. 27-30.

¹⁰ Papakostas, G. (2000). *op. cit.*, p. 56.

"the general cultural criticism expressed by the klassische Reformpädagogik in Germany"¹. He was disappointed when he compared the performance of Greek to foreign schools. He considered that the main reason for the reduced performance of Greek schools was the difference between the teaching and textbook language and the spoken demotic language². The pedagogical ideas of Ph. Photiadis, especially the analysis of the language-educational issue, excited the educators Manolis Triantafyllidis and Alexander Delmouzos and both wanted to travel to Istanbul in order to know him³.

In 1905, Ph. Photiadis secretly founded in Istanbul the *Aderfato*, an association with the main aim, the use of demotic language in education⁴. Ph. Photiadis was headed the *Aderfato*. The members were from the Ottoman Empire, Greece, and all over the Greek diaspora⁵. Among the members were A. Delmouzos, M. Triantafyllidis, and the future prime minister of Greece, Eleftherios Venizelos⁶. The assumption of power by E. Venizelos filled with optimism people who battle for demotic language⁷.

Following the revolution of 1908 in the Ottoman Empire and the constitutional change, the *Aderfato* was legitimized and printed an *Association Statute*, with a *Proclamation* and a *Regulation*⁸. In the *Proclamation* was stated that the *Aderfato* will use every way, newspapers written in the demotic language and educative books for children and the working class.⁹ Newspapers and books were important and constantly developed means of free ideological diffusion. Both gradually acquired a mass character¹⁰. In the western world in the 19th century the reading public touched mass literacy. The new readers were women, children, and the working class¹¹. The *Aderfato* appears to be focusing these new readers. Undoubtedly for both children and the working class, the use of the vernacular language seems promising in the fight against illiteracy.

In the Western world, the demand for school books is gradually beginning to gain a larger share in the book market¹². In 1905, the newspaper *Noumas* published a call for proposals for the writing of a textbook in demotic language¹³. Two years later, in January 1907, the *Aderfato* published in *Noumas* a call for proposals for the writing of books for children 8-11-year-old¹⁴. The call for proposals for primary school textbooks in demotic intended for: a) Greek children who did not attend Greek schools, because they did not exist in the area where they lived, or because they were educated in the house or because they studied in foreign schools. b) As a leisure time books in demotic for the pupils of Greek schools. c) For bilingual children of Greek origin to facilitate the learning of the language. And d) for the future school where the demotic language was expected to be taught¹⁵. Within competitive nationalisms in the multicultural Ottoman Empire¹⁶, we should notice the introduction of demotic in education, as a factor that could facilitate the fight against illiteracy in favor of the spread of the Greek language in the Ottoman Empire.

The call for Proposals, in 1907, did not find a response to aspiring writers. In November 1907, Ph. Photiadis invited Vlastos, Pallis, Psycharis, Delmouzos and Delta for writing language textbooks. These textbooks should be aimed at: a) cultural cultivation, with themes that are in line with the elementary school, such as plants, animals, marine life, fields, mountains, plains and forests; (b) the teaching of history and the cultivation of the Greek nationalism, c) hygiene tips, poems, legends, proverbs, fairy tales¹⁷. In the 19th century, the children's audience quickly passed from the reading for school purposes to the enjoyment of reading. As

¹ Terzis, N. (2010). *Study of the education of Neo-Hellenism, Before the state — Outside the state — In the state*. Thessaloniki: Publishing House of Kyriakidi Brothers SA, p. 283.

² Kriaras, E. (1987). op. cit., p. 30.

³ Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit, p. 45; Delmouzos, A. (n.d.). *Photis Photiadis and his pedagogical contribution*. Athens: Publishing House N. Alikiotis & Sons, pp. 5-7.

⁴ Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit, p. 14; See, Tsevik-Baivertian, K. (2012). op. cit.; See, Lambraki, A. & Paganos, D.D. (2003). *Educational demoticism and Kostis Palamas*. Athens: Patakis, pp. 129-168.

⁵ Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit, pp. 265-275.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 266-267, 273.

⁷ Ibid., p. 20.

⁸ Ibid., p. 73; See, Tsevik-Baivertian, K. (2012). op.cit., pp. 285-286.

⁹ Papakostas, G. (2000). op.cit., p. 74.

¹⁰ Serafeinidou, M. (2005). *Sociology of Mass Media, The role of media in the reproduction of modern capitalism*. Athens: Gutenberg, pp. 128-133.

¹¹ Lyons, M. (2008). *Young Readers of the 19th Century, Women, Children, Workers' Class*. G., Cavallo, & R. Chartier, (Ed.). *History of Reading in the Western World (377-409)*. Athens: Metaxchio.

¹² Lyons, M. (2008). op. cit., pp. 388-397.

¹³ Dimaras, A. (1974). *The Reform which was not done, Historical Presentations 1895-1967* (Tom. B). Athens: Hermes, pp. λ' -Αβ'; Psycharis, I, Pallis, A., & Eftaliotis, A. (1906). The competition of *Noumas*, 'Romaic' textbooks, The Commission's Judgment. *Noumas*, 4(197), 2-5.

¹⁴ Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit, p. 78.

¹⁵ Photiadis, Ph. (1907). Call for proposals for language textbooks. *Noumas*, 5(232), 1.

¹⁶ See Iliadou-Tachou, S., & Orfanou, A. (2014). *Acculturation as a Process of National Homogenization: Case Study in Western Macedonia (1912-1936)*. 11th International Conference for the History Educators International Research Network (HEIRNET). Retrieved 2019, January 10, from <https://www.academia.edu/37768911/>

¹⁷ Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit, pp. 79-82.

part of this development of the book market, more and more dynamic forms of children's literature, such as fairy tales, appeared¹.

The fairy tales were considered by Aderfato to be suitable for the language textbooks that would be written on his behalf. At the same time, members of the *Aderfato* published systematically fairy tales in the political, social and literary newspaper of Athens *O Noumas*. For example: a) In 1904, Alexander Pallis translated *The Ugly Duckling, from the Fairy tales of Andersen*². b) Rigas Golfi, published in 1906 *Traditions and Tales, The Snow*³. His name was a literary pseudonym of the lawyer K. Dimitriadis, appointed as a paid corrector of *Noumas*⁴. He is mentioned as a lawyer residing in Athens in the list of members of the *Educational Association*⁵. c) Nikolaos Giannios, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *People of Aderfato*⁶. In 1906, he published the *Fairy Tale, The Old Man, Life, and Death*.⁷ As a journalist, he is mentioned in the list of members of the *Educational Association*⁸. d) Eurydice Michailidis-Emmanuel was a member of the *Aderfato*⁹, as did his brother, Argyris Eftaliotis. She published, from 1905 until 1907, a collection of folktales containing seventeen fairy tales from her place of origin and residence, Molyvos of Lesbos. Initially, the *Fairy tales of Molyvos* were anonymous and only the last four were published with her name¹⁰. e) Georgios Skopelitis, from Samos, is mentioned as a merchant, resident of Madagascar, on the list of the members of A. Fotiadis' *Aderfato*. In the period 1907-1910, he published nine fairy tales from Madagascar. He was also a member of the *Educational Association*, where is mentioned as a merchant in Analalava, Madagascar¹¹.

This systematic publication of fairy tales may have to be evaluated as a part of a general effort of the *Aderfato* to spread the demotic language. This is also suggested by the publication of fairy tales in *Noumas*, a popular newspaper for the spread of the demotic language. It is important to notice that the *Aderfato* became a major financier and supporter of *Noumas* about the period 1906-1908¹², and then acquired his own newspaper *People*, in November 1908¹³.

1. The "Educational Association Children's Library"

The demand for education for all, in a circle of Greeks studying in Germany, at the beginning of the 20th century, including A. Delmouzos (1880-1956), D. Glinos (1882-1943) and M. Triantafyllidis (1883-1959), took the form of an attempt to systematically enforce education with the formation of a new type of elementary school in the standards of the *klassische Reformpädagogik*, where the demotic language will be taught¹⁴. The first attempt to apply in practice the demotic language took place in Volos, in 1908, with the foundation of the *Girls' School*, which was run by A. Delmouzos¹⁵.

The *Educational Association*, founded in Athens in August 1910,¹⁶ was closely related to the *Aderfato* founded in Istanbul. Especially, the reasons for the establishment of both associations have many common points and the aspirations and the aims of the *Aderfato* were largely implemented by the *Educational Association*. In the foundation of the *Association*, many active members of the *Aderfato* took part, among them and prominent members e.g. the president of the *Aderfato*, Photis Photiadis¹⁷.

¹ Lyons, M. (2008). op. cit., pp. 388-397.

² Pallis, A. (1904). *The Ugly Duckling, From Andersen's Tales*. *Noumas*, 2(104), 2-6.

³ Golfi, P. (1906). *Traditions and Fairy Tales, The Snow*. *Noumas*, 4(210), 5.

⁴ Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit, p. 91.

⁵ Ibid., p. 267.

⁶ Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit, pp. 102, 112-113.

⁷ Giannios, N. (1906). *Fairy Tale, Old Man, Life and Death*. *Noumas*, 4(222), 8-9.

⁸ Dimaras, A. (1994). *Educational Association, Members list 1910-1927, Composition-Description-Estimations*. Athens: Society of Studies of Modern Greek Culture and General Education, Moraitis School, p. 97.

⁹ Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit, p. 267.

¹⁰ Emmanuel, E. I. (1906). In the paddock of uncle George. *Noumas*, 4(215), 6-7; Emmanuel, E. I. (1906). Letters of the village. *Noumas*, 4(226), 8-9; Emmanuel, E. I. (1907a). Fairy tales of Molivos [The evil stepmother]. *Noumas*, 5(228), 6-8; Emmanuel, E. I. (1907b). Tales of Molivos [The Queen's only son]. *Noumas*, 5(230), 1-2; Emmanuel, E. I. (1907c). Stories of Molivos [The Two Neighbors]. *Noumas*, 5(232), 7-8; Emmanuel, E. I. (1907d). True Fairy Tale. *Noumas*, 5(247), 2-3; Emmanuel, E. I. (1907e). Fairy tales of Molivos [The two sisters]. *Noumas*, 5(251), 4-5; Emmanuel, E. I. (1908). The mother of the stolen girl. *Noumas*, 6(285), 7-8.

¹¹ Orfanou, A. (2016). *Fairy tales from Madagascar*. Athens: Apopeira, pp. 159-180, 189-225.

¹² Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit, pp. 88-94.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 94-113; Tsevik-Baivertian, K. (2012). op. cit., pp. 284-298.

¹⁴ Papadaki, L. (2007). *Brief History of Greek Education, From Enlightenment in World War II*. Thessaloniki: Vania Publications / Istor Series, p. 89; Pyrgiotakis, G. (n.d.). *Die klassische Reformpädagogik in Griechenland am Beispiel der fünf griechischen Pädagogen Alexander Delmouzos, Michael Papamavros, Miltos Kountouras, Nikolaos Kastanos und Emmanouel Sarris*, 1-17. Retrieved 2017, 1 May, from <http://wiki.ews.uni-heidelberg.de/feldevaulation09/reformpaedagogik.pdf>; Pyrgiotakis, G. (2007). *Pedagogy of the New School, A systematic examination of pedagogical ideas from Herbart to "Classical Reformation Pedagogy"*. Athens: Gregoris Publishers; Iliadou-Tachou, S., & Orfanou, A. (2017). *The teacher Emmanuel G. Sarris (1899-1977) and his contribution to the Greek education*. Athens: Ocelotos.

¹⁵ Papadaki, L. (2007). op.cit., p. 90.

¹⁶ Dimaras, A. (1994). op.cit., p. 97; An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1916). *Bulletin of the Educational Association*, vol. 5, 1-10.

¹⁷ Tsevik-Baivertian, K. (2012). op.cit., pp. 285, 297; Papakostas, G. (2000), op.cit., pp. 16, 109.

Almost the 8.2% of the members of the *Educational Association* participated in the *Aderfato*¹.

Among the three protagonists of the *Educational Association*, A. Delmouzos expressed the pedagogical, D. Glinos the social and M. Triantafyllidis the linguistic character of the movement for the introduction of the demotic language in education². The *Educational Association* gathered "liberal intellectuals"³ and faced reactions that were mainly related to the language issue⁴. In 1911, the *Volos Girls' School* was suspended due to complaints against A. Delmouzos⁵.

At the same time, with the aim of enlightening the public opinion, the *Educational Association* set up the *Enlightening Library* for the publication of various studies⁶, the *Scientific Library*, and lastly the *Literature Library*⁷. As stated in the *Bulletin of the Educational Association*, the *Association* had the task of "preparing the various children's books and the textbooks to be used by the Greek pupil at school and at home"⁸. For this reason a *Children's Library* also functioned and there were plans for a *School Library* with textbooks only for school.

Delmouzos in a letter to P. Delta, in June 1911, points out that "the work of the *Educational Association* will be in order next winter, when we will establish a *Children's Library*"⁹. However, the *Educational Association* managed to establish the *Children's Library* only at the end of 1913. The *Bulletin of the Educational Association* refers: "This work was done according to the funds and the books that were available each time, and not so much according to a broader program, that requires more money and variety in the books for selection. However, the success of these books (not business success, but mostly moral) began to appear, if we judge from the favorable judgments we read last month in the whole Athenian press. After the war against the *Association*, that took place a few years ago, it is a significant victory that our first books for children changed public opinion. It was written in the conservative leaflet *Athens* that demotic is the correct 'children's language'. Indeed, if this is recognized today, and we respect our language, half the win is won. The child freely educated in his own language tomorrow will decide on the language for all life circumstances. A *Children's Library* will be a supplement to the school, and we also need a *School Library* with a series of books for the school, first among them the alphabet's textbook."¹⁰

In 1913, it was announced that the books of the *Children's Library Educational Association*: "They will be used by our children at home, as a supplement to the education given to them by the school, but they will also have their place in the national school"¹¹. The *Bulletin of the Educational Association* mentions for the *Children's Library*: "These books were printed with all possible care, according to their sacred purpose. With a similar shape, as small as possible in size and with a colored cover, in order to be spread as much as possible in the student world and be readable by every Greek child"¹².

At the end of 1913, the *Children's Educational Association Library* publishes four books: a) the number 1, the *Great Years* by Yannis Vlachogiannis¹³ "with stories of the Greek national revolution and the powerful characters who worked to liberate the nation, written by the well-known history-writer"¹⁴. "Most stories in the book were scattered in various newspapers and magazines"¹⁵ and the *Educational Association* collected them in the published book. b) The number 2, the book *For the Homeland* of P. Delta¹⁶. "It is a lesson learned from our great Byzantine era by the same collaborator of the *Bulletin of the Educational Association*, who wrote the other brilliant book *In the Time of the Bulgaraktonou*. In the cheap edition of books for Greek children, everyone will be able to buy the book *For the Homeland*"¹⁷. It is a "cheaper, popular version" of the book¹⁸. c) The number 3, the

¹ Dimaras, A. (1994). op.cit., p. 174.

² Dimaras, A. (2013). *History of Neohellenic Education, The "interrupted jump", Trends and Resistances in Greek Education 1833-2000*. Athens: Metachmio, p. 129.

³ Mpouzakis, S. (2006). *Modern Greek Education (1821-1998)* (ed. 5th). Athens: Gutenberg, pp. 74-75.

⁴ Dimaras, A. (1974). op.cit., pp. λϵ - λϚ.

⁵ Dimaras, A. (1974). op.cit., pp. λθ'.

⁶ An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1916). *Bulletin of the Educational Association*, vol. 5, 3.

⁷ Ibid., p. 6.

⁸ Ibid., p. 1.

⁹ Lefkoparidis, X. (Ed.). (1997). *Correspondence of P. S. Delta 1906-1940* (2nd ed.). Athens: Bookstore of Hestia, 238.

¹⁰ An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1916). op.cit., 3-4.

¹¹ An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1913). *Bulletin of the Educational Association*, vol. 3, 335.

¹² Ibid., p. 335.

¹³ Vlachogiannis, G. (1913). *Great years, For children aged 13 and over, Educational Association Library, No. 1, Books for Greek Children*. Athens: Printing House Hestia.

¹⁴ An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1913). op.cit., 335-336.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 336.

¹⁶ Delta, P. (1913). *For the homeland, Educational Association Library, No 2, Books for Greek Children* (2nd ed.). Athens.

¹⁷ An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1913). op.cit., 336.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 336.

book *From my village* by Adam (Adamidis)¹: “The Epirus short stories *From My Village* describe the village’s simple and beautiful life by giving us popular psychology and philosophy with a few words and a lot of observation”². Adam’s short stories have also been published, almost all, in the last volumes of *Diaplasis*³. The *Educational Association* collected them in order to publish them in a book: the fact that they had been issued again “did not enough reason to be excluded from the *Educational Association Children’s Library*, since we considered their material suitable for children. A choice was made in the short stories of Vlachogiannis and Adam. Especially, in the Adam’s stories, significant changes to the content were made, according to the purpose of the book; and from the support they will find, will be determined if our library will be enriched quickly and with other such books, original ones”⁴. d) The number 4 circulated in 1913, is the tale of Karl Ewald *The Corals*, translated by A. Delmouzos⁵. It is the first book that is not reprinted.

In 1913, the *Educational Association* published, a reprint from the *Bulletin of the Educational Association*, in a sixteen-leaflet, brochure with the title *Three Year Teacher, how I saw the kids* by A. Delmouzos, where he gives his own version of the affair of the *Girls’ School* of Volos⁶. At the same time, independently of the publishing activity of the *Educational Association*, in 1914, P. Nirvanas, a member of the *Educational Association*,⁷ published in the demotic language⁸ within the “Literature Library of Fexi” a collection of short stories for young people entitled *The Shepherd with the Pearls and Other Small Stories*⁹. In 1914, the lawsuit for the Volos *Girls’ School* in Nafplio Court of Appeals took place where, in the indictment, the movement for the spread of demotic language in education was purposely identified with socialism, anarchy and atheism. However, in March 1915, the court issued a final discharge order¹⁰. In the period 1913-1915, the reforming work of the Ministry of Education established new textbooks with a simplified language form and a new elementary school program¹¹. The same time the *Educational Association Children’s Library* continues the publications. In 1915, he reissued the number 4, Karl Ewald’s fairy tale *The Corals*, along with four more fairy tales by the same author, translated by A. Delmouzos with the new title *Fairy Tales*¹². The same year P. Delta published the book *Fairy tales and others* within the *Educational Association Children’s Library*¹³.

