

PDF hosted at the Radboud Repository of the Radboud University Nijmegen

The following full text is a publisher's version.

For additional information about this publication click this link.

<http://hdl.handle.net/2066/56058>

Please be advised that this information was generated on 2020-10-30 and may be subject to change.

**THE EDUCATOR IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS:
A CASE STUDY OF GRADUATES FROM THE CATHOLIC
UNIVERSITY OF PERU**

LUIS ENRIQUE SIME POMA

THE EDUCATOR IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS:

**A CASE STUDY OF GRADUATES FROM THE CATHOLIC
UNIVERSITY OF PERU**

2007 © L.E. Sime Poma

The Educator in non-formal Educational Settings: A Case Study of
Graduates from the Catholic University of Peru

Luis Enrique Sime Poma. Thesis Radboud University Nijmegen,
2007.

With references – With Summary in Dutch

ISBN: 978-90-9022269-1

Text re-working and editing: Susan M. van der Werff-Woolhouse

Final editing: Edith E.G. Verbeet

To those educators who do not
give up their vocation when they work
outside the formal education
system.

To my dear
Monica,
and my
Diego and Hernán

**The educator in non-formal educational settings
A case study of graduates from the Catholic University of
Peru**

An academic essay in social sciences

Doctoral thesis

to obtain the degree of doctor
from Radboud University Nijmegen
on the authority of the Rector Magnificus,
prof.dr. S.C.J.J. Kortmann
according to the decision of the Council of Deans
to be defended in public
on Wednesday October 17, 2007
at 13.30 hours

by
Luis Enrique Sime Poma

Born in Lima-Peru
On 8 January 1959

Supervisors:

Prof. dr. Th.C.M. Bergen

Prof. dr. R.M. van den Berg

Doctoral Thesis Committee:

Prof. dr. F.J. Mönks

Prof.dr. D. Wildemeersch, University of Leuven

Prof. dr. J. Capella Riera, Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru

**De educatieve werker in de non-formele educatie
Een case studie van afgestudeerden van de
Katholieke Universiteit van Peru**

**Een wetenschappelijke proeve van bekwaamheid op het
gebied van de Sociale Wetenschappen**

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen,
op gezag van de rector magnificus,
prof. mr. S.C.J.J. Kortmann
volgens besluit van het College van Decanen
in het openbaar te verdedigen
op woensdag 17 oktober 2007
om 13.30 uur precies

door
Luis Enrique Sime Poma

geboren op 8 januari 1959
te Lima-Peru

Promotores:

Prof. dr. Th.C.M. Bergen

Prof. dr. R.M. van den Berg

Leden manuscriptcommissie:

Prof. dr. F.J. Mönks

Prof. dr. D. Wildemeersch, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

Prof. dr. J. Capella Riera, Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This text has been written in the context of a Ph.D. thesis begun in June 1999 as part of the academic cooperation agreement between the Radboud University Nijmegen and the Catholic University of Peru where I work. I would like to thank both universities for giving me this opportunity to improve my personal professional development as professor of the Department of Education. I am grateful to my Heads of Department and to my University during these years, for supporting me in this endeavour, and in particular for allowing a sabbatical semester in 2005 during which important advances could be made.

I appreciate the helpful advice of my supervisors, Theo Bergen and Rudolf van den Berg, throughout these years. During my visits to Nijmegen, Theo's visit to Lima, and through our mail conversations I received the academic and motivational support to face the challenge of beginning and completing this research. My encounters with other colleagues of the Radboud University enabled me to share my experience and receive from them their friendship.

This thesis has also been possible thanks to the contribution of Susan M. van der Werff-Woolhouse, in the text re-working and editing, as well as of Edith Verbeet in the final editing work.

I also would like to thank those thirty-five educators who collaborated with this research by sending me the requested information, and those six educators who gave me their time by agreeing to be interviewed.

Conversations with my colleagues in the Educational Department, and especially those with my peer-helper, Oscar Silva, provided an important sounding board for clarifying my ideas. The Professional Development course in the Educational Management Masters program at the Catholic University of Peru provided fruitful opportunities for sharing the advances made by this research with graduate students, who, in turn, made their own contributions which stimulated me to continue this study. The presentation of research advances at the XIV World Congress of Educational Sciences (Chile, May 2004), and a session of the Interdisciplinary School Workshop promoted by the Social Sciences Department of the Catholic University of Peru (June 2004) triggered further insights.

Carrying out research not only implies devoting time to the tasks involved, but also to managing the demanding balance between work and the rest of one's life. In this context, I would like to express my gratitude to my wife Monica Salomón and my sons Diego and Hernán for their patience and support in this endeavour.

CONTENT

Chapter 1 - Introduction	13
Chapter 2 - Non-formal education in context	17
Introduction	17
2.1 The non-formal educational field; its complexity and contributions	17
2.2 The non-formal educational field in Peru	18
2.3 The educator in non-formal educational settings	21
2.4 Conclusion	23
Chapter 3 - Theoretical framework	25
Introduction: studying the educator in non-formal educational settings from three different angles	25
3.1 By researching the career paths	25
3.2 By examining the dilemmas faced	29
3.3 By gaining insight into the professional knowledge	34
3.4 Conclusion	40
Chapter 4 - An overview of the methodology used in the research	43
Introduction: The methodology — approach and processes	43
4.1 The sample	45
4.2 The instruments	46
4.2.1 The curricula vitae	46
4.2.2 The semi-structured interviews	48
4.3 The procedures	51
4.4 Validity issues	53
Chapter 5 - Career paths of educators in non-formal educational settings: findings and discussion	55
Introduction	55
5.1 Findings	55
5.1.1 The career paths	55
5.1.2 The characteristics of these career paths	61
5.1.3 Motivations for entering and remaining in non-formal education	64
5.1.4 Career perspectives	70
5.2. Conclusion and discussion	72

Chapter 6 - Dilemmas influencing educators in non-formal educational settings: findings and discussion	79
Introduction	79
6.1 Findings. The dilemmas	79
6.1.1 Vocational dilemmas: help the underprivileged, but 'die of hunger'	79
6.1.2 Field dilemmas: crossing borders	81
6.1.3 Institutional dilemmas: moving within an institution	85
6.1.4 Locational dilemmas: Lima or the provinces	88
6.1.5 Specialization dilemmas: the family and work or further studies	91
6.2. Conclusion and discussion	94
Chapter 7 - Knowledge gained in the workplace by educators in non-formal educational settings: findings and discussion	107
Introduction	107
7.1 Findings	107
7.1.1 Skills	107
7.1.2 Knowledge	111
7.1.3 Attitudes	115
7.2 Conclusion and discussion	120
Chapter 8 - Conclusions and implications	127
8.1 Conclusions and discussion	127
8.2 Some limitations	135
8.3 Utilizing this study: suggestions for interest groups	137
List of Tables and Figures	139
References	141
Appendices	155
Appendix A - Interview guide	157
Appendix B - General control matrix of excerpts in the final report	159
Appendix C - Control matrix of interviewees's excerpts	165
Dutch Summary	167
Curriculum Vitae	169

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

This thesis is motivated by the necessity, as a member of the teaching staff of a university community, of relating the content of courses to the professional experiences of former students by learning to read their career paths as individuals, as members of a generation, and as social actors. It is a matter of concern that some faculties appear to be concentrating on producing professionals, without giving much thought to how adequately their courses prepare students for the types of career path that they are likely to follow. Researching graduate career paths provides a wealth of information in this respect, which can also be indicative of what the future trends, and therefore course needs, might be. The gaps between the academic and professional worlds need to be bridged by an active concern geared towards opening channels that will enhance both worlds. To reduce these gaps, we need to question our graduates about their careers and lives in a different way. The research for this thesis has been a means of coming in closer contact with them.

The idea for this research came together in my mind by different routes: my personal background in non-formal education as advisor to various projects in governmental and non-governmental organizations; my previous research and thoughts about this topic (Sime, 1990; 1991; 1993; 1994); my exploratory research on Faculty of Education graduates at the Catholic University of Peru — the university where I teach (Sime, 2001); and an earlier position as coordinator of ‘education for development’, a major project organized by my Faculty aimed at teaching educators for work in non-formal educational settings. These were the main stimuli that provided the clues and motivation for pursuing this thesis.

I then reflected on my chosen topic by posing three basic questions and finding the answers to them.

Why is it important to investigate educators in non-formal educational settings?

Globalization is causing many changes to take place in the employment field, in both developed and developing countries. One implication of these changes is that “careers are becoming more difficult to describe, explain and predict” (Kidd, 1998: 276). This has enormous implications, because “career has been a key notion in twentieth-century Western societies” (Collin & Young, 2000: 1), associated with the rise of the middle-class in these societies through the professions (Freidson, 2001). There is thus an urgent need for researchers to take a new look at the dynamism of present-day professional career paths and adapt career theories accordingly to gain a better understanding of professionals in this changing, globalized world.

These theories tend to address only the more traditional professions, in addition overstressing those career paths that are more legitimated by society. They do not take emerging professions into account or heterodox professionals who do not follow the professional mainstream. This last-mentioned group includes educators working with alternative educational approaches outside the school system; doctors working with naturist or homeopathic treatments, outside conventional western medicine; psychologists developing various holistic healing approaches for entire communities rather than adhering to the traditional individual therapies. In many of these cases, their development as professionals, including the main subjects of their undergraduate courses, have not prepared them in any way for these developments. The more their practices become valued, the more pressure both the practitioners and the public they serve pressurize for acknowledgement from both academia and the power structures involved. A major task from the academic community, therefore, is to study emerging professions and heterodox career paths as a complex phenomenon and foresee their development in the light of social, organizational, and technological changes. If “postmodernism pluralizes the meaning of culture, while modernism firmly situates it theoretically in apparatuses of power” (Giroux, 1994), then we need to pluralize our concept of career and recognize its diversity.

To enhance theoretical career approaches by researching the particularities of a type of professional that has hardly been researched by the academic community — educators working in non-formal educational settings — who are, moreover, the heterodox professionals of an undervalued profession, is thus a scientific challenge. There are a number of important scientific studies on career focused on other, more valued, professions, using empirical data from developed countries, but there is little on this kind of professional from a developing country. This study of educators in non-formal education settings in Peru will thus feed the body of knowledge on the careers of these under-documented heterodox professionals. As the literature shows, the educator in the school setting has been documented in many ways. Documenting these subordinate sectors, creates a platform from which the voices of these educators can be heard and understood. The more descriptions there are of different types of professionals, the more possibilities there are of updating and gaining new insights into career studies as a body of knowledge.

It is also important to study this type of heterodox professional because of their potential social relevance. One of the aims of this research is to support the social presence of the educator in non-formal education. Educational processes cannot be restricted just to formal education. There are other educational processes, beyond schools, universities or other institutions of higher education whereby people acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for their everyday lives. It is important for developing countries like Peru to enhance their non-formal education to create better conditions for transforming inequality and lack of opportunity into an environment where the “development of capabilities” (Sen, 1997) becomes a reality. The right to education includes the right to access both formal and non-formal education. This is recognized in those countries in the world where human development is the most advanced, but there is no such assumption in Latin American educational policies. In the best of those well-developed countries, the rate of participation in adult education and training activities for the overall population in the age range 25-65, exceeds 50 percent (Tuijnman & Boudard, 2001).