In 1916, E. Venizelos formed a revolutionary government in Thessaloniki with the support of the Entente. In 1916, the allies were disembarked in Piraeus and Athens¹⁴. The educational program of the revolutionary government included the setting up of an *Education Committee* by D. Glinos, A. Delmouzos and M. Triantafyllidis for the writing of elementary school textbooks. A few months later, the *Educational Association* signed a private agreement that commissioned the three above educators the execution of its program and its publishing activities¹⁵. In 1917, the king was required to leave the country. His successor was his second son, Alexander. Then Venizelos became prime minister of united Greece¹⁶. The *School Library of the Educational Association* was starting with the alphabet textbook. However, the contest they had announced did not give anything that deserves. The second plan, to prepare the alphabet textbook by the *Association* itself, took place a little later by the state which circulated the new textbooks¹⁷.

¹ Adamidis, A. (1913). *From my village, Educational Association Library, number 3, Books for Greek children*. Athens: Hestia.

² An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1913). op.cit., 336.

³ Ibid., p. 336.

⁴ Ibid., p. 336.

⁵ Ewald, K. (1913). *The Corals, For children 8 years old and above, Educational Association Library, No 4, Books for Greek Children*. Translation: A. Delmouzos. Athens: Printing House Hestia.

⁶ Delmouzos, A. (1913). *Three year teacher, how I saw the kids, Educational Association Library*. Athens: Printing House Hestia.

⁷ Kriaras, E. (1987). op.cit., p. 34; Alevizos, A. (1979). *New illustrated biographies’ guide of modern Greeks writers*. Athens: DYROS, p. 790: P. Nirvanas was born in 1866 in Marianoypoli of Ukraine where his family lived. He died in 1937 in Athens. He completed high school in Piraeus and studied medicine at the University of Athens. He joined the Navy as a doctor in 1890 until 1922; Dimaras, A. (1994). op.cit., p. 85: his name was Petros Apostolidis. But it was mostly known with the artistic pseudonym Paul Nirvanas; Nirvanas, P., & Zisis, D. (1947). *Greek children, Language textbook for 3rd grade of the elementary school*. In Athens: Agency Publications Books, pp. γ’-β’: P. Nirvanas in 1922 resigned from the Navy and devoted himself to journalism and writing. In 1928, he was a member of the Academy of Athens. In the dictatorship of Metaxas the language textbook for 3rd grade of elementary school “Greek children” of P. Nirvanas and of the educator D. Zissi took first prize and was distributed in schools. In 1937, he was taught for the first time in primary schools.

⁸ Alevizos, A. (1979). op. cit., p. 790.

⁹ Ibid, p. 791; Nirvanas, P. (1914). *The Shepherdess with the pearls and other short stories*. In Athens: George Fexi Publishing House, Literary Fexi Library.

¹⁰ Papadaki, L. (2007). op.cit., p. 91.

¹¹ Dimaras, A. (1974). op.cit., p. λθ’.

¹² Ewald, K. (1915). *Fairy tales, For children 8 years old and above, Educational Association Library, No 4, Books for Greek Children*. Translation: A. Delmouzos. Athens: Printing House Hestia.

¹³ Delta, P. (1915). *Fairy tales and others, For children 12 years old and above, Educational Association Library. 5, Books for Children*. Athens: Printing House Hestia.

¹⁴ Clogg, R. (2002). A brief history of Greece, 1770-2000 (2nd ed.). Athens: Katoptro, pp. 115-121.

¹⁵ Papadaki, L. (2007). op.cit., p. 99.

¹⁶ Clogg, R. (2002). op.cit., pp. 115-121.

¹⁷ An introduction, M. Triantafyllidis, Ten years (1921). *Bulletin of the Educational Association*, vol. 9, 9.

The educational reform of 1917 followed, focusing mainly on the promotion of educational primary schooling and the textbooks¹. The period 1917-1920, the linguistic and educational reform of the Prime Minister E. Venizelos was done with the cooperation of M. Triantafyllidis, A. Delmouzos and D. Glinos, the leaders of the *Educational Association*. An effort was made to create a single grammar of the demotic language in elementary school. The aim of the reform was the use of demotic language in the primary school's language textbooks. The three leaders of the Linguistic and Educational Reform occupied formal government positions. They had an overall oversight of the educational reform measures and led the *Educational Association*². They collaborated with distinguished writers such as: Andreas Karkavitsas (1865-1922) member of the Aderfato³ and the *Educational Association*⁴, Zacharias Papantoniou (1877-1940), Grigorios Xenopoulos (1867-1951) member of the Aderfato⁵ and Paul Nirvanas (1866-1937)⁶ a member of the *Educational Association*. P. Nirvanas participated in the writing of at least twelve school books⁷. In the period 1917-1920, he took part in the Editorial Committee of the language textbook *Alphabetario*, known mainly as *The Alphabet with the Sun*⁸ and the State Editorial Committee of the language textbook *The High Mountains*⁹.

The Editorial Board of Part I of *The Alphabet with the Sun* (first edition 1919) consisted of A. Delmouzos, P. Nirvanas, Z. Papantoniou, D. Andreadis, M. Triantafyllidis and K. Maleas, the illustrator¹⁰. From the committee Demosthenes Andreadis (1869-1952) Inspector of Primary Education¹¹ and Konstantinos Maleas (1879-1928) painter¹² belonged as well to the members of the *Educational Association*. *The Alphabet with the Sun* after the election defeat of E. Venizelos temporarily removed and in 1928, it was reused after the victory of E. Venizelos in the elections¹³. It was then followed by the second part *The Alphabet with the Sun* (1929), which included the folktale *The twelve months* in the text entitled §20. *Grandmother Started the Fairy tale*¹⁴. In the first edition of the textbook *The High Mountains* (1918) of Zacharia Papantoniou for the 3rd grade of the Primary School, the State Committee was similarly formed by A. Delmouzos, P. Nirvanas, G. Papantoniou, D. Andreadis, M. Triantafyllidis¹⁵.

In the period 1917-1919, circulated at least ten language textbooks based on the grammar of M. Triantafyllidis for the demotic language. Contrary to the previous legislative framework, the authors' freedom of content of textbooks was institutionalized. The state monopoly of textbooks was abolished, the use of unlimited number of readers for an indefinite period was allowed, provision was made for the use of approved auxiliary books in the last two grades of the primary school¹⁶. At the same time, in 1917, the *Children's Library of Educational Association* published the number 6, the book taken from Greek mythology *Stories of the Old Age, Perseas. Persephone* in translation and adaptation of Lili (Aimilia) Zarifi. She tells two stories from the Greek mythology, those of Perseus, the son of Danae and Zeus, and of Persephone, the daughter of goddess Demeter¹⁷. The book was intended "for young children". In 1919, the number 7 was the book *All Together* by Julia Dragoumi¹⁸. And the number 8 was the collection of fairy tales and short stories by J. Dragoumi titled *The Bored Frog and Other Stories*¹⁹.

In August 1920, the Treaty of Sèvres was signed, followed the death of King Alexander, the election defeat of E. Venizelos and

¹ Dimaras, A. (1974). op.cit., p. μ'.

² Papadaki, L. (2007). op.cit., p. 100.

³ Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit, p. 268: resident of Athens and author.

⁴ Dimaras, A. (1994). op.cit., p. 122: doctor in the Navy and author.

⁵ Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit., p. 270.

⁶ Alevizos, A. (1979). op.cit., p. 790: Along with his military career, he dealt with journalism and successfully cultivated all kinds of literature. His first articles were published in newspapers of Pireus. She wrote poems. The theater mainly dealt with the three-year period 1907-1909. With the critique and the study of literature he dealt mainly with the first decade of the 20th century and with the prose mainly in the 1920s and 1930s; Vitti, M. (2008). op. cit., p. 318: Translated Nietzsche into the monthly magazine *Art* that is written almost in its entirety in the municipal language and was published for one year between 1898 and 1899 by the poet, prose writer and critic Konstantinos Chatzopoulos.

⁷ Nirvanas, P. (1929). *For the homeland*. Athens: Ed. Dimitrakou; Nirvana, P. (1929a). Selective pages, Language textbook for 5th grade in the purist language. Athens: Ed. Dimitrakou et al.

⁸ Dimaras, A. (1994). op. cit., p. 85.

⁹ Papantoniou, Z. (1929). *The High Mountains, Language textbook for 3rd grade* (4th Edition). Athens: Publishing House Dimitrakos.

¹⁰ Andreadis, D., Delmouzos, A., Nirvanas, P., Papantoniou, Z., Triantafyllidis, M., & Maleas, K. (1935). Language textbook, Part A' & B' (Ed. 16th). Athens: Publishing House Dimitrakos.

¹¹ Dimaras, A. (1994). op. cit., p. 82.

¹² Dimaras, A. (1994). op. cit., p. 135.

¹³ Andreadis, D., Delmouzos, A., Nirvanas, P., Papantoniou, Z., Triantafyllidis, M., & Maleas, K. (1935). op.cit., pp. γ'-ζ'.

¹⁴ Andreadis, D., Delmouzos, A., Nirvanas, P., Papantoniou, Z., Triantafyllidis, M., & Maleas, K. (1935). op.cit., pp. 110-120.

¹⁵ Papantoniou, Z. (1929). op.cit.

¹⁶ Papadaki, L. (2007). op.cit., p. 100.

¹⁷ Zarifi, L. A. (Adaptation from English) (1917). *Stories of old times, Perseus, Persephone*. Athens: Printing House Hestia; Perseas see Kakridis, D. I. (1986). *Greek Mythology, The Gods*. Athens: Publishing Athens SA, pp. 181-188; Persephone see Kakridis, D. I. (1986). op.cit., pp. 130-139.

¹⁸ Dragoumi, J. (1919). *All together, Educational Association Library, No. 7, Books for Greek Children*. Athens: Printing House Hestia.

¹⁹ Dragoumi, J. (1919a). *The bored frog and other stories, Educational Association Library, No 8, Books for Greek Children*. Athens: Printing House Hestia.

the return of King Constantine by a false referendum¹. The educational reform program of the government of E. Venizelos was not accomplished². The textbooks of the 1917-1920 period were judged incompetent by a Special Committee, and then the Parliament decided to abolish them³. At the same time, D. Glinos and A. Delmouzos attempted to intensify the activation of the *Educational Association*⁴. The 1921, the *Bulletin of the Educational Association* was dedicated to the recently murdered Ion Dragoumis, one of the protagonists of the idea of the demotic language and the *Educational Association*. During the ten years' presence of the *Association*, the *Children's Educational Association Library* published eight books⁵.

In 1927, A. Delmouzos left the *Educational Association*⁶, which was dissolved after 17 years of concerted efforts to reshape the educational reform of Greece. As part of the *Educational Association*, a well-founded bourgeois-democratic education was articulated and pedagogical choices were justified by scientific and social criteria⁷.

2. The fairy tales of the “Educational Association Children’s Library”

The fairy tales of the Children’s Library of the *Educational Association* were intended for three different age groups: the young children, the children from 8 years of age and above and the children from 12 years of age and over. Especially, the fairy tales “for children from 8 years of age” and “for children from 12 years of age” were published in the period 1913-1915 and the fairy tales for young children later, in 1919.

In particular, the fairy tales were published by the *Educational Association Children’s Library*:

For young children: The book of J. Dragoumi *The Bored Frog and Other Stories* includes fairy tales and short stories (1919)⁸.

For children aged 8 and above: Karl Ewald’s *Fairy tales* (1915) include 5 fairy tales on A. Delmouzo’s translation⁹.

For children aged 12 and above: The book *Fairy tales and Others* (1915) of P. Delta includes short stories and four fairy tales, original works by the author¹⁰.

2.1. “The Corals” (1913) and “Fairy Tales” (1915) by Karl Ewald (1856-1908)

Delmouzos started the translation of the Danish fairy tales several years before their publication. On November 1909, M. Triantaphyllides wrote from Zurich to P. Delta about the fairy tales translated by A. Delmouzos: “Two fairy tales of him, I read, are from the Danish originals, for young children, *The Sun and the Moon*, etc.”¹¹

In 1913, during the victorious Balkan Wars in Greece¹², the Children’s Library, with the number 4, published the fairy tale of Karl Ewald *The Corals* translated by A. Delmouzos. The fairy tale *The Corals* presents the life in the sea, marine life physiology and the creation of a coral island with the cooperation of many coral generations¹³.

During World War I¹⁴, in 1915, followed the publication of the book *The Fairy Tales* within the *Educational Association Children’s Library*. The *Fairy tales* also bear the number 4 and include *The Corals* and four other fairy tales. That is to say, five fairy tales by Karl Ewald, all translated by A. Delmouzos.

The first fairy tale, *The Earth and the Comet*, presents astronomical knowledge, in an entertaining and understandable way adapted to childhood. It shows how the planets travel in the universe and how accurately, they make their space travel, the earth around the sun and the moon around the earth. The second fairy tale is *The Corals*. The third fairy tale, *The Worm and the stork*, presents the unexpected friendship between a worm and a stork and the difficulties of their friendship, as the stork is often

¹ Clogg, R. (2002). op.cit., pp. 115-121.

² Kriaras, E. (1987). op.cit., p. 34.

³ Dimaras, A. (1974). op. cit., p. μα’.

⁴ Papadaki, L. (2007). op.cit., p. 101.

⁵ An introduction, M. Triantafylidis, Ten years (1921). op.cit., 9.

⁶ Kontakos, A. (2007). Chronology of Education History. Galatsi: Atrapos, p. 196.

⁷ Mpouzakis, S. (2006). op. cit., p. 74.

⁸ Dragoumi, J. (1919a). op.cit.

⁹ Ewald, K. (1915). op.cit.

¹⁰ Delta, P. (1915). op.cit.

¹¹ Lefkoparidis, X. (Ed.). (1997). op.cit., p. 314; Orfanou, A. (2016). *Fairy tales from Madagascar*. Athens: Apopeira, p. 175.

¹² *History of the Greek Nation* (Tom. 15). (2008). Athens: Ekdotike Athenon.

¹³ Ewald, K. (1913). op.cit.

¹⁴ *History of the Greek Nation* (Tom. 15). (2008). op.cit.

tempted to eat the worm so that it can never be created a climate of trust between them. It also presents the power of many worms that dig all together under a dilapidated house so managed to break down the house and the nest of the stork. The fourth fairy tale, *The cuckoo* tells the little cuckoo' story. It grows in the nest of the orioles, which loved the little cuckoo. But the little cuckoo killed every little oriole born of the two orioles. Finally, the fifth fairy tale, *Four Friends*, presents the paradoxical friendship of a petrochelidono¹, a moth, a mouse and a hedgehog. Their friendship was difficult as the animals wanted to eat each other. As the hedgehog goes to eat the mouse, the petrochelidono threw the hedgehog with the mouse in the water and then ate the moth. At the end only the petrochelidono survived. Through the stories of animals presented in fairy tales, the author gives us information about their physiology and describes nature in the four seasons of the year². It is argued that in K. Ewald's work "wild forests, wind and water, the whole universe, take life [...]. Above all the wrestling, the play of natural forces and the inner harmony of the world clearly stands out."³

The Danish writer of the fairy tales and the Greek translator worked as educators. Karl Ewald was born in 1856 in Bredelykke, near the Gramm of Schleswig. In 1864, when the Germans captured his hometown, he moved to Copenhagen with his family. There he lived and studied philosophy. He worked for one year as a schoolteacher. He attended forestry courses at the Copenhagen Higher Agricultural School. A long-term illness forced him to stop his studies. He worked as a professor at various schools in the Danish capital and in 1880 took over the management of a school. In 1883, he resigned and devoted himself to literature and journalism until he died, in 1908. He published in 1882, in Copenhagen the first volume of his *Fairy tales*, which established his great reputation. The great spread of his work to the public has contributed to the development of school and family education. By order of the Ministry of Education in Denmark, many of his fairy tales have been introduced in schools. His books have been translated into England, America, Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany and many other countries. Apart from *fairy tales*, he has also written modern short stories, comedies and historical novels⁴. The translator of fairy tales A. Delmouzos (1880 Amfissa - 1956 Athens) graduated from the University of Athens Philosophical School and studied Psychology and Pedagogy at the Leipzig and Jena universities. He was a keen supporter of the spread of demotic language in education⁵. Prominent Member of the Istanbul's *Aderfato* and the *Educational Association* as we saw above. He was a follower of Labor School (Arbeitschule) and considered that education should be based on contemporary modern Greek reality with the main purpose of shaping people with moral and self-evident character⁶. He believed in a child-centered school tailored to the needs and interests of children that would emphasize emotional education⁷.

2.2. "Fairy Tales and Others" (1915) of Penelope Delta

An innovative author of children's books in demotic language⁸, P. Delta (1874-1941) has been a member of the *Aderfato*⁹ and the *Educational Association* from the prominent¹⁰. P. Delta along with Ion Dragoumis cultivated the calendar as a literary genre. In her diary, she notes:¹¹ "In the garden, our speech is the burning issue of the time, the linguistic. For us, the young followers of the demotic language, the demotic is a common link [...]. We all know each other. We collaborate, we correspond, even without personal acquaintance¹². Within the "Movement for the spread of the demotic in education" a group feeling was developed¹³.

The first followers of the demotic language seem to be concerned with the syntax and the grammar that they should use, as we see from their correspondence. P. Delta on the issue of language seems to work mainly with M. Triantafyllidis. She wrote to A. Delmouzos in January 1910: "If you are not so busy, I will ask you some advice about the linguistic rules. [...] I will send you a symbolic fairy tale before I print, telling me if this time the language is quite good, but you do not have time and the fairy tale is too long. I might send the essays to Mr. Triantafyllidis (who is also mediocre about the language) to tell me what it is good to keep from the rules of katharevousa and what to give up"¹⁴. M. Triantafyllidis wrote on 10 January 1910 from St Morris to P.

¹ *Apus apus*.

² Ewald, K. (1915). op.cit.

³ Ewald, K. (n.d.). *Mother Nature narrates Books for Young People 2*. Adaptation by D. Zissis. Athens: Direction Antigoni Metaxa, pp. 9-10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

⁵ Kontakos, A. (2007). op.cit., p. 196.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁷ Mpampalis, Th. (2014). From treatment to education. *Zephyri: Diadrasi*, pp. 198-202.

⁸ Vitti, M. (2008). op.cit., p. 360.

⁹ Papakostas, G. (2000). op. cit., p. 267.

¹⁰ Dimaras, A. (1994). op. cit., p. 101.

¹¹ Vitti, M. (2008). op.cit., p. 360.

¹² Delta, P. (2007). *Memories 1940*. Athens: Hermes, p. 114.

¹³ Terzis, N. (2010). op.cit., p. 295.

¹⁴ Lefkoparidis, X. (Ed.). (1997). op.cit., pp. 204-205.