Even though they have less professional legitimacy than teachers in the formal system, a broader consideration of non-formal education will help to give more recognition to the educators who lead these educational processes. The academic community is trying to increase the professional legitimacy of this kind of educator because of their social impact on our societies. The relevance of this research is that it is a rigorous empirical study of a type of professional who plays an important professional role in non-formal education in Peru, one that has hardly been investigated in Latin America. *What is the best way to study this specific kind of heterodox professional, one lacking both documentation by the academic community and recognition by Latin American societies?* My intention is first to conduct an exploratory and descriptive case study in order to generate a wider approach that will include different perspectives within the same study, thereby enabling deep qualitative reconstructions of the career trajectories. For this, the narrative-biographical tradition, used by the social and human sciences, is probably the most appropriate. This would make it possible to include descriptions of career characteristics, professional dilemmas, and the professional knowledge of these educators. A comprehensive epistemology for integrating dimensions and knowledge underlies this approach, so the scientific claim can be made that this research uses multi-dimensional, multi-level and reconstructive approaches to study these careers, validating, the categories and typologies formulated in the process. The use of case study on individuals complements macro studies on career paths and job mobility that examine the contextual and explanatory factors of jobs, but not individuals' response to them, either objectively or subjectively. One important category of this research which has been given little attention in the career literature is the *professional dilemma*. This has been included to give deeper insights into those very tense moments in career paths during which the professional is confronted with various possible courses of action, and has to make a decision. Within

the body of knowledge on careers, there needs to be an understanding of the kinds of professional dilemma experienced and faced by the professional, and how these relate to different kinds of pressure. The literature also largely fails to provide maps, constructed from narratives of retrospective events, of the professional dilemma of specific kinds of professional.

This research places greater emphasis on the individual actor's perspective, but does not ignore the organizational and macro conditions. On the one hand, it is important to go deeper into the subjective dimension of the individual by paying attention to the language and metaphors they use, because this adds more sense to the descriptions of experiences, professional dilemmas and the lines of continuity, discontinuity and ambiguity in their career paths. On the other hand, it is necessary, constructively and critically, to position individuals within different contextual pressures and structures of power: "people live subjective lives within their social contexts" (Chen, 2003: 2). This research follows Evetts' (1992) viewpoint and the agency theories of Giddens and Huberman et al. (Giddens, 1984; Huberman, Thompson, & Weiland, 1998) in not 'reifying' 'career' approaches. The view is taken here that the educator is an active subject, struggling within contextual constraints to create a balance for themselves between the activities of working, learning and living. Other comprehensive perspectives (Haines et al., 2003; McMahan et al., 2003) help us to understand career development as a broad term describing the complex process of managing life, learning, and work throughout one's lifespan. These also avoid concentrating just on paid work, ignoring the many other roles that people play in life.

The metaphor that I prefer to use in relation to educators who have studied to be school teachers but who have ended up working outside the school system is *border-crossers*. This highlights how they actively, and successfully, cross workplace, location, social and symbolic boundaries that they had never previously considered. By working in different settings with other professionals, and in different positions and topic areas, these educators have broadened their professional knowledge by crossing frontiers. Their study, preparing them for school teaching, did not prove to be an obstacle for these educators. Thus the situation in Latin America appears to differ from that in Europe where, according to Senent (1994), educators working in non-formal education settings have studied to work in this field since their undergraduate courses in social education.

For studying the educator in non-formal educational settings, what research questions should be asked? The main concern in this study is to accumulate knowledge about these educators' career paths and from this make a scientific contribution to the career-study literature. I will focus on these educators' careers, knowledge and dilemmas as professionals. Each of these three perspectives gives us a basic framework to guide the qualitative amassment of knowledge resulting from this case study.

This research uses responses to the questions:

- What are the characteristics of educators' careers in non-formal educational settings?
 - What typical dilemmas do non-formal educators have to face during their careers?
 - What knowledge have these educators gained from their workplace experience?
- to describe and analyze educators in non-formal educational settings.

Six graduates, three male and three female, of the Faculty of Education at the Catholic University of Peru will be selected for the case study, from an analysis of 35 *curricula vitae*, and, from the information they provide, a description will be formulated of the professional characteristics of these educators. The most frequently occurring dilemmas underlying the careers of these educators will also be investigated, and a significant contribution will be made to understanding their professional knowledge in terms of skills, knowledge and attitudes.

Who might benefit from this research? For researchers focusing on career studies, this research will provide helpful descriptions and insights. As it reports on a specific kind of professional, the findings in this report can be compared with others. It is also my hope

that this research will stimulate others to amass knowledge on poorly documented heterodox professionals from undervalued professions.

By focusing on the educators responsible for the many projects and activities in these settings, this investigation can also influence the community around non-formal education and support comprehensive training programs and networks for these professionals. By knowing more about these educators, it becomes easier to introduce this perspective into the teacher-training community by devising main courses at undergraduate level, on non-formal education, in addition to postgraduate programs. To help them give more creative advice to their clients, the counselling community can also use this research to gain a better understanding of the complexity of careers.

How is this report structured? There are eight chapters in this thesis followed by three appendices including a number of tables and the bibliography.

Chapter 2 places non-formal education in context in order to show the complexity and contributions of this field. The purpose of this section is to broaden the educational scenarios, and highlight the different conceptualizations of non-formal education. An overview is also included of the Peruvian non-formal educational field, and, in particular, of the educator in non-formal educational settings.

Chapter 3 deals with the theoretical framework, including theoretical trends in the areas of the careers, knowledge and dilemmas of professionals. Each of these three aspects will be developed to create a framework for our subject.

Chapter 4 contains a methodological overview of the research. These pages outline our epistemological assumptions, methods, samples, and describe the specific tools used in this research to analyze first the *curricula vitae* and then the semi-structured interviews.

The next three chapters detail the findings and discussions about educators who work as professionals in non-formal educational settings from the points of view of their careers, dilemmas, and workplace knowledge. Chapter 5 describes the career paths of each of the six educators, followed by a summary of the main characteristics. The main reasons why these educators stay in non-formal education are also highlighted as well as their career perspectives. Furthermore, a discussion is initiated about this kind of professional in the light of trends apparent within the Peruvian context.

Chapter 6 links evidence with discussions about the different types of career dilemma validated in this section. The findings and meanings of educators' vocational, field, specialization, locational, and institutional dilemmas in non-formal educational settings are introduced. A discussion about career dilemmas is initiated in the light of the different theories embedded in the theoretical framework constructed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 7 contains information about the most relevant skills, knowledge, and attitudes characterizing educators in non-formal educational settings, including where they were acquired and why. The interrelation between certain skills, knowledge and attitudes in what can be categorized as the 'mixed knowledge' of the educators who work in these settings is also explored.

The last chapter, 8, conclusions from the research are drawn in relation to the research questions posed, and a general discussion is started on the contributions of this research to the body of knowledge on career studies. Some limitations of this research are also reviewed and the implications for the different types of community closely positioned to the topics explored in this study are proposed.

CHAPTER 2 - NON-FORMAL EDUCATION IN CONTEXT

"Many think that, because there are schools, society is being educated, when in fact, it is the other way round: there are schools because of the existence of education. Education is much wider than the school system, and it was practiced long before there were schools." J.M. Quintana (1991)

Introduction

For information about educators in non-formal educational settings, we need to specify the field in which these kinds of professionals develop their work. It is a field that can best be understood as a *social phenomenon* generated by the educational practices of different actors, in which *theoretical discourses* are used to articulate frameworks and studies for elucidating the meanings and consequences of these educational practices. It is also a field informed by *public policies* that stipulate certain conditions and rules for making specified resources available in order to develop non-formal educational activities, whether on a small or larger scale. As a social phenomenon, non-formal education pre-dates the school system — see Quintana's remark, quoted above. It is practiced alongside the formal system, and also influences it. However, in most developing countries, despite its significance, non-formal education is less developed than formal education as a theoretical discourse supported by public policies. In this section, the non-formal educational field is briefly described within its operational context; its complexity is explored and the contributions it has made to society as a whole. This chapter also introduces some references to non-formal education in Peru that give insight into specific characteristics of this country. Finally, the focus is directed on educators who work in non-formal educational settings.

2.1 The non-formal educational field; its complexity and contributions

Non-formal education has gradually achieved a theoretical status within the international bibliography of education. Coombs and Ahmed (1974) identified three types of education: formal, non-formal and informal. This division, extended further by Faure during the 1970s (Boshier, 1998), was accepted by some, but criticised and reframed by others. Trilla (1992), for instance, identified two rather than three sectors, because, in his opinion, formal and non-formal education have some aspects in common, while both of them differ from informal education. Formal and non-formal education are similar in that, in both, an intentional educational purpose is developed, though in non-formal education without the emphasis on providing the systematic grades characteristic of a national educational system. Informal education, on the other hand, differs from both formal and non-formal education in that it is not based on educational intentionality. Informal education operates diffusely within other social processes, the purposes of which are different. The media is identified by Trilla as being a good agent for diffusing informal education.

I am not the only researcher who has spent a lot of time wrestling with the semantic problem of the term 'non-formal'; trying to gain an understanding of how these educational fields relate to each other. Trilla also points to possible interactions among different educational fields. For instance, although a particular educational system may be considered as belonging globally to one of the three main educational sectors, elements or processes characteristic of another main sector may be welcomed at the same time. La Belle (1986) agrees with Coombs and Ahmed, viewing their three educational forms as the "predominant ways or emphasis[ed] ways". If, however, we acknowledge the existence of mutual influences in different sectors of education, we can then position typically 'hybrid' experiences within the educational spectrum, such

as the (gender, ecology, consumer education, etc.) training projects organized in schools by non-government and non-profit organizations.

A succession of authors (Bray, 1985; Singh, 1998; Reed & Loughran, 1986; Brennan, 1997; Rogers, 2004) have tried to deepen the purposes and features of non-formal education in order to promote its merits as a complement, supplement and alternative to formal education. Below are some of the arguments they have used:

- Non-formal education has been much more successful than the formal sector in the following areas: in sustaining the levels of participation of both educators and those whom they teach, in achieving high numbers of alumni and low failure rates.
- Non-formal education reaches students more effectively and is more successful in motivating them to participate (in co-management groups), a fact also generally recognized by official authorities.
- Non-formal educational programmes are much cheaper than comparable ones in the formal sector.
- Non-formal education adheres more closely to the universal claim that everyone has a right to education.
- Non-formal education is successful in 'facilitating education' in regions where official institutions have been unable to bring formal education within the reach of potential students.
- The success of non-formal education programmes lies in continuous co-management, coupled with the decentralized planning, development, implementation and evaluation of individual programmes.
- The flexibility of non-formal educational processes encourages innovations and transformations in the political–social sphere.

The educational concept of non-formal education is subject-linked. The non-formal educational field can also be approached from the perspective of those who promote its development, as in some developed and developing countries, where certain kinds of programmes have been stimulated by the State. A market has also opened up in developing training programmes for updating the competences of employees in different business sectors. Probably the most active promotion of non-formal education in recent decades has been in the so-called 'third sector', i.e., in the non-profit and non-governmental sector, such as: non-governmental organizations (NGOs); communal, cultural and sports associations; church organizations; unions; migrant organizations; and philanthropic foundations. Comparative studies of the economic and social importance of this sector have been carried out by the J. Hopkins University (USA) in 35 countries, some from the developed and others from the developing world (Salamon, Sokolowski & List, 2003). This sector represents 5.1 percent of the combined gross domestic product (GDP) of these countries. The civil society sector in these countries is also a major employer, with a total workforce equivalent to 39.5 million full-time workers, including religious congregations. This means that civil society organizations employ, on average, 4.4 percent of the economically active population (compared with 2.5 percent in Peru).