Delta: "Generally the tongue is quite flowing [...] it was not easy. [...] My eyes [...] only a typographical error discovered. Again, I congratulate you of my heart"¹. On July 1910, P. Delta writes to A. Delmouzos: "I send the typed sheets for the new fairy tale to Mr. Triantafyllidis. I hope you received them. The first press sheet is not corrected by the same system; but from then on, it was corrected by Mr. Triantaphyllides"².

The *Fairy tales and Others*, first published in 1915, included short stories and four fairy tales: a) The first titled *As a Fairy tale*, is only a few paragraphs. The steel freezes around the heart of the princess and her heart marbled. b) A similar difficulty with her heart and her feelings also has the princess in the fairy tale *The Heart of the Princess*. In the baptism of the princess, a fairy said, "I will protect her from life and from all regrets. My name is Fate, and I want this daughter never to cry." And then she took the heart of the princess, put it in a box and locked. The last fairy, Zoe gave the princess a key and said that she would be able to regain her heart if she wanted it. The princess decides to go to find her heart locked on a rough mountain in order to know the pain of the life. At the end, she manages to save her kingdom from the danger, marries the prince who loved and offers her help to the poor and the sad³. P. Delta referring to *The Heart of the Princess*, in May 1909, writes to K. Palamas "Writing this narrative [*For the homeland*] and another story book that will be printed together, I read it a little to my children, and according to whether they made judgments, whether the narration was not clear enough, or that it was too short and sharp, I changed it and I adapted it at the level of their mind"⁴. In July 1910, K. Palamas wrote to P. Delta: "Your new fairy tale does not have the freshness and poetry of *The Heart of the Princess*, but it gives birth to another kind of emotion."⁵ P. Delta wrote to A. Eftaliotis in January 1910: "And you and Mr. Palamas, you write to me that you loved *The Heart of the Princess*, and yet that too is an allegorical fairy tale."⁶ Different opinion from K. Palamas expresses M. Triantaphyllidis. In a letter from St Morris on January 10, 1910, to P. Delta, he commented: "It is excellent the book *For the homeland* and it deserves to be part of the *Educational Association Children's Library*. I imagine *The Heart of the Princess* is less important. It is suitable for the older children, and it seems to me a little boring, so to be fascinating and sometimes difficult to understand."⁷ c) The *Three Princesses* narrated the story of the king with the three daughters, Mavromata, Xanthomalousa and Lygeri. The three sisters manage their relationship with their parent family and their emotional relationships, in their own way. The first and the third daughters married while the second, Lygeri decided to stay with her parents. d) *The New Year's fairy tale* presents the parallel stories of two children, a poor and a wealthy, who have the same name of Vassiliis, both die the New Year, the poor and the orphan from cold and hunger and rich in disease⁸.

It is argued that the book *Fairy tales and Others* closes the early writing period of P. Delta. Its theme is between Greek nationality and morality. It is estimated that this work is a delayed Greek version of the European apprenticeship-education novel with a historical and fairy tale character. This kind, in the context of the Greek liberal bourgeois ideology, it is developed in the early 20th century and is marked by the Balkan Wars and World War I, is trying to create a "belief in the potential of new Hellenism"⁹.

2.3. "The bored frog and other stories" (1919) by Julia Dragoumi

Julia Paspatis-Dragoumi (1858-1937) was born in Istanbul. Due to her father's work associated with Rallis businesses, she moved with her family to Liverpool where she lived in her childhood. In 1882, she married Dimitrios Dragoumis and settled in Greece. He lived mainly between Athens and the island of Poros¹⁰. Julia Dragoumi asked to be a member of the *Educational Association* in January 1918¹¹. A year later, in 1919, she published *The Bored Frog and Other Stories*¹² within *Educational Association Children's Library*. The book contains:

- post-narration of Aesop's Fables¹³, such as *The Two Mice* and *The Wolf and the Lamb*, *The Lion and the Sphinx*.

¹ Ibid., p. 318.

² Ibid., p. 217.

³ Delta, P. (1915). op.cit.

⁴ Lefkoparidis, X. (Ed.). (1997). op.cit., p. 22.

⁵ Ibid., p. 33.

⁶ Ibid., p. 131.

⁷ Ibid., p. 318.

⁸ Delta, P. (1915). op.cit.

⁹ Georgiou, Ch. (2010). *The Contribution of New Pedagogical Perspectives and Educational Reforms to the Formation of Children's Book in Greece in the Interwar Period.* (Doctoral Thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Pedagogical School of Primary Education). Thessaloniki, p. 295.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp 289-294.

¹¹ Dimaras, A. (1994). op.cit., p. 101.

¹² Dragoumi, J. (1919a). op.cit.

¹³ Georgiou, Ch. (2010). op.cit., p. 292.

- post-narration of classical fairy tales¹ such as *The Three Pinks* of Grimm.
- Folktales like fairy tales *Eat and do not overeat, And the donkey goes riding*.
- Modern original stories such as *The bored Frog and other stories*
- Short stories such as *The last candy, The Tromaras, The Wooden Horse, Please, In the Snow*.

The theme of the collection covers the cognitive content of natural, ecological and social interest² and aims at social moralizing indirectly with the “pedagogical pattern of natural and logical consequences” that avoids direct teaching³.

3. Main issues of the editorial series “Educational Association Children’s Library”

The following thematic analysis was based on the following texts to identify the target themes of the “Children’s Educational Association Library” series: a) In the *Bulletin of the Educational Association: The Educational Association Children’s Library* presented in the *Bulletin of the Educational Association* in 1913⁴. In 1921, the *Bulletin of the Educational Association* according to the ten-year review of the Association reports that it had published eight books of the *Educational Association Children’s Library*⁵. b) The eight books issued by the series. The text titled “Books for Greek children written in their language” that accompanies all the books in the series⁶.

The main themes are the introduction of the demotic language in education, the Greek nationalism and topics related to further educational issues:

Nationalism: A. Dimaras points out that, mainly after the Greek-Turkish war of 1897, nationalism was felt as a result of many manifestations in the education field⁷. The *Bulletin of the Educational Association*, in 1913, writes that the children’s books will be original Greek stories or foreign classical works in translations or adaptations adapted to the children of Greece⁸. It is important to notice that the title of the text that presents to the public the book series *Educational Association Children’s Library* is “Books about Greek children”⁹ and the books draw their inspiration from national life,¹⁰ “from the modern or the past”¹¹. Especially, The diachronic dimension of the Greek nation is served by the *Old Time Stories, Perseus, Persephone* of Lili Zarifi. The Byzantine and the recent national past until the national revolution are served by the book of P. Delta *For the Homeland* and G. Vlachogiannis *Great Years*. Modern Greek folk culture was represented by Adam’s narrative short stories *From my village*¹². The book *All together*, by J. Dragoumi, “culturally, geographically and historically, reflected the new Greek demand, as expressed the programmatic principles of the *Educational Association*”¹³. The fairy tales of the series do not refer to the Greek nationality. Only *The heart of the princess* presents the princess ready to sacrifice in order to save her kingdom and presents as an ideal the love for the homeland¹⁴. This fairy tale was published in a luxurious edition in London with P. Delta’s *For Homeland*¹⁵.

Demotic language in education: It is obvious that it is the subject that dominated issue is the diffusion of the demotic language in education, with political-social extensions¹⁶. Every book of the *Educational Association Children’s Library* is accompanied by the text: “Books for Greek children written in their own language”¹⁷. In 1913, the *Bulletin of the Educational Association* wrote that the *Children’s Library* aimed to publish books for fun, useful, written in the demotic language that were hard to find in the Greek book market¹⁸. In particular, the language guidelines of the *Educational Association Children’s Library* were the following: “In

¹ Ibid., p. 292.

² Ibid., p. 292.

³ Ibid., p. 293.

⁴ An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1913). op.cit., 334-335.

⁵ An introduction, M. Triantafylidis, Ten years (1921). op.cit., 8-9.

⁶ See, E.g. Ewald, K. (1915). op.cit.

⁷ Dimaras, A. (1974). op.cit., p. κδ’.

⁸ An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1913). op.cit., 335.

⁹ See, e.g. Ewald, K. (1915). op.cit.

¹⁰ An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1913). op.cit., 335.

¹¹ An introduction, M. Triantafylidis, Ten years (1921). op.cit., 8-9.

¹² Georgiou, Ch. (2010). op.cit., p. 235.

¹³ Georgiou, Ch. (2010). op.cit., p. 291.

¹⁴ Delta, P. (1915). op.cit.

¹⁵ Delta, PS (n.d.). *For the homeland, The heart of the princess*. London: GC Veloni Printing House.

¹⁶ Dimaras, A. (1974). op.cit., p. κζ’.

¹⁷ See, Ewald, K. (1915). op.cit., p. 85.

¹⁸ An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1913). op.cit., 334.

terms of language and spelling, uniformity and adaptation to formal school spelling was preferred, because the need was the children's book and the school, to spread one common type of writing¹. This uniformity was needed and easier in books for younger children of eight and ten years old. Books for older children did not dogmatically apply the uniformity to language formulas, but it was not necessary in books for children aged 12 to 15². In this context, we see that even the folktale hosted in the *Educational Association Children's Library* has undergone a language processing in order to serve the need for linguistic uniformity.

Further educational issues promoted:

a) *the reading*: in 1921, the *Bulletin of the Educational Association* states that the aim is to familiarize children with reading books with literary value³ and reports that⁴: "One of the greatest needs was, from the outset, the publication of a series of children's books that would allow young readers to love the book from an earlier age and understand its value"⁵. The *Children's Library* was framed according to her program "with original works or translations and adaptations, all written in the demotic language. Here we had the valuable help of the ladies, Mrs. Delta, Mrs. Dragoumi, Mrs. Zarifi, and we printed eight different books in six years"⁶. The fairy tales of the *Children's Library* have been carefully chosen.

b) *the knowledge*: In 1913, the *Bulletin of the Educational Association* indicated that the *Children's Library* was intended to educate all Greek children. The *Association* considered that the education provided to the children by the Greek school was insufficient in either the historical-philological or the natural world⁷. The review of the *Bulletin of the Educational Association* (1921) points out that the *Children's Library* books draw their theme from the "so neglected natural world"⁸. A. Dimaras also points out the need in education for a shift towards science during that period⁹. The *Fairy tales* of K. Ewald¹⁰ and some fairy tales of the collection *The Bored Frog and Other Stories*, e.g. the fairy tale *The Leaves of the Trees*¹¹ offer knowledge of the natural world.

c) *the spiritual development*: In 1913, the *Bulletin of the Educational Association* stated that the *Children's Library* aimed at educating all Greek children as the *Association* considered that the education provided to children by the Greek school was not sufficient "neither in intellectual development, observation, critical thinking, imagination"¹².

d) *the ethics*: In 1913, the *Bulletin of the Educational Association* indicated that the *Children's Library* was meant to educate all Greek children as the *Association* considered that the education provided to children by the Greek school was not sufficient in ethics¹³. In the case of *All Together* of J. Dragoumi, we could talk about social morality in the context of a bourgeois system of values that prefers team spirit, social contribution and solidarity¹⁴. The fairy tale of K. Ewald *The Corals* projects the work of corals¹⁵. We note that for the translator A. Delmouzos the team work and the cultivation of social virtue was of great importance, but without being at the expense of the individual personality¹⁶. Generally, in the fairy tales of P. Delta and J. Dragoumi we distinguish a "grid of legal and political values that legitimized the establishment of the bourgeois state" an ideological framework similar to that of the new language textbooks¹⁷. An ideological framework consistent with the bourgeois revolutions that shook the Ottoman Empire (1908) and Greece (1909) at the end of the first decade of the 20th century¹⁸.

Discussion

It is noted that one of the basic principles of the movement for the introduction of the demotic language in education was the

¹ Ibid., p. 336.

² Ibid., p. 336.

³ Ibid., p. 335.

⁴ An introduction, M. Triantafylidis, *Ten years* (1921). op.cit., 5-26.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁷ An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1913). op.cit., 334.

⁸ An introduction, M. Triantafylidis, *Ten years* (1921). op.cit., 8-9.

⁹ Dimaras, A. (1974). op.cit., p. κθ'.

¹⁰ Ewald, K. (1915). op.cit.

¹¹ Dragoumi, J. (1919a). op.cit.

¹² An introduction, the work of the Educational Association (1913). op.cit., 334.

¹³ Ibid., p. 334.

¹⁴ Georgiou, Ch. (2010). op.cit., p. 290.

¹⁵ Ewald, K. (1915). op.cit.,

¹⁶ Mpampalis, Th. (2014). op.cit., pp. 198-202.

¹⁷ Papadaki, L. (2007). op.cit., p. 100.

¹⁸ *History of the Greek Nation* (Tom. 14). (2000). Athens: Ekdotike Athenon.

belief in the pedagogical value of fairy tales. That is expressed by the publication of the fairy tales in the *Educational Association Children's Library*¹. "The *Educational Association* in his *Statute* was dealing with the fairy tale as part of the popular Greek tradition that was to be displayed but also as a means of spreading the use of demotic language. More specifically, the following are listed in the Association's *Statute*: *Modern Greek tradition, folk songs, fairy tales, legends, proverbs, modern Greek customs and the various ways of life, the art, and the first, lively language and creative literature. This genuine modern Greek world must become the foundation of our education*"². "As early as December 1909, M. Triantaphyllidis appreciated that: Today we have the *Traditions* of Politis and a few other fairy tales in magazines and newspapers, with that someone could have made one beautiful collection for children"³. The theme of popular fairy tales was a keen concern for the circle of people who were the founding and prominent members of the *Aderfato of National Language* and the *Educational Association*. From Frankfurt, May 14/27, 1910, P. Delta wrote to A. Delmouzos: "Mr. Triantaphyllidis send me the letter you wrote to him on 29 April, and I saw you talk about folktales. [...] You found Greek folktales that could be corrected for children? But how did you find them? I have the collection of Politis, A' and B' volumes, but I haven't found anything, nothing that could be corrected for children. Everything is either dirty, or shameless or messy. I would be very obliged if you told me where I could find the tales you mentioned"⁴. From the above, we see a mood of censorship of folktales in the issue of moral values. We have seen that bourgeois values and nationalism prevailed. The need to correct fairy tales assumes changes in the language for both the *Educational Association Children's Library* and the school books, in order to produce a uniform language that follows a school grammar and syntax. It is pointed out that from the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the issue that will dominate "in the dispute over the educational issues is the linguistic. The different position in the form of modern Greek language that needs to become the language of the school expresses different views on the content of the education and the purpose of the educational system. But shifting the conversations from the deeper meaning, to a defined external feature, such as language, cannot easily be considered accidental or symptomatic"⁵. But in any case, as A. Delmouzos writes, the diffusion of the native language in education was a prerequisite for addressing illiteracy and for the spread of primary education: "It aroused us or crystallized our consciousness that the linguistic rebirth of the Greek people is a first necessary step for the revival of Greek education and society and first of an elementary school for all"⁶. According to the above, "founding prominent members of both the *Aderfato* and the *Educational Association* were particularly concerned with the fairy tales, which they considered to be an appropriate mean for spreading the Greek language and a valuable pedagogical tool. These fairy tales were translations, adaptations of folktales and classic fairy tales or creative writing"⁷. Within the editions of the *Educational Association* and despite the recognition of the importance of the folktale, as it is mentioned in its *Statute*, the weight is shifted from the folktales to the modern fairy tales.

In the first decade of the 20th century, the publications of fairy tales in Noumas, by the members of the *Aderfato* of Istanbul were in favor of the folktales and the classical fairy tales. But in the second decade of the 20th century (1913-1919), within the *Educational Association Children's Library*, the publications of fairy tales were characterized by a shift of interest from the folktales and the classic fairy tales into the contemporary literary creation of fairy tales. The fairy tales of K. Ewald and of P. Delta fall under the contemporary writing. In the collection *The bored frog and other stories* of J. Dragoumi intended for young children, the folktales and the classic fairy tales have little representation. Also, it should be noted that the *Educational Association Children's Library* used the translation and adaptation of foreign works, but gave the opportunity to Greek writers to create modern fairy tales. The fairy tale has as well its own contribution to the achievement of the educational policy aims: use of the demotic language in education, facilitate the dissemination of primary education to all, greater penetration of the Greek education in the Ottoman Empire, diffusion of the values of the rising bourgeoisie, which after the bourgeois revolutions in the Ottoman Empire (1908) and in Greece (1909), begins to assert timidly the nomination in power. And lastly, in the fairy tales of the *Educational Association Children's Library* one can recognize elements that serve the 'klassische Reformpädagogik' that the leaders of the *Educational Association* wanted to diffuse to Greek education.

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³ Lefkoparidis, X. (Ed.). (1997). op.cit., p. 316; See, Orfanou, A. (2016). op.cit., pp. 177-178.

⁴ Lefkoparidis, X. (Ed.). (1997). op.cit., p. 214; See, Orfanou, A. (2016). op.cit., pp. 175-176.

⁵ Dimaras, A. (1974). op.cit., p. κζ'.

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Towards Culturally Responsive Education: A Qualitative Approach

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Abstract

By the year 2050, students of color will constitute 57 percent of students in the US (Karanja and Austin, 2014). However, research indicates that most pre-service teachers and even in-service teachers are not ready to teach in cross-cultural classrooms (Marx, 2006). As a result of de facto segregation, teacher candidates have very limited interaction with minority groups. Consequently, understanding the culture of students, using pertinent information in classrooms, and building rapport with the students become challenging issues in their teaching practices. As a response to these concerns, the proposed study aims to create educational models to help teacher candidates become more culturally competent throughout their teaching experiences. My information was gathered from interviews with people who work in public schools, nonprofit organizations, and universities in Florida, US. The findings of this study indicate that social (poverty, racism) and ontological (i.e., teachers' and students' dispositions) issues influence teachers' and students' experiences in classrooms. How teacher candidates perceive educational disparities, racism, and equity traps and respond to them affect the teacher/student relationships and underprivileged students' educational attainment. The findings suggest that teacher education programs need teacher candidates who are knowledgeable about historical and cultural forms of oppression and their effect on students' educational attainment. Discussing the achievement gap without analyzing its reasons from critical lenses only increases this gap and makes students of color internalize this deficit thinking. Finally, it is vital to find ways to attract teacher candidates from underrepresented groups as teachers of color provide more culturally competent discussions in classrooms.