These organizations employ a mix of both permanent staff and volunteers. In countries where there are serious deficits in both the State and market systems, growth in this third sector, which can be used to support non-formal educational activities, is viewed as a means for enhancing society in general.

2.2 The non-formal educational field in Peru and Latin America

The 70s was a very important period for Latin America with respect to education. In Peru, from 1972 onwards, the military government instituted comprehensive educational reforms. The philosophy behind these reforms accommodated both

permanent and non-formal education. The regime developed various governmental programmes to foster non-formal education. They legitimized broad-based educators, educational promoters, and adult educators during this period as new facilitators within the educational scenario, but as there were so many non-formal programmes, these activities remained isolated, disordered and atomized. (Rivero, 1979).

La Belle's (2000) historical description of non-formal education in Latin America points to the contrast between the 1980s and 90s, brought about by economic decline. This encouraged the growth of an informal economy, and a response from non-formal education to the necessity of preparing individuals to operate within it. Women, in particular, were primarily active in the informal economy and in local organizations, and their collective experiences became a vehicle for their activities, politically. In developing countries, the value of these forms of non-formal education and self-training should not be underestimated (Overwien, 1998; Bakke-Seeck, 1998; Liimatainen, 2002).

During the 80s, Peruvian NGOs had started to specialize, to become institutionalized, and to professionalize their promotional work (Valderrama, 1998). The work of these organizations was impaired, however, by the bloody political violence that flared up in Peru with the decline in the economy. This violence even brought about the discontinuation of some of these NGOs and of international cooperation in areas critical to the nation. To survive, other NGOs reorientated their activities to include work in the broader field of human rights education and pacification.

In the course of time, non-governmental organizations increased their interests in regionalization and in working with local governments. This tendency continued in the 90s, in combination with a concern for technological transfer and environmental issues. As noted in previous papers (Sime, 1990; 1991), the 1980s were marked by the appearance on the educational scene of non-governmental and non-profit organizations whose radical ideology was expressed, in many cases, through so-called 'popular education'. In general terms, the educational scene was no longer activated by the State alone, as in past decades, but also by promoters, popular educators, and trainers in NGOs who were responding to demands from society in general. These institutions built up their identity (as non-governmental, non-profit organizations) around their independent status with respect to both the government and the market by voicing very strong criticism against traditional education as taught in schools. 'Popular education' helped to consolidate a pedagogic viewpoint based on new methods; one that promoted the active participation of those taking part in the educational programmes offered. A more active participation in education was seen as the forerunner of a new participative society. As an educational discourse, it was one that sought to play a role in establishing identities (Sime, 1993; Lange et al., 2000).

Social organizations place more value on concepts of citizenship and on strengthening society as a whole, and Peruvian NGOs were no exception. During the 1990s, they began to adjust their strategies in the direction of the, once hated, market, by starting to view it as a useful area in which to develop. They began to search for ways of integrating excluded sectors of society into the market by enlisting instruments such as micro financing and commercialization systems, to give these excluded sectors access to international markets (Valderrama, 1998; Corvalán, 1998). In recent decades, NGOs have grown and diversified. In Peru alone, approximately 2000 institutions can be categorized as Non-Governmental Development Organizations (ANC, 1995). They absorb professionals and technicians, employed throughout Peru as promoters, advisors, and trainers; many of them providing training programmes for disadvantaged groups (Corvalán, 1994; Valderrama, 1995; Bosch, 1998).

All types of non-formal educational programme develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes around specific contents and approaches, targeted on a certain subject, and supported by some kind of organization. The articulation of these elements can be seen behind every programme, no matter on what local, regional, or national level they are applied.

In evaluating these non-formal educational programmes, the debate has been centred on whether they teach skills, create social solidarity, or promote change (La Belle, 1980; La Belle & Ward, 1994). Another way to assess them is to look at how they have highlighted certain dimensions of Latin American peoples in their roles as producers, citizens, or individuals (Sime, 1994). The first-mentioned dimension refers to equipping people who are active in the labor force with the skills required to satisfy market demands and with the social awareness of being a producer. The second important criterion is whether these programmes have aroused the consciousness in participants that they are citizens with rights and duties. The third important criterion is whether they have helped to stimulate attitudes and values that recognize each individual as a unique person in need of developing self-esteem. In my opinion, one of the most influential publications on educational issues produced by the Comisión Económica para América Latina in the 90s was, in Spanish, *Education and Knowledge: the axis between productive transformation and equity* (CEPAL-UNESCO, 1992), despite being written in a somewhat simplistic language geared more towards developing producer skills — in terms of human resources, more towards developing human capital. Even though non-formal education was being carried out more and more in Peru, however, it was not reflected in the laws for a long time. In the Peruvian General Law of Education (1987), there is no specific definition of non-formal education and only once, when the law refers to ‘Communal Educational Promotion’, is the concept even named. It was not until the much more recent General Law of Education (2003), and its concept of ‘social and communal education’, that more emphasis was given to this kind of education. In defining this concept, the possibility is established of recognizing, as part of formal education, learning acquired from non-formal education, and fostering the use of the public infrastructure for non-formal educational activities. Bolivia, El Salvador, Colombia, and Mexico are examples of other countries that have taken similar steps in their legal systems to legitimate non-formal education.

Table 2.1 Laws supporting non-formal education in some Latin American countries

Bolivia	Mexico	Colombia	El Salvador
<p>‘Alternative Education’:</p> <p>Oriented towards facilitating access to education and completing the formation of people who, because of their age, physical and mental conditions, have not had the opportunity to start or complete formal education.</p> <p>It compresses adult education, permanent education and special education. (Educational Reform Law 1994)</p>	<p>‘Additional School Education’:</p> <p>Complements normal state-school education and constitutes a permanent supplement to the forming of the individual.</p> <p>It includes pre-school education before 4 years of age, adult education, and vocational training (Federal Law 1997)</p>	<p>‘Non-formal Education’:</p> <p>Offered to complement, update, supply knowledge, and provide a framework for academic and labour aspects without subordinating participants to the grading system established in article 11 of the education law. (General Law of Education 1994)</p>	<p>‘Non-formal Education’:</p> <p>Comprises all educational activities that facilitate those fields of immediate interest and the short-term needs of individuals and society. These activities are included under the permanent concept of education in general, whether undertaken by the State or by private initiatives. (General Law of Education 1996)</p>

2.3 The educator in non-formal educational settings

Professionalizing the non-formal educational field, gaining official recognition of the value of its aims and activities and authorizing these within the wording of the national laws on education has been a very complex process; one that is still on-going. Important advances in the professionalization of non-formal education have been achieved by adopting *social pedagogy* as a discipline in higher education, based on the experiences of educators in Europe. For instance, in recent decades, earlier developments in the German context were adapted to meet Spanish requirements. Universities in Spain started to introduce *social pedagogy* as one of the specializations offered in their faculties of education and other institutions of higher education (Yubero, 1996; Petrus, 1996), with the specific aim of training *social educators* to work in non-formal educational settings.

In some countries of Eastern Europe, interesting waves of professionalization arising from non-formal educational practices have also been evident. Pandak (1997) describes a significant trend towards professionalization in the corporate language used by Hungarian voluntary organizations, in the emergence of training organizations specializing in non-profit management, and in the introduction of both the corporate language and similar training programmes in academic institutions.

Some American postgraduate programmes also relate to non-formal education, to adult education, communal education, multicultural education, and training in human resources, for example.

In Latin America, in spite of the growth of non-governmental organizations, the presence of non-formal education as a strong source of new undergraduate and graduate specializations has been more complicated, and many faculties of education have not even thought about it yet. In Peru, an initial step in this direction was made in my own faculty of education, with myself as coordinator, under the title 'education for development'.

One of the best-known debates on the subject of the educator in settings beyond the school has been in relation to the adult educator. Opinions about the professional status of this type of educator differ. Gauged against standard criteria, educating adults should be viewed as a professional occupation (Sáenz & Palazón, 1994), but it is not always recognized as such. The 5th International Conference on Adult Education (UNESCO, 1997) reiterated the necessity of professionalizing the adult education, world-wide. Other authors, such as Quintana (1991), have raised similar concerns about the professionalization of people working as *socio pedagogue* in communal projects. To bring about this professionalization, however, much more needs to be known about the adult educator, but very little research has been carried out so far in this direction (Campero, 2001).

As Werner and Kuster-Schapfl (1996) pointed out, in spite of career problems, it might be relatively easy to identify links between knowledge and practice in those educators whose professionalization as social educator begins in the faculty. However, this would not account for the unknown number of educators who work outside the school system and do not have an academic background in non-formal education. The further away they move from their original academic background, the more they need to clarify their professional identity. Another problem with respect to professional identity among those working in non-formal educational programmes is that neither they, nor the society in which they work, see themselves as educators because both groups perceive real education to be the education given in schools (Reed, 1986; Messina, 2002).

Educators in non-formal educational settings can be differentiated according to their course of study as undergraduates. First, there are those who have not been to university at all, but have been engaged as educators, especially in 'popular education'.

Second, there are educators with a university background, but who have not studied any education theory or undergone teacher training, such as the sociologists or engineers working as full-time trainers in different institutions. Third, there are those who become educators in these settings, who also have a university background in conventional pedagogical studies geared towards the state school system. All three groups are represented in the sample taken from the only research that has been carried out on promoters in non-formal educational settings in Peru (Ruiz & Bobadilla, 1993). Most of them are from professions other than teaching and the discipline of pedagogy. Only 9 percent of the 205 promoters had studied pedagogy as an undergraduate. A fourth group can be added to these three: educators active in the non-formal educational area who have an academic background in social pedagogical studies geared towards working in non-formal educational settings. This last-mentioned group is less-well developed in Latin America than in Europe or the US. It is this group of educators that has been studied in the research carried out by Werner and Kuster-Schapfl (1996), Rebollo, González, & García (2001), and Pino (2000). These four types of professionals reflect a flexible, pragmatic, and complex demand for educational professionals within non-formal education.