Keywords: Culturally responsive education; Teacher Education Programs; US; Deficit Thinking; Teaching

Introduction

The United States is a highly multicultural country. According to Kauchak and Eggen (2008), 300 ethnic groups reside in the US. While the state categorizes its population into six groups (i.e., White, African-American, Native-American, Pacific Islander, Asian and Native Hawaiian), most Americans identify themselves with different ethnic groups, e.g., German 15.2%, Black 8.8%, Mexican 6.5%, Irish 10.8% (US Census Bureau, 2004). These numbers reflect students' profiles in classrooms. McFarland (2016) argues that there are approximately 4.9 million language minority students in US schools. By the year 2050, students of color will constitute 57 percent of students in the US (Karanja and Austin, 2014).

Contrary to the high number of diverse students in US schools, the teaching workforce consists of a relatively homogenous group: a large majority of teachers are White, middle-class, and female (Yearta, 2016). According to the National Teacher and Principal Survey (2016), "80 percent of all public school teachers were White, 9 percent were Hispanic, 7 percent were Black, and 2 percent were Asian during the 2015-16 school year." These figures have significant impact on the classroom environment. The "habitus" of the teachers (Bourdieu, 1989), such as their dispositions, identities, and tacit knowledge that they have learned throughout their socialization, affect their interaction with their students and the students' educational attainment. However, research indicates that most pre-service teachers and even in-service teachers are not ready to teach in cross-cultural classrooms (Marx, 2006). As McKenzie and Phillips (2016, p. 26) put it, "although a few of the teachers are being somewhat successful with their students, most are not."

As a result of de facto segregation and compartmentalization of lifestyles, teacher candidates have very limited interaction with minority groups. Most of the teacher candidates grew up and live in White neighborhoods, attended predominantly White schools, and have been taught by White teachers (DiAngelo and Sensoy, 2010). Consequently, understanding the

culture of students of color, using pertinent information in classrooms, and building rapport with the students become challenging issues in their teaching practices.

Similarly, Sensoy and DiAngelo (2014) argue that teachers' and students' positionality, self-identification, and cultural and class background influence learning and knowledge production. Including students' cultures in the curriculum, valuing their multiple identities (e.g., racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious) and their home cultures in classrooms and adopting meaningful and relevant educational models and instructional practices (such as multicultural literature and culturally relevant assignments) have positive effects on students' academic performance.

In this vein, teacher candidates should be culturally competent educators. They need to be responsible for learning cultural and social issues, the context of the society, power imbalances, educational/social disparities, and the effects of social and educational problems on students' academic success. Teacher candidates need to enter classrooms with the ability to think critically about their own identities (dominant and subordinate) and their position in relation to the minority groups and students in society. They are responsible for creating safe classrooms and making positive changes in educational settings by developing relevant cultural and educational models and implementing culturally relevant teaching practices.

As a response to these concerns, the proposed study aims to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the elements of cultural competence in education and create educational models to help teacher candidates become more culturally competent throughout their clinical experiences. This project aims to make positive social changes by concentrating on understanding the challenges of students, as well as hearing the voices of teachers in urban schools (Dana and Yendol-Hoppey, 2009).

Objectives

This project proposes to: (a) incorporate new knowledge about cultural competence in the teacher education programs; (b) generate pedagogical strategies, including skills and techniques, that will help the teacher candidates develop cultural competence in teacher education programs; and (c) foster social change by implementing relevant, meaningful educational tools for students of color.

Hypothesis

The research questions I pose are as follows:

What knowledge should teacher candidates have with regard to cultural competence?

How do teacher candidates acquire knowledge, skills, and techniques with regard to cultural competence over time?

What kind of cultural and educational models could be implemented to help the teacher candidates develop cultural competence while in teacher education programs?

How will the findings of this study affect research on teacher education?

1. Main Approaches Towards Cultural Competency

Cooke and Hill (2017, p. 1) describe developing skills of cultural competence as "a set of congruent behaviors, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system, agency or among professionals and enable that system, agency or those professions to work effectively in cross-cultural situations." In this regard, acquisition of cultural competence provides pre- and in-service teachers with *relevant knowledge* and skill sets to recognize and respond (Cooke and Hill, 2017) to destructive conditions that affect students who are economically, racially/ethnically, linguistically disadvantaged. Similarly, Pang (2017) defines culturally competent teaching as an educational approach that *values equity and social justice*. Finally, in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, Chomsky (1965) differentiates the notion of competence from performance. While Chomsky describes competence as the speaker's knowledge of his/her language, he defines performance as the actual use of language in concrete situations (Chomsky, 1965).

Based on these theoretical perspectives, cultural competence can be interpreted as the teacher's knowledge of the culture of his/her underprivileged students,¹ while performance can be described as the capacity of the teacher to use his/her cultural competence in the classroom, such as by applying culturally relevant and responsive teaching techniques. Therefore, in culturally competent education, competence/knowledge and performance/action should complement each other.

Concepts, examples, activities, and assignments chosen by the teacher determine the teacher's action in classroom, whether it is culturally competent or not. In culturally relevant education² "the underlying system of rules" (such as curriculum and lesson plans) should be set according to the realities of students of color. Therefore, culturally competent education should be seen as a multidimensional educational model that includes different elements of teaching such as curriculum, instructional techniques and student-teacher relationships (Dana and Yendol-Hoppey, 2008).

The examination of the terms competence and performance (or knowledge and action) leads us to further investigation of the notion of cultural competence in education. Culturally competent pedagogy, as an approach in education, draws upon various theoretical perspectives such as sociocultural theory and social justice education. Scholars who are proponents of these approaches consistently promote the significance of the cultural context in teaching and learning.

One of the important scholars in the area of culturally relevant pedagogy is Vygotsky, who developed the sociocultural theory of learning and discusses the importance of social interactions in students' cognitive development. According to this view, the nature of the cultural context is salient in the knowledge production process (Pang, 2017). Based on this theoretical perspective, it can be argued that culturally relevant instructional techniques could be created through students' knowledge of culture (such as stories, songs, and literature), interaction patterns, language practices, and learned skills (Lee, 2000). In this regard, for example, accepting the importance of storytelling in Native American students' learning and implementing some relevant and meaningful teaching activities such as discussing a Native American story in small groups would be seen as culturally competent education.

Social justice education is another substantial theory with regard to culturally responsive education. Some of the influential figures of this approach are Sensoy and DiAngelo. According to this perspective, equity and social justice should be made into significant components of culturally responsive education because the education institution, as a state apparatus (Althusser, 2014), teaches dominant values and norms while ignoring or forgetting about marginalized students' values and knowledge. With a social justice education focus, lesson plans should take into account marginalized students' cultural frames of reference and be organized to meet students' interests and expectations accordingly. For example, role playing can be a useful teaching technique to allow students to transmit their experiences and cultural background (Cheng, 1998). Learning the concepts that the students use in their everyday lives, exploring the context in which they live, and using this information in classrooms are the strategies of culturally competent education.

The essence of this approach is about respecting students' ethnic/racial background, their social and cultural capital, and their values and incorporating these issues into the school culture. This holistic approach also values students' community, including their families, and affirms reciprocal relationships (Pang, 2017). This in turn leads to culturally relevant, non-authoritarian, student-centered, meaning making processes.

Similarly, in *Culturally Responsive Teaching* (2010) Gay discusses that caring in education is one of the major elements of culturally responsive pedagogy in cross-cultural classrooms. Culturally responsive pedagogy is demonstrated in teachers' attitudes, expectations, and behaviors in regards to their students' performance and skills. It also entails challenging students to develop their potential and skills.

Gay (2010) discusses a research study on the elements of successful teaching in a predominantly African American urban elementary school. According to the findings of the study, students liked their teachers more as the teacher listened to and respected them and encouraged them to express their opinions. The research clearly indicates that students need to have

¹ In the US context, "underprivileged students" refers to students of color (such as Black, Native American, LatinX) as their identities have been devalued historically, culturally, and institutionally in society.

² Culturally competent pedagogy is used interchangeably with concepts such as culturally relevant education and culturally responsive teaching.

connections with their teachers. Reciprocal and empowering relationship between teachers and students is a determinant of effective teaching as well as an element of culturally responsive education.

As a response to this study, Gay reports that most teachers' attitudes towards their students of color is not very affirmative: "Racial biases, ethnic stereotyping, cultural ethnocentrism, and personal rejections cause teachers, who don't care, to devalue, demean, and even fear some African American, Latino, Native American, and Asian American students in their classrooms" (Gay, 2010, p. 20). These negative approaches have harmful effects on students' academic achievement. Racism in education, in this regard, should be explored as racism is a severe barrier to a safe classroom and culturally competent teaching.

Racism, as a form of oppression, perpetuates unequal distribution of resources and asymmetrical power relations between Whites and people of color. Systemic racism, as embedded in the structures of the state's institutions, works invisibly. Anti-racist education emphasizes the detrimental effects of systemic racism in education. It stresses that racism exists at schools where students of color are forced to assimilate into the dominant cultural values and conform to ethno-centric and Euro-centric social and educational norms and values (Sensoy and DiAngelo, 2012). Education, in this regard, reinforces injustices and inequalities rather than empowering students and providing upward mobility.

In addition to a Eurocentric curriculum, some teachers' discriminatory actions should be noted as another reason for the marginalization of students of color in classrooms. It is important to consider a teacher's ethnicity, class, gender, and ideological background to understand his/her perspective on students in the classroom. While there are multiple power dynamics in the classroom, generally a teacher's authority dominates students' dispositions, including their cultural and linguistic capital (Kayaalp, 2013). Dealing with teacher racism to promote culturally responsive pedagogy at schools is one of the most challenging issues for teacher education, as questioning one's own identity, their privileges and power is "deeply personal" (Marx, 2006). Questioning pre- and in-service teachers' White privilege leads to self-defense; denial; and feelings of anger, guilt, and confusion (Helms, 2003).

Confronting systemic racism in educational settings is very complicated, as it goes beyond challenging the individual belief system of the teacher. Confronting racism in the educational setting means interrogating a historical, cultural, and institutional system of oppression that operates in society on a daily basis. McKenzie and Phillips argue (2016, p. 36) that

the structural inequities of the present US were constructed and perpetuated on a history of racism that often disallows the historically marginalized racial groups to merely pull themselves up by individual effort and motivation in a system that has worked against them for centuries.

One of the problems of the cultural deficit theory is its own deficiency in explaining the inequalities in society. Cultural deficit theory explains academic failures of students of color through factors that are internal to students' identity (e.g., hard to teach) (Marx, 2006), while ignoring structural and systemic inequities such as racism, poverty in the US. According to this perspective, the students are responsible for their failures/success as they live in an egalitarian, meritocratic society in which everyone has equal access to resources regardless of their race, ethnicity, and class. However, as research indicates (Hurst, 2008; Ozlem and DiAngelo, 2012) people's social categories such as race, ethnicity, class, gender, determine their access to institutions, including their position, power, and privileges in society. In this vein, providing teacher candidates with knowledge about culturally responsive teaching in diverse schools is necessary. Through such knowledge and practices, pre- and in-service teachers should be able to recognize and respond to the equity traps in their teaching practices, understand what/how they are teaching (Dana and Yendol-Hoppey, 2009), and finally make their students' educational experiences more positive, relevant, and meaningful.

2. Research Design and Data Collection

In this study I adopted a qualitative approach. This approach enabled me to gather data in the form of interviews. Research indicates that interviews always comprise value judgment (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Therefore, the main problem is not whether an interview is "neutral," and "objective," but what kinds of judgment ("true" or "false") it involves and how "true" and "false" judgments are defined and divorced from each other.

Moreover, choices of methods and methodologies cannot be reduced simply to "pragmatic matters" (e.g., qualitative research as "subjective" and quantitative research as "objective"), since the choice of the methodology is a political action. In other words, the researcher's paradigm, his/her epistemological (what is the relationship between the inquirer and the

known?), ontological (what is the nature of reality?) and methodological (how do we know the world?) perspective shapes the entire research process (Denzin and Lincoln; 2005), from the relationship between the participants and the researcher to the results. As a result, despite its limitations and partial nature, interviews develop a refined analysis of subject matter, and thus they are salient knowledge production tools in a qualitative inquiry.

In my study I interviewed community and faculty members and teachers to explore their understanding of culturally competent pedagogy. Interviews were conducted from May 2018 to May 2019 with 12 people who work in public schools, nonprofit organizations, and two different universities in Florida (University of North Florida and University of South Florida). In addition to the structured interviews, I conducted a literature review focusing on the issues of cultural competence, teachers' racism, systemic racism, and social justice. I also analyzed secondary data, including College of Education and Human Services (COEHS) field syllabi and internship data collected by two faculty members in 2018.

Interview questions were clustered around three themes: 1) cultural competence; 2) incorporation of culturally relevant knowledge, techniques, and skills into the curriculum (field syllabi and lesson plans); and 3) ontological and cultural issues related to culturally responsive pedagogy (such as teacher and student identities and systemic racism).

3. Discussion

Cultural competence

Most participants explained cultural competence in relation to the concept of culture. They underlined the fact that culture is a complex issue with many dimensions. Helping teacher candidates understand the meaning of culture (such as the shared values, norms, customs in a society), and its aspects (material, immaterial culture and the invisible part of it) is necessary. As one of the participants, Amy¹, reports:

In different cultures there are different values and beliefs about time, and relationships. This is important partly because students begin to uncover that their ways of thinking really are not the only ways they are connected with parents, kids. It is not a deficit, rather people operate from different perspectives and dimensions of culture. And the most important part of it is the knowledge of themselves and their culture. That is, who am I, and who am I culturally? What does that mean, and how did this affect my life as well as my teaching? How is my culture different than the children I work with?

Amy emphasizes the danger of ethnocentrism, that is, the tendency to interpret other cultures from the perspective of one's own culture. Teacher candidates should learn that culture is not neutral. It is connected to the issues of power and privilege in society. Someone's position, values, and beliefs shape that person's understanding of his or her culture and other cultures. Therefore, understanding other cultures should start with the discovery of one's own identity. That is, the question of who I am and how I am connected to other cultures. Similarly, Gul argues:

[A] cultural competent teacher should recognize the default in the society, that is, the association of culture with White culture. The teacher should disrupt the dominant curriculum (e.g., which authors we use in classrooms). Also, the teacher needs to see culturally deficit perspectives and biases.

Also Alyssa discusses the mainstream values and norms in the curriculum and their effect on diverse students. Alyssa reports:

When it comes to the curriculum, it is very white, middle-class targeted. They don't know [her diverse students] Snow White, or other white fairytales. I ask myself, is this relevant to my class? Can I integrate their cultures into the curriculum? So they feel like they are wanted and important in my classroom. It is also important to be aware of lifestyle differences. My four Burmese students don't use beds. If I show them that this is the American bed, they would feel left out, and feel like an outsider. So we started an activity with a great resource called dollarstreet.com, where you can see homes from all over the world; it is so eye opening. It shows what people from that culture eat, where they sleep. So, we looked at this before we started the activity and we looked at different beds. They [the students] all knew that their bed might not look like an American one. We gave them the option to draw their own bed. It wasn't weird anymore because we just looked at 55 different types of beds. As an intern, think about this and being aware. So, I would say awareness.

¹ I used pseudonyms in this paper.

April's remarks echo those of Alyssa:

Reading should be related to their lives, and immigration experiences. We used a novel, *Esperanza Rising*, in my class. Occasionally they would use Spanish words in the novel. And instead of me reading aloud, I would let them [the students] read the Spanish parts. They know something. They want to read it. They want to be a part of it. They got to shine by reading Spanish parts.

The participants' accounts indicate the interrelationship between culture, cultural competence, and the teacher's understanding of his/her culture. Culturally competent teachers should critically analyze the dominant cultural values and determine ways to incorporate the rich culture and heritage of their students into the classroom and learning experience. Multicultural literature gives teacher candidates different perspectives and can empower their students.

Incorporation of culturally relevant knowledge, techniques, and skills into the curriculum

Knowing oneself and engaging in critical self-reflection are ways to acquire culturally relevant pedagogy. To be able to do self-reflection, however, some conditions should be met for teacher candidates: 1) an environment that fosters engaging conversations; 2) opportunities to work with diverse students in class; 3) support by teacher educators who push them to practice critical reflection and critical thinking; 4) practice in critical reading, so they can connect to the story and make assumptions and reflections that may lead them to start deeper conversations; 5) showing videos about cultural competence in education, and having them do case studies, and participating in role playing activities may give them the awareness to be more equitable.

The participants repeatedly emphasized the significance of making relationships with students and their community, including their family members, for successful culturally responsive teaching. Multiple field experiences are helpful with this, as teacher candidates cannot make connections with the students without knowing them. Therefore, some observational activities such as interviewing the students and asking questions about their lives can be helpful in building rapport. Field experiences can help them notice possible areas to develop in their cultural competence (such as who is participating and who is not) and get away from color-blind philosophy. This will help them understand the culture in their classrooms.

Similarly, the participants reported that teacher candidates need greater awareness of and consideration for the individual differences among students—such as class, gender, and religion, among many others—though they may belong to the same racial category. Also teacher candidates need to accommodate those differences in class. To do this, pre-service teachers need to create an individualized inventory (i.e., child history). They need to work one on one with each student, collect data about students, find the students' interests, and design a lesson plan factoring in each child. Teacher candidates need to listen to their students and learn what works for them.

Differentiated instruction can be another way to implement culturally responsive techniques in class (e.g., asking students which videos they like to watch). Similarly, October reports how she uses different teaching techniques in her classroom: "I teach math in two-three different ways. I know my students and give them tools and pieces. I use songs, colors."

Ontological and cultural issues related to culturally responsive pedagogy

The participants' accounts indicated that making teacher candidates understand their students' background and identities along cultural lines is vital in culturally competent pedagogy. How "acting out" or "bad behavior" is perceived and explained by teacher candidates could be related to their own identities and cultural background. It is the teacher educator's responsibility to ask critical questions—such as what is the bad behavior? How could that be connected to your values? --of teacher candidates to uncover the relationship between the candidate's own cultural values and his/her perceptions towards others' behaviors. McKenzie and Phillips (2017) discuss how most teacher candidates explain students' lack of motivation and the underperformance of students of color as something inherent to the students rather than making any critical analysis about the social and educational disparities in society. In this vein, it is significant to examine the COEHS Intern Data (2018) with regard to teacher candidates and their explanations about students who underperform at urban schools in Jacksonville.

According to the findings of the study, most teacher candidates report that home life—specifically a lack of parental involvement in students' academic lives—is the reason for students' academic failure. One of the interns reports: "students get caught up with the wrong crowd; drugs are readily available; their parents either don't care, can't care, or are in jail."

In another set of data based on a focus group study with the COEHS interns (2018), teacher candidates give different answers to the following question: What do you believe best explains the underperformance of students in high-need urban schools? Their answers included the following:

“lack of representation of teachers of color,”

“overly scripted curriculum- need a more engaging curriculum,”

“lack of resources,” and

“not enough assistance in classrooms.”