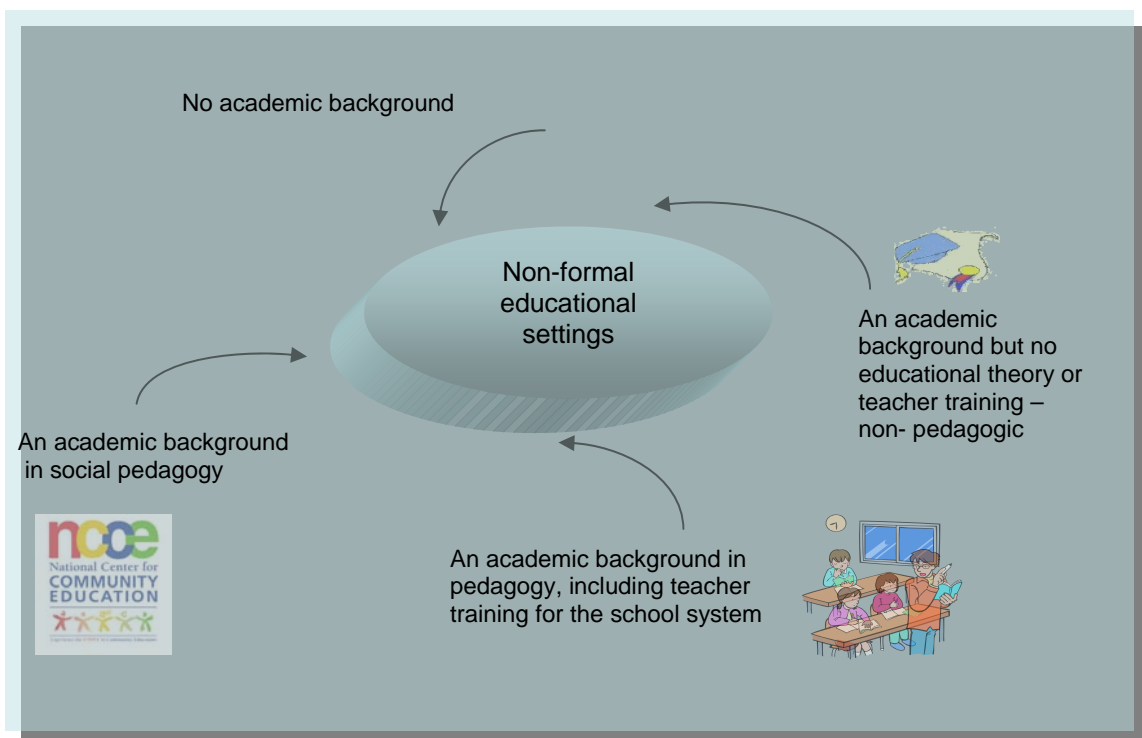


Figure 2.1 The varying backgrounds of educators who enter non-formal educational settings

From the above differentiation, a general definition can be made of educators in non-formal educational settings, namely: *The educator will be a person with or without completed university studies, who promotes and facilitates the learning process of different kinds of subject targets to meet explicit objectives, using materials and methods that are not specifically geared to passing the tests and examinations of the formal educational system. To achieve these objectives, the educator typically uses a range of different educational processes.*

In our research, we will focus on the group of educators in non-formal educational settings who have a university background in pedagogical studies, although not in social pedagogy or a closely related discipline. By so doing the legitimacy of undergraduates, graduates, and teacher-training projects can be enhanced, to improve their professional standing. This alternative kind of educator also needs to gain a better recognition in our society. The majority of the Peruvian educators in Ruiz and Bobadilla's (1993) sample stated that their work was not recognized, either socially or professionally. To raise their professional standing, we need to amass significant, empirical knowledge about the professional characteristics of this kind of non-formal educator. This is particularly necessary in Peru, because these alternative educators operate in a country where there is a surplus of school teachers. It is a sector with which I am familiar, because of my own professional experience, and from knowledge gained through exploratory research. Approximately 40 percent of my professional career has been spent working in non-governmental organizations. The exploratory research was carried out in 1996: it focused on alumni and alumnae of the Faculty of Education at the Catholic University of Peru. The outcome of the survey and the focus group confirmed that some of these former students were actively engaged as educators in environments outside the formal school system. At least 30 percent of the sample mentioned that they had been working as educators in non-profit and profit organizations, non-governmental and governmental institutions, international and local organizations, and so on. This focus group helped us to understand more about graduates' jobs, problems, and demands (Sime, 2001). In relation to the current study, this research was limited however, in that it was not possible at that time to focus just on graduates working outside the school system. Nevertheless, it exposed an interesting research route, which could be followed at a later date; one which I have now used for this thesis.

The literature featuring educators in non-formal education is very scanty, not only in Peru, but worldwide. The lack of research in this area can be confirmed by consulting the *International Encyclopedia of Adult Education and Training* (Tuijnman, 1996) and *Lifelong Education for Adults. An International Handbook* (Titmus, 1989). In both handbooks, the subject that is largely missing is that of the educator, as a specific topic. My aim is to contribute to the empirical studies about this kind of educator. I hope the outcomes of this research will also prove to be a helpful reference for the non-formal educational community, and for those of the academic community who are interested in finding out more about specific groups of professionals.

2.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to sketch a context in which to evaluate the importance of non-formal education, despite its lack of conceptualization in the history of the pedagogy. Since the 1970s, Coombs' classification of educational contexts into three sections has reinforced the need to legitimize the concepts of this subfield of education; a need that has become more urgent because of state programmes, enterprises' training demands, and 'third sector' promotion. These developments have differed from country to country depending on the historical trends in each of them. This is evidenced by the rise of social educators, adult educators, 'popular educators', communitarian educators, etc., in different countries. In European countries, social educators took the lead in developing non-formal education into a more professional activity. By so doing, they received more status there, than did their colleagues in Peru.

CHAPTER 3 - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction: studying the educator in non-formal educational settings from three different angles

In his account of the research that he undertook on six well-established professions, Becher (1999) suggests studying one individual profession in greater depth, especially one which is less well-established or where the boundaries are less clearly drawn. This dissertation focuses on a profession that has the same features as those suggested by Becher. In this chapter, the aim is to link understandings about educators, to reveal a profession founded on years of practice in diverse settings. This requires positioning the present research within existing studies of professional's careers. This allows an open approach to the basic assumptions of career theory, as summarized by Killeen (1996: 23):

*“First, who is the ‘agent’ – i.e., the person whose career it is? Second, where are the ‘environments’ in which careers are made? Third, what is the nature of career ‘action’? These are the **who**, the **where** and the **what** of career theory. As we shall see, there are many possible answers to each of these questions.”*

In this chapter, I place my research within the theoretical framework built up from previous research and theorizing on professionals' work: on their career paths, on the sorts of dilemma they encounter, and on the types of knowledge they use. To conceptualize the educator in non-formal educational settings, I consider these three approaches to be essential. They are interdependent, but yet distinctive, perspectives, which can deepen significant general understandings, without detracting from the particularities of this type of educator.