However, some of the candidates’ answers can be seen as examples of cultural deficit thinking:

“*partially genetics*,”

“*scared of students in urban school attitudes*,” and

“wasn’t a lot of strategies taught towards African American students.”

As explained in previous sections, teacher candidates’ identities shape their teaching practices and their interaction with their students. Teacher candidates who lack of multicultural understanding struggle in teaching in diverse urban schools, and they fail their students of color. Therefore, it is extremely important to build relationships with students during internships instead of focusing on technical aspects of teaching such as preparing lesson plans and using technology. In fact, participants October and Sam reported that teachers’ dispositions and values and the positive relationship between teachers and students are the key to culturally responsive teaching. Sam reports:

Number one issue in teaching profession is 80% of teachers are White, middle-class women. Ethnicity and race are important in teaching. Diversity should be the framework. [...] Traditional classes with power points do not work. It is about dispositions of the teacher. Check their dispositions about cultural competency. Some people are just vague [they are intentionally silent about diversity issues.]

Sam also noted that there should be multiple classes in the teacher education curriculum focused on diverse populations, such as refugees, gender, and religious diversity. Faculty members should be trained about cultural competence as well. Discussions on diversity and cultural competence should take place across the college. Similarly, October argues:

You should show yourself to your students. Show yourself as a person. Show some interests in them. Some teacher candidates just sit there [in the corner of the classroom] and the students sit in the center and they never get organic, open communication with the students. [...] We sell dreams. Teaching in urban schools is not for everyone.

October’s report indicates that teacher candidates should know about themselves, as well as the contextual, historical, and social realities of the US. She felt teacher candidates should do research on poverty, racism, and inequalities in the neighborhoods. They should understand that poverty is not a choice. Participant Nancy echoed the others on the effect of structural racism in Jacksonville, argues:

As a result of historical segregation and institutional racism, Jacksonville is very segregated, which is reflected in the housing market. I-95 is built on black neighborhoods to separate communities from each other. Most teacher candidates have never been exposed to these experiences and thoughts. Teachers need to understand the context, all social problems, racism, and marginalization. [...] Parents do care about their children. They want to get involved in their children’s education, they just don’t know how.

According to the participants, culturally competent pedagogy can be learned by helping the teacher candidates to better know themselves through self-reflection and auto-biographical work, as well as to better know others by getting to know the students, their lifestyles, their neighborhoods, their family and community. Becoming a culturally responsive teacher entails going off campus, meeting community members, and becoming aware of structural inequalities in society.

4. Conclusion

Teaching in a multicultural society is a complex issue. Teachers’ success is affected by numerous factors such as interpersonal skills and relevant teaching practices. There are also social (poverty, racism) and ontological (teachers’ and

students' dispositions) issues that influence teachers' and students' experiences in classrooms. How teacher candidates perceive educational disparities, racism, and equity traps and respond to them affect the teacher/student relationships and underprivileged students' educational attainment.

Blaming the students of color for their educational problems while ignoring the role of race, racism, and systemic and structural problems in society reproduces inequalities and educational disparities. Similarly, being unaware of cultural deficit thinking (e.g., being afraid of students of color, and color-blindness) widens the gap between teacher candidates and their students of color.

Teacher education programs need teacher candidates who are knowledgeable about historical and cultural forms of oppression and their effect on students' educational attainment. Discussing the achievement gap without analyzing its reasons from critical lenses only increases this gap and makes students of color internalize this deficit thinking. Teacher candidates who do not respect their students' ideas and their home culture cannot help students reach their potential. Teacher candidates need to recognize individual differences of their students. The curriculum should take into account different varieties of cultures and implement them in lesson plans and inventories. Offering a course on diversity is not sufficient in this regard. As McKenzie and Phillips (2016, p. 37) argue, "It will take a rigorous program designed to disrupt the mental models and behaviors that entangle us, taught by instructors that understand these traps and have the pedagogical skills."

In addition, consistent and collaborative work on cultural competence throughout teacher education programs is necessary. This inquiry needs an ongoing critical dialogue among the members of the college: faculty members, pre-service and in-service teachers, and their students. We need to be clear about the rationale of these dialogues. We need to do service-related work. We need to go out and get involved with the community. Local knowledge/s, including indigenous, culturally-based knowledge, are valuable educational resource for the university community, including teacher candidates (Dei, 2003).

Finally, it is vital to find ways to attract teacher candidates from underrepresented groups such as the Black, Latinx, and Native American communities, as teachers of color can provide more culturally competent discussions in the classroom. This will greatly help students of color who struggle or drop out of school because they have no role models in schools. Representation of minorities in educational settings has proven positive effects on students of color.

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Dispositions of Adults with Low Education Levels, and Who Haven't Returned to Formal Education, Towards Lifelong Learning

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Abstract

This study aims to determine how adults with low education levels perceive lifelong education by analysing a set of interconnected and complementary aspects. The methodological strategy focussed on a qualitative analysis based on semi-directive interviews of a biographical nature. Identifying the reasons for the abandonment of initial (formal) education and obstacles faced by these adults over time revealed a myriad of factors justifying their disengagement from available education offers. To understand the amplitude of a phenomenon that links lifelong learning, knowledge, literacy and education level, in situations of a non-return to formal education, the study involved an in-depth analysis of the dispositions of persons who have "remained outside" of this relation with learning.

Keywords: Lifelong learning, knowledge society, adults with a low education level, dispositions.

Introduction

The centrality conferred on knowledge and information synchronically transformed schooling into an essential resource and indicator of inequality(educational). Converted into a leitmotiv of resource inequalities (Therborn, 2006), or category inequalities (Massey, 2007) - expressed in unequal distributions of educational resources, threatens the realization of an equal opportunity assumption.

The concept of a knowledge society (Drücker, 1969), in spite of the discussions that it provoked, has in its genesis the speed of social change (Jarvis, 2004: 15). Thus, in order to deal with these deeper and more systematic changes (idem), schooling has been understood as a vehicle for full integration of citizens in societies, protecting individuals from situations of precariousness and marginalization. Formal education thus becomes part of the relevant to the process of creating conditions for the realization of lifelong learning (LLL), considered a necessary strategy for adapting to a changing society, happens at an unprecedented speed¹.

Objectives

The purpose of this exploratory study can be summed up in the need to outline the first lines for a deeper understanding of the relationship that low-educated adults have with education and lifelong learning. The questions that served as a guideline for this research were: to know the reasons why the active adult population (between the ages of 30 and 65) and low educated (covering levels of schooling between ISCED 1 and ISCED 2) did not attend adult education and training, or attended unsuccessfully; to explore their trajectories, exploring the different relationships that they establish through learning; understand what it means to live in society knowledge with low school qualifications; capture their perception about their non-participation in formal education / training modalities; understand if there are differences in the way of 'looking' at adult education and initial education, and identify them in the light of the interviewees' discourse.

Given what has been said, the analysis model presents as a central object the relationship of these adults with lifelong learning. Therefore, we sought to understand this relationship diachronically through their school trajectories, professional and training. The identification of its dispositions on education, adult education and training (AE) and Lifelong Learning (LLL) has been complemented by gathering information on its social origins and its proximity networks. Exploring the different views and expectations, held overreach one of its forms, it was tried to capture the experience of a distance with

¹ *Educação e Transformação social* (Enguita, 2007)

the formal education and the constraints felt in the day to day of those who have low levels of schooling and moves in the designated society of the knowledge. In order to observe these obstacles, Jarvis typology was used (Jarvis, 1992: 245).

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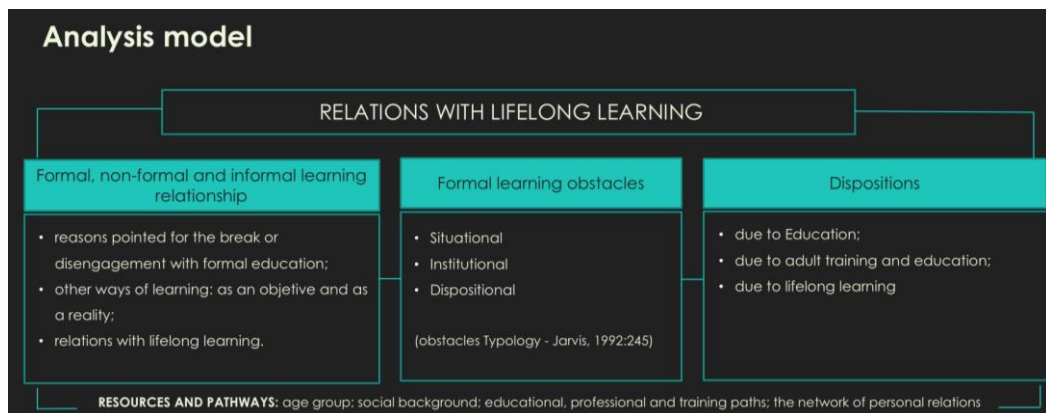


Figure 1 - analysis model (author)

Starting the research by the contextualization of the phenomenon in Portugal, through the results found in the second edition of the Adult Education Survey (AES)¹, it was possible to verify that, despite the existence of a significant increase between 2007 and 2011, there were adults who persistently did not participate in any activity of formal, non-formal and informal education (2007: 30,9%; 2011: 48,8%).

The social weight of schooling and the fact that other forms of learning depend on it (informal and non-formal)², making it an essential resource for LLL³, seems to contribute to the relevance of formal education. However, in Portugal, and despite the persistence of an adult population with low levels of schooling, of the 48, 8% who participated in LLL activities, only 16.6% of the population was involved in formal education activities (6, 5% did not have any level of education] (IEFA, 2011: 33-35).

Given their relevance, other research has sought to understand the relationship that low levels of schooling may have with other skills, such as *literacy*⁴. Previous studies have confirmed the existence of a relationship between levels of education and levels of literacy (Benavente, Rosa, Costa and Ávila, 1996; Ávila, 2008), confirming the existence of a "double" national handicap in the "race to knowledge". Literacy, multidimensional competence that has gained relevance in writing-dominated societies, translates into the ability to reflect/analyze reality critically, recognize emotions in a subjective sense, allowing

¹ Adult Education Survey (AES, 2011), Eurostat; In Portugal it is known as IEFA.

² National Qualifications Catalog: the relationship between schooling and access to non-formal education offerings; the relationship between schooling and other forms of education/learning present in the two editions of IEFA (2007/2011); the relationship between literacy and schooling in Ávila 2008.

³ IEFA 2011, p. 34: '... participation in lifelong learning activities is strongly influenced by the level of education of the population'.

⁴ Multidimensional concept (numeracy, digital/social skills, reading/writing skills, cognitive/affective, sociocultural/creative).

self-recognition/self-efficacy, active citizenship, and an encounter with knowledge¹. However, this knowledge, manipulated by individuals, forces them to decide, plan and reflect before making a decision, for which they only rely on their knowledge, and their ability to learn/adapt to a so-called learning society (Jarvis, 2004). Thus, literacy skills are now considered essential to find/maintain a job, to participate in the democratic system, to be an active consumer and to enjoy the benefits of digital/social/professional development.

Faced with this multidimensionality that reflects the relationship that individuals began to struggle with knowledge and education, some authors warned of the existence of individuals who have been marginalized (Field, 2006). Considering the limited availability of Adult Education and Training (EA) in the national education system, and the existence of a significant number of adults who have been 'on the sidelines', it is necessary to understand the place that this has occupied in the history of this system in Portugal². Rodrigues et al. (2014) refer to it as a subsystem of a second chance education. Wrapped in advances and setbacks of 'transitional' policies and measures, in a country facing a deep-seated skill/education deficit of its population, the conclusions point to a system whose response has been limited.

In the assimilation of the relationship of these poorly educated adults, who did not return to formal education, through lifelong learning, the multidimensionality of LLL was incorporated. In this way, to understand it, responding to the challenges that imbue the daily life of adults in today's societies, in order to find the genesis of their dispositions due to LLL, their school, vocational/training, proximity networks, and social origins were considered in the analysis.

Faced with the school trajectories, there was a need to understand the process of withdrawal from formal learning, as well as the constraints experienced in the daily life of those who have moved in the knowledge society with low levels of schooling. Thus, in order to capture the separation process, identifying the main barriers, the Jarvis typology distinguishes them in three groups: situational, institutional and dispositional obstacles (Jarvis, 1992: 245). Knowing the obstacles, visions, and expectations around these types of learning, allowed to verify significant differences in the way these adults see the EA and the initial (formal) education.

Brief methodological notes

Inserted in a comprehensive perspective, the pertinence of a qualitative methodological approach was considered, materialized through the in-depth interview, based on a chronological background. With a strong descriptive and interpretative dimension, two systems of theoretical-analytical concepts were used as resources, one initial and the other, which was summoned throughout the analysis. We opted for the total transcription of the interviews, analyzing them thematically and problematically. The content analysis was based on the (re) reading of the interviews and on the grids, enriching each dimension through the appropriation of the meanings transmitted by each interviewee.

As an exploratory qualitative study, twelve adults, from Torres Vedras, whose social origin was predominantly rural, were interviewed. Selected by the snowball technique, subjects were between 30 and 64 years old and had an education level between an incomplete ISCED 1 (<4 years) and ISCED 2. They were in different professional situations: unemployment/retirement, self-employed/employees and distributed in different activities: cleanings/agriculture, locksmithing/logistics, commerce, and industry.

Also considered to be relevant, as a complement to the analysis of the interviews, were the difficulties encountered in their implementation, namely situations of refusal. These situations occurred with less educated adults, in the approach/invitation to participate in the interview. Resistant to a possible evaluation, here interpreted as a defense strategy to deal with negative self-images, full of frailties and insecurities, the answer "I can't respond to nothing, I only have the 4th year (ISCED 1)!", seems to converge with the warning about the "shame of those who do not know", left by the EU High-Level Group of Experts on Literacy (2012).

Another aspect worthy of a reservation was the first interview, in which it was possible to verify that it had to be the more directive the lower the level of education of the interviewee, observing the need for an "external orientation" in the reflection on their trajectories. Therefore, the techniques were adjusted to the individuals, being reflected in a dynamic capable of enriching the analysis itself.

¹ EU High Level Group of Experts on Literacy (2012).

² Read the work of Capucha (2013).

The relationship of under-educated adults to formal education

Leaving school: leaving or dropping out?

In order to analyze the relationship with formal education, we tried to understand the reasons that were the origin of the rupture/withdrawal with the school.

The decision to leave school, despite having been lived differently in each one of the interviewees, was mostly associated with difficulties in learning, materialized in disapprovals and failures [negative evaluations] that discouraged them. This first conclusion, centered on the school trajectories of the adults, led the research to a more detailed understanding of the withdrawal, allowing to observe that, in all cases, it began long before it materialized.

Most school trajectories have revealed winding, negative and disapprovals paths [Seabra's school success measure unit, (2011: 82)], resulting in demotivation and lack of self-esteem. At the origin of the abandonment of formal education, these learning difficulties arose impregnated with self-responsibility in the face of failures, understood by these individuals as the result of their inability to learn:

Ana (64 years/ ISCED 1/cleanings): "[...] or the head did not ... I got it!";

Madalena (62 years/ISCED 1 incomplete/retired): "I do not know, it was stupid ... I did not learn enough!";

Mário (39 years old/incomplete ISCED 2/shopkeeper) "[...] was stupid [...] was to draw red, always";

This idea corroborated the existence of a meritocratic vision of education, deeply rooted in the premise that the future would depend on the merit of each one and that success/failure would result, first, from the merits of one's own student. In addition to failure (or its origin), negative experiences with the teacher and the school also determined the relationship with formal education:

Alfredo (41 years old / ISCED 1 / unemployed): "I did not like that ... it was a horrible environment [...] I was only there because I had to!";

Susana (54 years old/ISCED 2/Reformed): "[...] I never liked the school ... the school for me was a martyrdom!";

João (30 years old/ISCED 2/Storeman): "I did not like going to school at the time ... I remember well, the teacher was screaming a lot."

The warning about the multifactoriality of the reasons behind school drop-out is echoed in studies such as Benavente et al. (1994), Ferrão et al. (2000) cited in Ávila (2008). In Seabra (2010), one reads Bressoux to defend an analysis to the abandonment [rupture/withdrawal] able to privilege the combination of its multiple dimensions. From their contributions, the socio-economic conditions of families [educational resources, aspirations, projects against schooling] and the school experience were summoned in this analysis, which led to another essential point, the disadvantaged family contexts and the cost/benefit of the school against the call of the beginning of the professional life (idem).

At this point, we highlight the discussions of Bourdieu and Boudon on the mobilization of families in relation to the school (Seabra, 2010: 50). In an individualist/actionalist conception [concerning social inequalities] Boudon argued that the investment of families and students in schooling did not happen through internalization objective, but through the use of a rationality conditioned by its social position/class, based on a kind of cost/benefit type calculation (idem). This investment would, therefore, depend on its position and families and students would have a different estimate of costs/risks and benefits, determining their decisions about the school.

With a persistent problem of early school leaving, Portugal has been confronted cumulatively with challenges arising from the lag of the universalization of education and a labor market that is not very demanding in qualifications, attracting the young. Tânia Costa (2000) observed that dropout rates were more pronounced in rural areas, gaining expression in families with low levels of schooling, low incomes, and economic difficulties. In its origin, the author found on one side the role of a market that attracted young people and besieged them with the promise of financial autonomy, and on the other the presence of a school that has proved incapable of motivating them.

¹ The transcription of the interviewees' speeches respected the linguistic code of individuals.

In the research that illustrates this article, the majority of respondents belonged to poorly schooled rural families whose professions ranged from agricultural wage earners to self-employed workers. The school coexisted with other activities that served as a financial complement to the family [work in the field, housework, sewing or collaboration in the activity of the parents], making it cost-effective for the school to lose relevance. For most of the families of the interviewees, the integration of children into working life was a fundamental resource in family subsistence:

Madalena (62 years/ISCED 1 incomplete/ex-administrative of her husband's company), born in a village on the west coast and left the school by will and decision of her mother, after some disapprovals. She used to work while she was at school, and when she left, she started to work at sewing: *"We went to school and then when we left school ... the mother and father went to the farm and I had to put the food on the table [...] my mother took me when I was 12 years old [...] it was her who wanted me to learn to sew";*

Luis (50 years/ISCED 1/former driver), born in a village in the center, left school at the age of thirteen by the will and decision of the parents to go to work in the field: *"Parents also didn't allow it, they didn't have enough money ... it was "you already have a lot of work to do, you can't go to school, you have to go to work" [...] for the field, for the works [...] was to leave school and go to work soon.";*

Pedro (62 years/ISCED 1), left the school by parents' decision to help them financially, expressing the tension between their aspirations and the decision made: *"I left school and I was very sorry for not studying at the time, not going to school, but since my parents had a lot of trouble, I felt obliged to help them ";*

These testimonies expressed the presence of a conflict between the school [understood as a short-term project] and the work [guarantee and financial support of the family]. Considering it necessary to understand the relationship between these adults and the initial education, perceiving that it would translate into a withdrawal, the time of leaving the school, of each trajectory, was analyzed in light of the law that defined the level of compulsory schooling¹. In this way, it was concluded that only a few individuals had left school fulfilling compulsory schooling. Consequently, in most cases, the prevalence of breakdown/dropout [pre-completion of compulsory schooling] among family tensions prevailed.

The oscillation and tension found between the will of the parents and the will in the decision to leave the school also allowed to verify that when the rupture happened by his own will, the failure and the negative relation with the school functioned as "triggers" opening up the attraction for the labor market and the desire to access consumer goods not supported by households.

Sérgio (34 years/locksmith/ISCED 2 incomplete), born in a village on the west coast near the city, left school, after some disapprovals voluntarily to go to work, continuing the work that already coexisted with the school (help the father in electricity): *"I did the 9th grade, but I failed [...] did not want to repeat it ... my father is an electrician and he needed someone to help pull the wires ... that's where I started to enjoy working ... maybe 14/15 years old".*

Mário (30 years/ISCED 2 incomplete/Storeman), decided to leave school, contradicting parents, after some disapprovals, unmotivated and disintegrated, *"... I snorted once in the 8th and then went back to sinking in 9 ... I began to disperse because my colleagues were not the same, it was all younger people ... to start thinking about abandoning happened there. [...] who wanted to leave? I did! For my parents, it was the worst, but I would be upset too. "*

Alfredo (41 years/ISCED 1/industrial worker), gave up the school by his will, after three disapprovals and not liking it, contrary to his mother's will: *"I went to the preparatory cycle and I was there for 3 years because I didn't like it. My mother obliged me ... I didn't go to school, it was a terrible environment ... I hated being there!";*

However, in both situations, and according to Boudon (idem) in the cost/benefit calculation, economic resources overcame, since the educational resources symbolized obstacles to the autonomy processes.

Bruno (41 years/ISCED 2 incomplete/maintenance of swimming pools), left the school at his will to go to work: *"I wanted to go to work, to have my things, my parents did not need help, but I saw my friends with motorbikes and such things, and I began to want. Then I said, "I'll work by day and study at night!" [...] I did it for a year, but it wasn't enough, because studying at night is difficult ... I was always going to the cafe".*

¹ See Decree Law no. 85/2009, of August 27.

Within the singularities of the trajectories, there was a case where dropping out of school occurred as a consequence of the accumulation between school failure and a teenage pregnancy, indicating the need for an early transition into adult life. The case of Sónia (34 years/ISCED 1/unemployed > 12 months) can be summarized as follows: reproval-dating-withdrawal-return-pregnancy-marriage-abandonment:

"I went back to the 1st year of ISCED 1, I stayed behind and then I failed in 4th grade ... I went from fourth to fifth year (ISCED 1), after the 5th year to the 6th, then I reprovado again (ISCED 1) [...] I dropped out of school and started dating my son's father[...] I got to attend 7th year (ISCED 2), but then I didn't conclude it. So, that's how I ended up with only the 6th grade (ISCED 2) [...] Then, between the ages of 16 and 17, I got pregnant, and I got married at 18 [...] only after Diogo's birth I ended up for giving up the course".

Other cases similar to this can be read in the studies on young people and uncertain transitions, such as Guerreiro et al. (2004) and Alves et al. (2011).

Summarily, this study allowed us to verify that dropout occurred through different stresses: economic conditions, family, school, and society in general versus projects and expectations of these adults in relation to school/life. Capturing the internal dynamics of these tensions, it was observed that the cases of rupture by the will of the parents/family were accompanied by the disagreement of the individual, expressed through the recognition of the will to have remained in the school, since this would represent a vehicle for a better life. On the other hand, when the genesis of abandonment lay in the will of the individual, the tension resulted from the divergence of opinions about the school: oscillating between the perception of the family and society about a relationship between school progression and social mobility; and the representation of this same relationship as an obstacle to a faster process of autonomy for individuals.

The relationship with other learning contexts: individual strategies?

If in IEFA (2011) the operationalization of the LLL concept covered only formal and non-formal education, in its genesis¹ we are referred to formal, non-formal and informal learning processes, which in itself calls for a multiplicity of forms and contexts to be taken into account in their analysis, breaking with less comprehensive visions that only privilege certified apprenticeships in specialized entities (Ávila, 2008: 306).

In the scope of this research, and in this dimension of analysis, the more comprehensive conception of the LLL was assumed, making it possible, after observing the reasons that led to abandonment/withdrawal from formal education, to identify other forms of learning in the life trajectories of these adults. From this analysis, we find what has been called the "individual strategy" and which represents a selection of the type of learning to be used throughout the different stages of trajectories, supported by a conscious need to mobilize resources.

Non-formal education², commonly associated with the professional context, and informal learning³ integrated the trajectories of all the interviewees, although it was verified that the activities and resources used depended on the level of education and their situation at work. Regarding the relationship with informal learning and corroborating the results of the IEFA (2011) on participation in this type of activities⁴, the presence in the trajectories of all individuals was confirmed. For this group, the informal type of learning represented an accessible response to the needs imposed by the speed of social change, considered as an "*atomic bomb of technologies and new things*" (Susana/54 years/ISCED 2). However, in this relationship with learning the respondent valued individual characteristics as resources/tools for those who considered itself "learners": curiosity, self-learning, resourcefulness, and proactivity.

Alfredo (41 years/ISCED 1) made clear the presence of informal learning between "seeing-doing" and using his proximity networks (family/co-workers), or even self-learning, using manuals and of experience. Doesn't use the internet or computer, and with the mobile phone he has learned by trying and failing: "*Once I found two birds that I didn't knew ... but then I spoke*

¹ Memorandum for Lifelong Learning (2000).

² Developed in the job or in the free time to improve knowledge or skills: courses, professional context, private lessons, and workshops or seminars; doesn't confer equivalence to any level of schooling.

³ Proximity networks/internet/reading manuals or magazines, other social activities that translate learning used/transferred to and between the different life dimensions of these individuals.

⁴ It was attended by about two-thirds (66.9%) of the Portuguese population, between 18 and 69 years.

with a man who is a hunter and he said that they were the "dom fafe "... my uncle who was a fisherman taught me to tie fishhooks and that sort of thing ... had a very old manual";

Sérgio (34 years/ ISCED 2 incomplete), resistant to formal and non-formal education, based on the premise of 'needing work and not taking courses', has invariably turned to informal learning because, according to it, on his profession it was very important the experience and the ability to "unleash" itself. The Internet was the privileged resource for an autonomy process in their learning: "*... No, what I learned, I learned alone! [...] you do not need a course [...] because you have developed skills over the years [...] when I have doubts [...] nobody knows them, I come to the internet and that's where I find the answer*";

Madalena (62 years/ISCED 1 incomplete) presented an individual strategy based on continuous informal learning, driven by curiosity. His professional experience added to the characteristics which she considered to be the basis of her will to learn: "*They taught me and I learned sewing [...] On the computer, my son has been helping me [...] I am learning more with a kid that I have ... I asked, because I knew how to read, I understood what I read ...I am one of those people who, when I don't know, I ask [...] I like to know, I like to be explained ... it is important to learn and every day you are learning a little bit of everything*".

The relationship with non-formal education, mentioned by about half of the respondents, was inscribed in an obligatory relationship that did not always grant positive recognition. For the unemployed, it was imposed by the IEFP¹, for the assets the imposition was of the company and few assumed it as part of its "individual strategy". In Portugal, participation in non-formal education activities covered 39.6% of the population between 25 and 64 years (EU 27 countries - 38.4%), participation in higher educational levels was more significant and the employer was the main institution to prepare it or to empower it (IEFA, 2011). In the reasons mentioned for their participation, 33.2%² mentioned that they were obliged to participate.

In this study, we found individuals who, despite having participated, challenged the model used considering that the contents were below what they had to learn. Alfredo (41 years/ISCED 1/unemployed/industrial ex-employee in the automobile industry), participated in company formation and questioned the objectives of this learning: "*I had training, but I was a bit of a fool, because it was to see puppets about security and noises [...] and this kind of very basic things*";

Susana (54 years/ISCED 2/ retired/Electric Company ex- employee), performed different functions at the company, where she attended different types of non-formal education, reported on its disconnection and (in) utility: "*... I did formations that had nothing to do with the work I was doing. Were those formations that we were forced to go and that was not formation*."

However, other testimonies have recognized this form of education as being useful and necessary to improve their skills and to acquire new skills to operate professionally. Bruno (41 years/ISCED 2/swimming pool maintenance), was at the company where he worked, that he experienced his first contact with non-formal education, recognizing a major role for his professional experience: "*[...]every year I take a course to grow in the area ... learning between training and experience*".

The main difference between the two positions above illustrated was the decision to participate. Whenever participation took the form of external imposition, the relationship brought resistance and the devaluation of its usefulness and pertinence, whereas, when it was assumed by itself, to manage its career, it gained importance and recognition as learning.

In the interviewees who were unemployed and with lower levels of schooling, and that came across the IEFP³, had the perception of the recent processes of change that characterize the relationship between formal and non-formal education, sensing the effects of their exclusion. Non-formal education began to consider as a requirement of access the level of schooling of individuals, which has left behind the least educated, reinforcing one of the forms of social inequality associated with LLL.

¹ Institute for Employment and Vocational Training.

² IEFA brochure (2011: p.7).

³ With its guidance services for non-formal education modalities, according to the local offer and the Catalog National Qualifications (CNQ); Information that can be consulted at CNQ of ANQEP, I.P.

Pedro (62 years/ISCED 1), after farming, where he only learned the informal way, entered the field of automobile education experienced non-formal education: "*I'm going to take an instructor's license [...] was the last course already done with the 4th grade/ISCED 1 [...] from there, in the following course, it was already with the 6th grade [...] today they already require the ISCED 3*";

Luis (50 years/ SCED 1/unemployed), questioned about his participation in non-formal education modalities, which emerged through the Employment Center, let escape that access is differentiated, depending on the levels of education, fewer school resources, see restricted opportunities to learn: "*No, it was only for those who had up to the 4th class, those who had more studies went to another*".

The evidence collected in this study allowed us to support the idea defended by Jarvis and patent in the IEFA (2011), that the less educated, those in the most disadvantaged positions of the social hierarchy and also the older ones, are the ones that are farthest away of learning processes in adulthood (Jarvis, 1992: 242). At the same time, it was found that the presence of greater dependence or autonomy on the trajectories of the interviewees was directly associated with their educational levels and their ages, which in the case of the older and less educated adults accentuated these processes of exclusion and increased inequalities.

"Staying out" and the relationship with the knowledge society

The passage from the so-called "industrial society" to what some authors¹ considered to be a new era (a consequence of the service economy that preceded it), gave rise to a myriad of theses and proposals of different nomenclatures to form concepts that today seem vulgar: information society and / or knowledge society. These concepts translate new relationships between societies, individuals, information, knowledge, education and learning itself, about which some care in the analyzes directed at them is important and urgent.

António Costa (2012), recalls that in the last decades the enlargement and prolongation of the education of the population, as well as the rapid increase in formal qualifications, and their assimilation into economic and social activity, together with the other transformations already mentioned, have been driving social change. Understanding schooling as a relevant indicator in the multidimensional analysis of development has been attributed to the task of empowering individuals with the "skills" needed to keep up with the rapid pace of change, preparing individuals for full integration, fostering the idea of sustainable development of an economy that is increasingly taking place around knowledge and information.

Throughout the twentieth century, despite efforts to make the public system, through its policies, serve as a vehicle for ensuring greater social equality, focusing its attention on the school system and higher education, adult education was being left at the margin of a political consensus. This lack of consensus could help to understand such disparate and unequal national participation. In Field (2006), we see the organizations dedicated to adult education based on principles guiding the great social movements: autonomy; emancipation; democracy and human rights. However, the author also underlines the presence of skepticism based on the ability of schools to play their part, as they continue to see failures in large population groups. It has alerted us to the existence of high social expectations of how we seem to assume that those with whom we meet in everyday life are apt to deal with writing, reading, and numeracy, maintaining coherent conversations, forgetting that they are real competences for people who have received a higher quality schooling, a situation that, according to the same author, reinforces the gap between the older and more new ones (idem).

By analyzing the access and use of information, within the framework of the requirements introduced by these knowledge/information societies, this study allowed to observe that individuals with low levels of schooling revealed deficits in the necessary skills to identify, autonomously, i.e. opportunities. The testimony of Sonia (34 years/ISCED 1) is an example, the research on the internet proved unable to find compatible learning solutions. In other testimonies, there was a lack of knowledge about the current EA offers in Portugal (in addition to the '*Novas Oportunidades*' initiative, which expired in 2012).

On the day-to-day difficulties of those who have been excluded from formal education, the supra-referenced theoretical lines were corroborated, confirming that for individuals with schooling that was around ISCED 2 they were less-expressive, then for those with only ISCED 1. Thus, among the less educated interviewees, there were a number of difficulties that were embarrassing their lives, which resulted, in summary, in the lack of job opportunities and the lack of autonomy to use

¹ Robert Lane (1966); Daniel Bell (1973); Peter Drucker (1993); Nico Stehr (1994).

services in institutions considered essential in a society which has been responsible for the individual (e.g. Finance, Health ...).

Ana (64 years/ISCED 1), worked in the cleanings and her life was spent between the field and the cleanings. When she talks about her hard work life, she reflects on having lost other opportunities: *"now it's no longer worth it, I would like to find something else, but also schooling don't [...] only have the ISCED 1 (4th) [...] if I had more, maybe I could have chosen another job."* Other difficulties were experienced in tasks that depended on the computer (e.g. the issuance of financial payment guides, requests for exemption from social security) by resorting to their proximity networks - colleagues - to circumvent them; at home, they all had ISCED 1 and could not support it.

For Sofia (34 years/ISCED 1), the level of schooling also restricted access to job opportunities, summarizing them as precarious or seasonal offers: *"Many doors have closed because I only have ISCED 1 [...] I look for work, I go to restaurants ... I go everywhere, I look for [...] no arrangement, or what they pay it does not compensate [...] and this discourages me."*

Madalena (62 years/ ISCED 1 incomplete), although she said that her schooling was sufficient for the life she had until her retirement, she recognized the fragility of those who didn't complete the ISCED 1, especially in writing and speaking. *"so, I read I have no problems at all to read, now I say many nonsenses, because I can't speak, I can't write, because I make many mistakes."*

In the interviewees whose schooling approached the ISCED 2, the difficulties were felt in another way and in another type of skills, for example, the scarce knowledge of a foreign language (English) that compromised an autonomous use of the internet, a resource that they used with regularity in their professional contexts and leisure activities.

Mário (39 years/ ISCED 2 incomplete) "... the question of English would have helped a lot ... because what you do today on the internet, to research something, has to be English."

The results of this research underscored Field's contributions (2006:113), evidencing the existence of a gap between those who 'have' and those who 'haven't' educational resources, aggravating it when it is perceived that it is more likely for those who are already 'rich in knowledge' to expand their learning/skills, leaving behind the most 'disadvantaged' prisoners of dependency networks to move and adapt, leaving aside a large number of opportunities, which extend beyond the world of work.

It should be stressed that these difficulties must reflect the limits of informal learning, which is insufficient to give the under-educated adults the skills necessary to reduce social inequalities and to integrate into a reality increasingly structured by knowledge and information.

Obstacles to formal learning: situational, institutional and dispositional

Regarding non-participation in education and training activities, IEFA (2011, p. 33- 79) revealed that 51.2 % of the population between the ages of 18 and 69 didn't participate in education and training activities (formal and non-formal), and 21.9 % didn't participate in any kind of education, training, and (informal) learning. The results of the IEFA (2011) left open the will to know the reasons for the two segments that participated: those who did not participate but would like to have participated (7.8 %) and those who did not participate and did not wish to participate in education or training (43.5 %). The existence of 33.9% who participated and did not want to participate more also left unanswered questions. Of the reasons there, the lack of time was indicated as one of the main obstacles to learning (45.8 %), preceded by the lack of training offer (15.3 %). The financial reasons, associated with the cost (14.7 %) and, finally, family responsibilities (11.5 %).

In this dimension, it was tried to identify the obstacles that were determining the withdraw of these adults from formal education, after the exit of the school. The alert for the need to look at this participation in education/training as something that doesn't depend only on the motivation/intention of the adults, because it also depends on their life paths and their position occupied in the social system, was in Jarvis (1992:242). In its typology on the obstacles to participation in non-formal learning - situational factors; institutional and dispositional - he explained the possibility of articulation between them. Situational factors were related to professional and family life, while institutional factors referred to the existing offer and its disclosure. The attitudes of individuals to the frequency of training actions were the dispositional factors (Jarvis, 1992: 245). In the case of low-schooling adults, this combination of factors was also found, so that non-participation in formal education could be dependent on the lack of objective conditions, especially on the part of employers(which encourage and enable the registration of these practices); of institutional offers are considered insufficient or inadequate (time, location, model);

or personal dispositions in relation to education/training are negative, leaving receive previous unsuccessful school experiences, such as those that have already been described here (Ávila, 2008).

In all the speeches of these interviewees were found, cumulatively, situational, institutional and dispositional factors. In the situational factors, the role of the professional context and the family as determinant forces for the (non) participation in formal education, either by the type of functions (different levels of complexity, devaluation of formal certification), or by the existence of tensions in the compatibility of different dimensions of the life of the individuals (work, family and other activities).

Situational and dispositional factors

Ana (64 years/ISCED 1), began to work in sewing, then in industry and agriculture. She was currently working in the cleanings. The main obstacle to returning to formal education was the fact that she had not had time to think about it and that the activities she had developed had not made her feel that it was worth investing in schooling "*I never thought it, because either I was in country, or I was housekeeping*";

Alfredo (41 years) started working in a car workshop, then went to a factory, left and went to an electrometallurgy where he worked as an assistant to a CNC¹ operator. (19) Later he worked as an assembler of pieces 3rd in a factory of automotive components. He never felt the need to improve his schooling because he considered it sufficient for the jobs he was arranging. "*I didn't need more ... it was all manual labor, because I like to do manual labor, so I didn't feel this difficulty*";

Sergio (34 years/ISCED 2 incomplete), always worked with his father, so schooling was not important, he just needed to show what he knew "doing". Their priority was to be professionally integrated. The justification for not resuming formal education processes was the absence of a request/requirement of any certificate: "*they say that I don't need it, because it is enough for people to see me do things*".

Bela (50 years/ISCED 1), her first job was to "serve"² and the professional career was little diversified, inhibiting the need to increase her schooling. It revealed certain conformity, reflected in the idea of naturalization of the place/position occupied, arguing that in society there must also be people who perform those functions. "*Not. I thought it might be a little late, but I figured there had to be people doing the work I do, too*";

Ramiro (62 years/ISCED 1), knew the offers for adults but never had time to think about them, because of work. Being unemployed he considered that the offers were for who had the time and could. He would not be able to survive on unemployment benefit alone, and he would have to devote time to agriculture and animal husbandry: "*my job didn't give me the opportunity to study because I got up at 6:30 in the morning, and only came home around 11:00 pm [...] is for those who have available times [...] for Who has nothing else to do.*"

The tensions between reconciling a "return to school" and family life were also present in the above-mentioned obstacles:

Mário (39 years old / ISCED 2 incomplete): "*The fact that I am having this conversation here ... makes my wife have to be at her mother's house with her two daughters and give them dinner there [...] when I leave work ... I can't go to school.*"

The dispositional factors, found in most respondents, did not always reflect the negative view of education and training as a consequence of previous experiences, but converged with the idea of willingness as a "manifestation of will," to act and to believe (Lahire, 2005), adding to the motives presented, judgments about their usefulness, necessity and place, as a non-integral part of their personal projects in the short, medium and long term. They have been scattered in arguments related to their experience of the school, and with the fact that they were not motivated, throughout their life trajectories, to resume formal education:

Ana (64 years/ISCED 1) confesses that she got tired of school "*I never thought about it, and I never had anyone to support me, we were so tired of school!*"

Economic difficulties made the priority of individuals fall back on activities from which income could be withdrawn, allowing the subsistence of the household, inhibiting the desire, or the possibility of participating in or resuming formal education.

¹ Computer-assisted numerical control.

² Domestic work in the form of boarding school in other people's homes.

The presence of these difficulties is found in Ana's discourse on her husband, who never thought of resuming formal education: *"Not because his life too ... made the fourth class and then also wanted to make money ... went to the tulips, lay the woods down, it was his life to throw the woods down, however, he went to the troop, came from the troop and went to agriculture. He was 8 years old employed in the chamber, in the gardens, and now he is retired, and if anything appears to him, even from the outside, to tell him to do this or that, he will."*

Luis (50 years/ISCED 1), there were six siblings at home and the work happened at school time: *"It was a full house, that's why we worked for each other. It's not easy, it was "you can't go to school, you have to go to work"; we all were like this. I think only one brother of mine went to study ... the youngest."*

In the speeches it was possible to find a certain "comfort" in the life that happened with that schooling, accompanied by skepticism about the return of an investment in formal education. The interviewees acknowledged that the frequency of education/training actions was not compatible with the need to work, reflecting the idea that was something addressed to those who had [time/financial] availability, showing a short-term overlap of needs [here and now] with the idea of a project that, in the long term, could improve their living conditions.

Luis (50 years/ISCED 1): *"then I walk here information, now I have no unemployment fund [...] I cannot walk here ... what's the use of a guy coming to spend a hand full of money, if a guy comes to an end and has no job because they have a younger one? "*

Pedro (62 years/ISCED 1): *"for those who have spare time [...] for those who have nothing else to do ... unemployment cannot survive, I have to have some vegetables and some jobs"*.

Two of the interviewees also mentioned depression as an obstacle to learning because it inhibited their ability to learn. One of the ladies summoned the idea of a 'domestic trap' (Lahire, 2005: 5), as a consequence of marriage to a less educated person and the fear of conflicts, in this case the obstacle arose beyond his "will to act".

Bela (50 years/ISCED 1): *"no, I never think about it! my husband is an old-fashioned person. Sometimes, I thought about going back to school [...] I thought about moving forward in life [...] but it will be very bad for both [...] it didn't have the courage"*;

In older adults, age was also often cited as a reason to stay out of formal education offer:

Pedro (62 years/ISCED 1), considered that it wasn't an offer for his age since it wouldn't change his condition to work: *"if there is such great unemployment for young people ... I don't say that it is not good to create knowledge [...]but we shouldn't create the false perspective of thinking that we have a future ahead because our future is over!"*

Institutional factors

Although less expressive, the institutional factors reflected the instability of the AE offers in Portugal, making pathways confusing and inhibiting those who considered resuming formal education. Some of the interviewees also referred to the New Opportunities as the current offer, revealing total ignorance of its closure and the offers that preceded it. This lack of knowledge should serve as an alert for an urgent reflection aggravated by the fact that we are facing another setback in AE's history. This return of adults to formal education seems to be dependent on educational policies without concrete guidelines and without a goal action scheme since the volatility of current offerings makes them poorly disclosed and therefore unknown. Thus, these offers seem to be unable to reach the target audience for whom they are supposed to be: adults (especially the less educated).

Ana (64 years/ISCED 1), didn't know the offer available: *"I haven't heard of any, I don't know if it is the same "*;

Sérgio (34 years/ISCED 2 incomplete): *"I know there's something I sometimes hear, but I don't do much of it ... because I'm not interested"*;

Along with this lack of knowledge, the schedules, duration, cost, location and difficulty associated with transportation were also mentioned, making it impossible to achieve a return, in cases where the idea arose.

Bruno (41 years/ISCED 2 incomplete), was unaware of the closure of the New Opportunities Initiative (INO): *"Are the new opportunities already over? I didn't know."*; had the opportunity to attend a double certification course, completing the

ISCED 2, but the distance and the investment stopped him: *"it was equivalent to the 9th grade, but I had to go there for 3 years! It was too expensive to go to Peniche every day."*

Sofia (34 years/ ISCED 1), tried to resume, without success, formal and non-formal education. The reasons for failure were associated with the cost of training and the lack of transportation (and the combination of the two): *"Yes, I went to ADRO at the time to take the ISCED 2 at night, but because I lived in Outeiro [...] I don't have a license, and didn't have a car [...] something appeared on Facebook ... I called and it was 200 euros a month, I called, but it was in Lisbon; I couldn't make it!"*.

The under-educated adults' dispositions on education

In the life trajectories of these interviewees were found different views on education, which reflected the relationship that these were maintaining with it and the place it was occupying. Field (2006) argued that, about education, two visions could be found: a positive one, for those who worked in education and for whom education was emancipatory and meaningful; and a negative, reflexed in a form of coercion, repeated failure, not being a personal choice or identity, but part of instructions given by others. Thus, if for some individuals it would arise as something that had to be done to survive in a society of risk, for others, these "opportunities" of education made available simply didn't matter. It is equally interesting to see how society sees each of these groups. On the one hand, there are about those who don't participate, the idea that they are victims of bad social and psychological structures, since they have denied them the possibility of equal access to the so-called "positive" learning opportunities and, on the other hand, in active processes of self-exclusion a form of resistance (e.g. when adults reported that education wasn't for them, or that they had no head/capacity to study).

In Jarvis, we read that different phases of history corresponded to different views on education. Thus, if in the first phase education represented an investment that reflected on employability, in the second stage education was a vehicle for self-development (spiritual; active citizenship). In a third, more recent, critical and resilient phase LLL came to be associated with lifelong work. This premise echoes the idea of the speed of change, where individuals have been forced to risk, learn, reflect and act, trying to find its own adjustment to changes, in a continuous cycle (Jarvis, 2004).

The existence of distinct visions and phases, which transcend individuals, gave meaning to the analysis of their dispositions on education. Lahire (2005) distinguished strong and weak dispositions, depending on the intensity of socialization and the degree of fixation/force. Durable habits would take time to be incorporated and some dispositions might fade because of an upgrade or void in the face of repression/crisis. However, it would also be possible for socialized individuals to internalize a certain number of habits (cultural, intellectual) without having the will to put them into action, being the action stuck only to the weight of routine, automatism/habit or obligation. The internalized habits could be updated in the presence of constraints/obligation, passion/desire, or even unconscious will/routine, everything would depend on the form and timing of the individual biography in which these dispositions were acquired, as well as on the current context of their actualization.

In this research, we wanted to realize if the relation that these adults established with education interfered and molded the vision that they had about it. The main conclusions showed that the action of these individuals in the face of formal education wasn't always in line with their general view of education. Between initial education (child/youth) and AE, the main difference found was mainly the devaluation of the latter, which may have justified a more skeptical and less enthusiastic position, considering that, for these adults, it represented only one-second chance. As a means of schooling, the AE was seen by these individuals as a measure incapable of eliminating the previous difficulties, making them even more visible. The idea that society doesn't recognize the AE, devaluing its participation, was highlighted in the speeches of those who said that it doesn't teach the same thing, or that adults and the youth don't have the same capacity to learn.

Instrumental view on initial education

Ana (64 years/ISCED 1), mirrored an instrumental view on education, alerting her granddaughter to the importance of studying to "be someone": *"Look, take advantage of it, to see if you can ever be someone! before it was not compulsory to walk in school as it is now .We could get the driving license with the fourth class";*

Luis (50 years old / ISCED 1), was sorry he did not continue in school. For him to learn was to be faced with the news, was to be someone, underlining the same instrumental vision, while advocating that true learning happens outside of school: *"children should start at age 15 to have a job. I may not know how to read or write, but I know a lot that a lot of people do not know, because the things I've learned in my life have been learning over time".*

In other testimonies, it was clear the disinterest accompanied by the questioning about the real need for formal education, expressed in a relationship that forces them to follow instructions from thirds (Field, 2006). These visions of resistance fueled the dispositions towards learning, marking an intentional withdraw from the different modalities that were available in the different stages of their lives:

Sérgio (34 years/ISCED 2 incomplete), never felt the need to have more schooling, devaluing formal education and certificates. He valued daily the "know-how": *"I already have 34 years, I need to have a job, and not to have courses! if I have work, I'm ok ... I have always worked on my own, so I didn't need to have the 9th grade."* This final idea also corroborates the IEFA data on the lower probability of participation of TCP¹ in education and training activities.

Bruno's vision (41 years/ISCED 2) on AE left two conflicting ideas oscillating between a path of access to more culture and a mandatory measure that, for the majority, only served to pass the time. It acknowledged its usefulness in job-seeking but devalued its impact on changing or improving work conditions. For Bruno, the focus of EA was the older adults and the reason for its existence was unemployment: *"for people to be a little more educated, but for others, I think it is way of passing time, nothing else because they are almost obliged to be there ... I think if there was work, enough work people studied less. They wouldn't take these courses, because they weren't obliged."*

The same instrumental vision is found in Madalena (62 years/ISCED 1 incomplete), when she recognized that it was possible to go further studying. About AE stated that it wasn't for herself, mirroring a self-image that seemed to confirm the said self-exclusion referred by Jarvis (2004). For the elders, she considered that the AE would be a mere occupation. She believed in strong disparities between the education of young people and the adult's education, from the type of education to their capacities to learn: *"Those old people who stopped, they go to computers, to universities. I think society doesn't look them the same way they look at young people in initial education! I think that when you go from the 1st to the 12th year you have another capacity, which you don't have if you learn in the middle... no, I don't have the head for it, I'm a bit outdated ... but it's not for me."*

The remaining views oscillated between the functionalist vision with a direct impact on employability, although they were limited to triggering convergent action schemes along their trajectories, in which the feeling that they had lost the train persisted and that there was nothing else to do, except to conform to the idea; and a less positive view of education, considering it unnecessary, justifying its absence along the trajectories (Jarvis, 2004). The removal, in these situations, happened because the different professional paths did not make it necessary.

Views on education related to self-development, found in the most schooled

None of the interviewees participated in citizenship activities at the time of the interview, and their daily life was organized between work and family so that the vision of self-development was not found with reflexes in the exercise of active citizenship (Jarvis, 2004). Leisure activities integrated, in an uneven way, the daily life of these adults, making only part of the trajectories of those who came closer to ISCED 2.

The analysis of the different views on education made it possible to conclude that in this group of interviewees the informal type of learning was the most frequent and accessible, expressed in the use of proximity networks. However, this way of learning was more autonomous and/or complex when the level of schooling of individuals was higher (e.g. the use of other learning as the internet) because they depend on other skills. The non-formal learning, in most cases imposed, was accompanied by tensions and resistance, and the recognition given to its utility in everyday life was scarce.

In the analysis of the dispositions with respect to formal education, the relationship that each of them established with the initial education and the moment of rupture/abandonment or withdrawal was found in all individuals. These results express the impacts of socialization in families of mostly rural origin, in which the internalization of habits reflected the appropriation of short-term strategies (here and now) and of "unleashing" before the challenges that the speed of social changes has put them. These dispositions were, unequally, leaving out of their individual paths the return to formal education processes. Consequently, if for the elders, to whom it imposed itself compulsorily (unemployment), the need to subsist economically kept them on the sidelines. For the youngest, for whom it seemed unnecessary, it translated only one hypothesis to consider in case of unemployment, illustrating the moment of updating provisions, by constraints/crisis, predicted in Lahire (2005).

¹ TCP - Self-Employed Worker.

Conclusions

The relationship of the low-educated adults who didn't return to formal education with LLL showed the presence of their dispositions in relation to the initial education, considering them the origin of the reasons that led them to leave school.

These withdraw didn't inhibit informal learning, but brought it differently, according to the level of schooling obtained, reflecting a greater or lesser autonomy in relation to the challenges imposed by society. Nevertheless, the informality of those learnings in the daily life of these adults are neither acknowledged by them nor by society as effective and/or relevant learnings, as they don't translate into certificates or diplomas, continuing to be "left outside" from the social system the same individuals that until now remained far from formal education.

The perceptions about non-formal education (disconnected and useless) also corroborated a relation of distance with the modalities considered "qualifiers" of LLL. This relationship contains an idea of "accommodation" in relation to the places occupied in social life and of "unleashing" the challenges of everyday life. In the dispositions of these individuals in relation to LLL, the existence of a conscious perception of the processes of exclusion associated to them was revealed, although this wasn't enough to provoke an updating constraint of dispositions and internalized habits, thus precipitating the action.

One of the conclusions considered as alert and leitmotiv for a reflection among those responsible for educational policies is the presence of a devaluation of formal education and stigmatization of AE. In the analysis of the dispositions of these adults, there was a strong association of formal education with initial education, and the adult education reflected a less efficient learning, unrecognized socially and professionally. It was perceived as a resource for the unemployed and for the elders.

These conclusions should aware us of the need to better understand the internalization of habits and values about LLL, allowing effective intervention in the face of a chronic problem that results in the association of low levels of schooling with a lack of participation in educational and training activities of the low educated Portuguese population.

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Education, Person, Suffering. Reflections of Pain Pedagogy

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Abstract

Talking about suffering is not easy. It is a delicate and complex topic which involves, personally and deeply, each human being's life through his/her personal distress, despair and, sometimes, even through annihilation: all the afore said places this topic in a sort of cultural form of exile. Suffering has almost become a taboo, even if it is more and more the object of show business nowadays and it is manifestly exhibited in public contexts. If, on the one hand, suffering plays a leading role in TV shows and it is the object of curiosity, on the other hand, far from the public eyes, it is put aside, even though it does not appear to be less thunderous. In the private sphere suffering is unsaid, denied, removed. Its exhibition has taken the place of its interpretation. Anyway, some worrying signals come from the new generations. The young people, in fact, seem to be incapable of going through and reacting to suffering, sometimes also to that suffering being the result of a little frustration, which is vented through exaggerated and unimaginable attitudes and behaviours. News in the mass media, meanwhile, already reports them almost on a daily basis. In this respect, what can pedagogy, and so education, do? Is it possible to hypothesize a pedagogy of the suffering as a specific ambit for reflection? And through what ways can education help the person to manage his/her suffering? This contribution aims to try to answer these questions.

Keywords: education, pain, suffering, person, control

Pain and suffering in current society

One of the most urgent issue but at the same time a marginalized one, if not even absent, of the contemporary pedagogical debate, continues to be the one relating to pain. A topic that, although has already been investigated by other human sciences, has not yet gained the attention and speculative commitment of pedagogy. The pain is present in our time in a confused and contradictory way. If on the one hand it has become a television host, an object of attraction and curiosity, on the other hand, in the private and away from the cameras, it is silent, denied, and removed (Boltanski, 2000). Spectacle and silence, exhibition and lack of interpretation are its main features, an antinomy connotation that makes it possible to talk about it in public, television and social media, but it is kept silent in private, right there where the listening, participation, sharing, support, would instead be necessary (Iaquinta, 2015). In our time, therefore, pain is a two-faced creature; a public one, television and ostentatious, and a private one, invisible because it is hidden. While the spectacle of pain does not arouse feelings of modesty, of defending one's inner self, it often invites the exaltation of the smallest details, mostly linked to macabre or morbid aspects, the pain far from the spotlight lives the season of exile. Mortified, if not even unnamed, not so much in the interiority of the subject that in any case lives it and suffers it, as in the possibility of being told, participated and shared with others. The experience of pain, writes Salvo, "has been placed in a sort of exile, yet never as in recent years it is shown, exposed. Shiny eyes, more or less spontaneous tears, badly restrained sobs accompany the asphyxiating hours of television programs built right on this axis "(2011, p.197).

Except, therefore, the contradiction that currently marks the pain, which is that of being admitted to the general public and being denied to the small one: family, relatives and friends. Today, either one does not talk or talks too much of pain and of the suffering that it causes in the human soul, where the adverb "too much" refers only to the growing media interest therefore of pure spectacle. It is precisely this ambivalence, this antithetic between private pain and public pain, between emptiness and fullness that highlights the lack of a genuine interest in the person touched by a painful event on a cultural level, which calls into question pedagogical knowledge and, therefore education.

The lack derives from not talking about pain and suffering (states of mind, feelings, experiences, etc.) with the other, it is this silence, due to incapacity or modesty, to make the suffering invisible. On the other hand, when one talks about it in an excessive way, like in the media, silence becomes the natural epilogue that characterizes the end of a show to which we have witnessed and which needs, at the end of the credits, a feedback on the quality of acting. Having exhausted the entertainment function assigned today to pain and suffering, the silence falls, inexorably, on the real life of those who brought it to the stage and who, however, continues to suffer (Iaquinta, 2014). If suffering is denied in private pain, in public pain it is numbed by the limelight and made unlikely.

On the other hand, living in a time excessively focused on the aesthetic dimension (corporeality exasperated by fitness and sublimated by the filters of "digital surgery") that enhances everything that is opposed to suffering (success, well-being, fun, material happiness) produces more and more frequently a clouding of thought, pushing human action towards horizons of unattainable invulnerability, while it is well known that painful events are not eradicable from human history marked, by nature, by fragility, precariousness, vulnerability. The negative attitude of the pain that derives from this approach of removal-negation therefore pushes us to look at the Other who suffers, the *patients*, with an inevitably clouded, deformed if not even myopic gaze (Galeazzi, 2004).

Pain and suffering, therefore, although they are present in the ordinariness of life, seem to have disappeared, just as the images of apparent happiness posted on social networks, Instagram among all, would have us believe. And if the disappearance is an impossible process to be implemented because suffering is an inherent aspect of human existence, the attempt made by society is to trivialize and marginalize the issue of the pain and suffering of existence through operations that lead to silencing the interiority of the subject preventing the awareness of self from opening up to the Other, to the request for help, favouring the birth of an "empathic conscience". Consequence of this "farsification of reality" is the impediment of a subjective, collective and disciplinary reflection that hinders the possibility of a trend reversal that brings the issue of the pain and suffering of the person back into the right place and consideration (Iaquinta, 2019).

It is important to point out that from the point of view of logical-conceptual analysis the words pain and suffering, even if commonly used with synonymic value, are actually different in meaning. While the pain is *accidens*, an event, sudden and shattering occurrence that breaks into human existence; suffering is what derives from pain and is in some way, precisely because of its consequence, expectation. While pain is objective, suffering is subjective. Suffering, in fact, has roots in the painful event and is closely linked to the subjective interpretative process (Natoli, 1996).

If the pain, therefore, is identifiable with what undermines or compromises the integrity of the person or affects its psychophysical and spiritual balance, suffering must be understood as an expression of the personal way of living that problematic situation. Suffering is to be conceived as a subjective manifestation of pain, as its existential reflection. It is a manifestation of the ontological structure of the person, who is at once universal and singular. In summary, suffering is the subjectivity of the human condition called into question by the universality of pain. Pain as damage is universal and objective; suffering as a sense is subjective.

Pain, Natoli states, refines the sense of solitude, forcing the individual to have a privileged relationship with his pain. The suffering man withdraws into himself and moves away from the others. The impression that no one understands him, that such suffering is inaccessible to his or her compassion or his/her mere understanding, further accentuates this trend.

Pain, adds Le Breton, is a forced and violent experience of the limits of the human condition (2007).

Pain can therefore be described as a strong alteration of the subject's sense of identity, a laceration of the conscience, an immediate deprivation of meaning and perspective, an alienation from oneself and from one's own physicality. It has the ability to remove the word rather than give it, argues Salvo, its intrinsic characteristic is that of closing the subject in a chilling mutism in the same way as children who cannot yet speak (2011). Stuttering or repeating, almost in an overwhelming dirge, the same thing is always the exercise, which forces pain, and so the perception of carrying within oneself a wound that does not heal is so powerful as to make one stumble in words.

The silence of the subject in front of the pain is perhaps part and reason of the objective silence that pedagogically surrounds him and that can be read as a real cultural silence (Mantegazza, 2018). In fact, pain seems to exist in an indefinite place and far from the subject even when the subject unfortunately personally experiences it. Pain remains unnamed, without attributions and characteristics linked to a specific individuality, to a specific suffering, to a specific event from which it originated. Almost like a stigma, a guilt, one hides it badly to oneself and with more diligence to others, who do not disdain

the profuse commitment in this operation as if the contiguity with the suffering of the other made it immediately transferable by infection.

However, pain affects the behaviour of man and his values, on the social and cultural background. Pain is a consequence of his social and cultural conditions as well as creator of the meanings he lives with (Le Breton, 2014). Suffering is the indispensable passage that allows the subject an inner growth that produces new looks and new awareness. Because if imagination and thought, Proust argues, can be wonderful machines, but inert, suffering has the ability to set them in motion (1993). Giving voice and name to pain is the first, indispensable activity for the man and his humanity, which precisely through externalization, sharing and participation takes on a more defined form of humanity, as well as being useful to society for becoming aware of any emergency, that of the incapacity to suffer and to communicate pain, which is nourished precisely by this silence. Incapacity that seems to pervade today more than yesterday the life of everyone and young people in a particular way.

Young people and pain

Young people today seem not only more exposed to pain but also unable to live it, to suffer it. They manifest an emotional vulnerability that makes it difficult to accept the painful event that affects them and, consequently, its elaboration. "Young people, writes Galimberti, although they are not always aware of it, they are ill. Moreover, not for the usual existential crises that dot youth. When questioned they do not know how to describe their malaise because they have now reached that emotional illiteracy that does not allow them to recognize their feelings and above all to call them by name" (Galimberti, 2011, p.11).

Our life, writes Fadda, "is pointed out by events that affect us, which leave their mark, which form us. Already at the level of cosmological and cosmogenic theories, event, chance, disorder and entropy are the generators of forms. The same happens in the life of people: our educational history begins with and thanks to an event par excellence, which is the birth. It is an event because we have not chosen anything: not the space (where) not the time (when), not the parents, not the genetic characteristics and above all we have not chosen to be born. We are thrown into the world.

Birth is therefore an event, an occurrence that generates form, structure and order. Even death, an event par excellence (with the exception of the voluntary one) that awaits us as a destiny is a formator. Of course, to mark us, to affect our existence and our life, to form us, is the death of others, given the obvious impossibility of drawing formative elements from our death, extreme experience of our life" (Fadda, 1998, p. 70).

The event, therefore, is of great importance in the existence of man because it affects his formation through the attribution of meaning and in the way in which the event (birth, death, and destiny) is lived. In addition, it is precisely the attribution of meaning to give shape to man, it is this attribution of meaning that confers governability to a fact that by nature is ungovernable and unpredictable.

The event, therefore, is of great importance in the existence of man because it affects his formation through the attribution of meaning and in the way in which the event (birth, death, and destiny) is lived. Moreover, it is precisely the attribution of meaning to give shape to man, it is this attribution of meaning that confers governability to a fact that by nature is ungovernable and unpredictable.

Scholars designate with the expression *peak experiences* (markers events) those crucial moments of the existence in which a reorganization of the personality takes place, and that mark the most important occasions of change in adult development. In fact, these are the apical moments that force the subject to rethink his identity, his cognitive and affective modalities (Demetrio, 1988); "These are the experiences related to pain, writes Mapelli, those that put us in contact with the most radical dimension of existence" (Mapelli, 2013, p.30).

The test bench of the fragility of human existence is, therefore, the event, the existential stumbling, and the emotional impact, which breaks the balance of life and tests the subject's "road holding", his abilities, beliefs, possibilities, resources. In short, the event breaks into the already fragile human condition by tearing up suspension wires, guaranteeing balance and safety, and delivering the young to the pain and complexity of the other feelings that often accompany them, for a time and with an outcome impossible to predict.

The pain, therefore, overwhelms the existence of man almost always without warning, but what is more serious breaks into the lives of young people, without even a minimum knowledge of it as a possibility in their own existence, without the

subjective awareness of this eventuality, without a 'preparation', without an education that had as its object, without circumstances and contingencies being the occasion for discussion and familiarization (Iaquinta, 2014).

The subject of pain, and in general all that concerns feelings, is almost totally missing from everyday life, family and school. Adults such as parents, educators and teachers, are not able to create, if not rarely, occasions of reflection and discussion on the subject, leaving young people to explore their own feelings and emotions. Living them without any aid or a compass.

The knowledge of the 'cardinal points' and the instrument that indicates them, the *compass-education* precisely, would instead be a non-negligible endowment for the young man who ventures into the journey of self-knowledge and of the world that is steeped in facts, events that the subject inevitably encounters. In addition, even in cases where, at school or in the family, we talk about pain, communication is usually confined to a saying with no prospect of growth, without a wider horizon in which to situate the events and the feelings that accompany them.

Skipping 'the obstacle' in a short time, finding a way out of the impasse, neglecting to make it a useful training for the next 'jump', perhaps more challenging and more difficult, is the not so efficient solution for the upbringing of young people, but much practiced by adults, who forbids making that occasion or that event a wider object of reflection. 'To objectify matter' and to raise it from an exclusively subjective and unspoken level, to a general and universal level, would instead be useful to the young person to draw from him a wider and less subjective knowledge, a real teaching, to draw on, over time, to give roots to future experiences (Iaquinta, 2014). Moreover, this is a process that education for suffering can make possible.

The silence of pedagogy and the need to educate to suffering

There is a gap, a distance still not filled between the practice of education and the theory of education, a disconnection between the places where education takes form and the places where education is thought, discussed and theorized. There is a colourless area, which, although becoming part of it, constitutes educational practices, remains outside reflection and pedagogical theorizing. Within this colourless area, that includes everything that belongs to the subject's affective dimension: desires, emotions, impulses, passions, feelings, pain is, among the latter, the one most excluded by the studies of scholars. Sadly, no one speaks or writes about pain, in pedagogy. In Italy there are essays on specific topics, death for example (Mottana, 1998; Mantegazza, 2004; 2018 ;), or which deal with aspects of human suffering (Pati, 2012 ;), but their presence is so little in Italy as well as in the international pedagogical framework. It is still missing within the pedagogical knowledge, and therefore in educational practice, a field of study and specific reflection, a pedagogy of pain, a term already used in the early eighties by Sandro Maggolini (1981). Contini states that pain, love and death are great signs for the existence of each one who, from them, and from the way of facing them, draws its most significant connotations; but if we ignore them, avoiding them or living them without awareness, if we do not learn to question them and accept the confrontation, which they solicit, with ourselves and with others then life goes by with poor happiness, commitment and meaning. We need to learn to know our feelings: to know who we are, where we come from, where we are going (1998).

Along the same lines is the thought of Mottana who points out a serious gap in the contemporary experience, that is the prudent attitude, educative speaking, towards feelings. They are always considered destabilizing agents and therefore threatening. Moreover, he points out the "excommunication of the so-called negative feelings", of which one must always look for a remedy, as soon as possible, a pharmacological cancellation. These are considered experiences increasingly deprived of sense and marginalized, hidden, shameful, unworkable, unutterable and not socially exhibited (1998).

The contemporary pedagogical debate is, therefore, strangely silent on this important aspect of the education and upbringing of the subject, neglecting that idea of education as a life that takes shape with all the possible variations and inclinations. Life that is a biological growth but also a multiplicity of dimensions that are measured not only with historical time and with geographical space, with linguistic horizons and cultural forms, but also with manifestations of human communication, including emotional and affective ones (Fadda, 1998; 2016). The great test for the subject, of every age and condition, is always the moment of pain and suffering, a time of emotional annihilation and inner darkening. Among the feelings is the pain that puts at risk the survival of man, his ability to resist, to build, to continue.

Whether it is the pain due to abandonment, separation, failure or the loss of a loved one, it does not make much difference. It is a matter of constructing a space for reflection within the pedagogical knowledge that has as its object the pain and the suffering of the person in its infinite shades and nuances in order to put into practice educational actions and interventions. A silence, that of pedagogy, which produces a deafening noise, which screams louder than any other voice, because it is the human cry, and at the same time inhuman, of those who feel fearful, helpless, unheard. It is therefore essential for

pedagogy to engage on this issue by encouraging interdisciplinary debate to ensure that through education we can build reception and listening tools that allow the sufferer to pronounce, albeit in a feeble voice, the words of his pain (Iaquinta, 2019) In order to be supported and helped.

If pedagogy is a discipline that recognizes in the future the privileged dimension of its action, and if the words utopia, project, perspective and change constitute fundamental elements of educational practice, education is the hope given to the subject not only to prepare to face the trials of life but to go through moments of crisis and, therefore, to overcome pain, through the construction of meaningful paths (Mapelli, 2006). Education and hope, in fact, have in common the dimension of the future, the time that will be, in which education can be seen, and that particular aspect of education, as well as evidence of the merits of hope nourished in a precise time and with respect to a specific fact and that today, or in the *hic et nunc* of both education and hope. They have the propulsive centre from which every action and reflection starts, aimed at favoring the growth, development and emotional holding of the subject (Galeazzi, 2004).

Bertolini in his *Dictionary of pedagogy and educational science* (1988) describes education as the process of human formation, understood both as an individual and as a group, in the direction of a slow but authentic discovery and clarification of oneself, or of the peculiar, physical, mental and spiritual characteristics. Education means every intentional and therefore conscious action wanted by the adult (and society) to help the child grow and develop harmoniously, in view of a progressive enrichment and strengthening of his biological, psychological, social and spiritual dimensions; in order to favour his positive and therefore active and critical integration in the environment in which he lives.

Whatever the goal of educational action, it becomes authentic if it produces a modification whose reverberation spreads over the entire existence of the person to whom it is addressed. The ultimate task of education is, in fact, to expand the dimensions of living and, thus, from a certain point of view, every situation or moment in the existence of man, every practice, can be intrinsically educational. Demetrio in this regard states that the greatness and at the same time the poverty of education lies in rooting itself in the immense complexity of life (1988) while Erbetta recognizes the equivalence between education and existence (2005). Certainly, education cannot always coincide with life, because some important aspects of life cannot be understood completely by means of a teaching. An act of the will, as in the case of pain, of a sudden event that falls down on the subject disturbing him in depth, but it is nonetheless irrefutable that education has its *raison d'être* and its ultimate meaning precisely in the existence of man in his living life. The latter arises, at the same time, within and outside the "natural" flow of existence, in fact, education comes from life and returns to it, but after being detached from it as to reduplicate it within an area of experience distinct from immediate life and not for this is less vital, such as to sink its roots into it while at the same time tending to distance itself from it.

The complex relationship between education and life inevitably calls into question the concept of experience, and therefore Dewey's thought, as a valiant concept, *trait d'union*, between the events that constitute the life of the subject and their possible educational meaning. The concept of experience is the main conceptual tool of the American philosopher's thought, in fact, in *Experience and Nature* (1925) he states that two are the dimensions of the experienced things: the first is to have them, the second to know them in order to have them in the most significant and reliable way.

Experience, in Dewey's philosophy, is not separated from knowledge and from reflection, that are indispensable and decisive actions to reach experience itself. An experience that has its own intrinsic historicity, since each individual experience is situated in a continuum in which the formative event of each one is realized.

No experience can be considered on its own, independent from the other ones, but all together constitute the history of the subject who builds and becomes himself through them. However, living is not enough to have an experience, because an event becomes an experience when the person makes it his own, intentionally. Moreover, this concept demonstrates all its validity in the subject's painful situations; it is before the tragic events that interrupt the usual linearity of everyday life that the deterioration of experience manifests itself in the most dramatic manner (Mapelli, 2006).

In fact, these events introduce into the biography of the individual a discontinuity that calls for the effort to acquire new meanings. Gadamer (1983) states that when we say we have had some experience, we mean that so far we had not seen things correctly and that now we know better how they are. The negativity of the experience has a particularly constructive sense. In addition, such experiences, states the German philosopher, initiate a process of demodulation, of redefining identity, from which the subject comes out transformed.

However, there is a risk that the work of critical review to which these events lead to remains unanswered due to the difficulty in making the experience one's own. And so, on the one hand education does not automatically coincide with life and experience, it is something in which we are potentially immersed but which, at the same time, we risk of never having. It is in the gap that exists between event and experience that educational action finds its *raison d'être*.

The educational experience is the intentional action through which the subject appropriates back his experience, through which all existential questions acquire meaning. According to this issue, Mapelli states, education comes to coincide with a real elaboration exercise, an intentional practice of existential hermeneutics (2006).

Education has the future as its dimension, which is a temporal segment, a ray of action that, although rooted in today, from which it starts, has the "verification of results" at a later time, as well as the hope. Aristotle conceives it as an act of the will that is born from a virtuous habit, which potentially tends to reach a future good that is difficult but not impossible to achieve. In this behaviour, it is necessary that the good to be obtained is well defined as well as the mean to achieve it. For this reason, hope refers not only to the objective good towards which the will tends, but also to what one trusts to get it. And in this regard Fromm states that if a tree that does not receive light bends its trunk in the direction of the sun, we cannot claim that the tree hopes, because the hope in a man is linked to the feelings and the awareness that the tree does not have (2002).

The expectation of the future that is typical of both hope and education, specifically of an education in suffering, which through a process of awareness of the subject to pain. This awareness of pain, considered as universal and non-singular can help the subject to resist the tests of life through ways of processing pain and containing and managing suffering capable of allowing the subjective appropriation (meaning) of lived experience. Only through education, in its being preparation, accompaniment, care, it is in fact possible for the subject to understand the pain. This can be possible by providing knowledge in a pedagogical-educational sense and in opposition to the prevailing culture of the media. Moreover, helping in the case of a painful event, to start the process of acceptance and elaboration through dialogue, externalization of emotions and feelings, sharing of experience; to situate the event beyond the contingent, and accompanying him, with appropriate educational methods and tools. An educational commitment aimed at encouraging the awareness of the subject and giving perspective to that particular painful event considering it an important part of being and becoming, a peculiar trait of taking shape (Iaquinta, 2014).

"The experience of pain, says Mapelli, is one of those experiences that, even though it is delicate and difficult to elaborate, it is possible for the subject through education and before, if avoided or postponed, it is expressed in a pathological way. It is by fully assuming its hermeneutical task with regard to the events that point out human existence, that education can help transformation, preparing and accompanying those difficult changes that, happening against the will of the subject, create a state of suffering and disorientation "(M.Mapelli, 2006, p.33).

The commitment of pedagogy, and specifically of a pedagogy of pain, is therefore to recognize and accept the dimension of pain in the educational experience and imagine, hypothesize, build, modalities and practices that allow the subject to give name and voice to the pain to go through it.

It is not possible to pedagogically conceal the present and increasingly widespread social pain, nor to continue to show hesitancy and excessive timidity in dealing with the issue of pain and its problems with the proper tools of education, especially in the face of knowledge and practices that try to claim as their own the exclusivity of the path and the treatment of the subject in moments of crisis of existence.

It is typical of education to "accompany the subject along the vital path by punctuating the critical moments, detecting fractures and hiatuses, highlighting scraps and strident sides. In this sense education as the constitution of the subject has also always been a powerful counterweight to the solitude of the subject; born as a project of social integration, it shows the subject that the community is always present, not so much behind him but inside him "(Mantegazza, 2004, p.50).

Integrating the pain into the subject's life, making him aware of the possibility of crossing it, is a task that belongs to pedagogy since it is evident the educational responsibility in helping the subject to manage the delicate phases and moments of existential crisis, also dialoguing with other knowledge fields.

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