3.1 Studying the educator in non-formal educational settings: by researching the career paths

One specific phenomenon in career histories is the formation, within each professional field, of a mainstream path. Evidence of diversity within professional areas becomes lost in the course of time: Caletti (1991) came to this conclusion and my research shows this too. I would also agree with Freidson's (2001) definition of a profession as being a “sociopolitical artifact”, an area of activity that appears always to have been characterized by the same tendencies. Cultural and social factors in combination with power struggles have led to one tendency gaining dominance within each professional area.

My research is directed towards reflecting about a group of professionals who are not working within the mainstream of their profession. We can call them ‘heterodox professionals’: educators who work in other settings, using different approaches to the ones used by those who teach in schools. It is a situation comparable to doctors who work as homeopaths or naturopaths, rather than as standard doctors using the conventional Western treatments and medicines (Kelner et al., 2004). A similar trend can be found amongst psychologists, where some practitioners have extended their activities beyond the traditional individual psychotherapies and cognitive/behavioral orientation to develop holistic healing approaches for entire communities (Foster et al., 2005). In the history of careers, this, I believe, is no new phenomenon. Specific developments and circumstances have led practitioners in certain branches to develop career paths parallel to those followed by colleagues in the mainstream: they have found other ways of being ‘professional’, some of which have later become part of the research and teaching forum at university level. Examples are specializations within the field of communication, developed over a long period of time only by practicing

journalists. When it became financially or strategically attractive to cover a wider communicational field beyond journalism, new entrants to the field began to seek more professional legitimacy for these specializations (Caletti, 1991).

During the 20th century, a new profession could only be legitimated through qualifications gained in higher education, and specifically in universities. The institutionalization of professions is an important feature of present-day societies. To achieve this institutionalization, some social-science practices have had to adopt highly organized language codes (professional jargon) and norms to permanently identify and differentiate the practitioners of one discipline from those of another. This is no simple process; in the struggle to gain predominance, complex rationalities are put in a state of tension, as is the balance between the mainstream and the others.

According to Elzinga (as cited in Saenz & Palazón, 1994) there are at least four stages in the complex process of professionalization: (a) the vocational call; (b) semi professionalization; (c) creating a science or technology from the practical knowledge gained; (d) combining practice with theory to create a new profession. Although this outline is somewhat simplistic, it shows that the central axes in the path towards professionalization revolve around theoretical rigor and systematic formation.

The professional has become an important historical actor in the formation of modern society and a complex object of research and reflection. One characteristic of modern society has been the increasing specialization in the world of work. This trend would have been impossible without the renewal of existing professions and the emergence of new ones and the role played by knowledge in their conception. So pronounced has been this trend in the current era, that social scientists have found it necessary to redefine society. Drucker (1993) calls it the *knowledge society*. It is a society that emphasizes the roles of professionals and the crucial importance of knowledge. For in an economic perspective, knowledge, not only about natural resources, but also about capital, and the population, is one of the most important prerequisites for productivity. The development of knowledge in this century is generating a debate about the sense, contributions, and kinds of professions and professionals that will be needed in the future. Professional development has become one of the most critical challenges facing many of the organizations that are striving to improve their operation to meet the challenges of societal change (Ruohotie, 1996; García, 1999). During recent decades, the importance of improving professional performance has been more widely recognized. Initiatives in this direction – known as ‘Continuing Professional Education’ (CPE) or ‘Continuing Professional Development’ (CPD) – have been in the forms of career counseling and work-based learning, rather than formal courses or conferences, etc.

‘The professional’ has been studied as a complex research topic in various fields of research. One broad field, extending in different directions from a range of disciplines in the social sciences and psychology, is *career studies* (Arthur et al., 1989; Savickas & Lent, 1994). This has arisen because the concept of career does not belong to any one theoretical or disciplinary view; both the concept of career and ‘career’ as a phenomenon demands a transdisciplinary approach.

To Arthur et al. (1989: 8) ‘career’ “is the evolving sequence of a person’s work experiences over time”. In a broader sense, everyone who works, has a career. Careers reflect the relationships between people and organizations, and how these relationships fluctuate over time. The study of careers is the study of change, both in individuals and organizations, and in society as a whole. Studying careers also helps us to understand the time and the social space in which a career develops. Where time is an important factor, for instance in studying why people respond differently to the same job situation at different points in their lives, a good approach to use for studying work experiences is to take an historical biographical perspective. Space focuses on positioning a person’s work – e.g. its importance and status – within a larger occupational setting. Social space is defined as a dimension of social significance, as a

communication network or an organizational hierarchy along which individuals are positioned according to their relative importance.

Our conception of 'professional career' is based on two lines of understanding: career as a trajectory and careers viewed subjectively.

The first line of understanding views a profession as a *trajectory*. Terms such as 'career processes' (Valach, 1990), 'work histories' (Nicholson & West, 1989; Goodson, 2003), and 'career paths' (Cochran et al., 2003) allude to this. The notion of 'career' – see Banks et al. (1992) – is defined not only in the narrow sense of entry into, and progress through the labour market, but also in the wider sense of moving into adult domestic life, leisure and politics. Career trajectories also tend to be strongly influenced by the social, gender, and cultural groups in which individual professionals operate. The term 'career trajectory' effectively sums up these two major aspects of life opportunities: changes in the course of time and differing opportunities within social groups.

For Killeen (1996), career theories should include propositions about the trajectories, steps and events that occur in careers. Some authors emphasize the different phases of professional life, building standard cycles, but stressing, at the same time, that the "career cycle is not unidirectional" (Remain & Thies-Sprinthall, 1998) – see, for example, Erickson and Levinston's life-cycle theory, and the career-development theory (Savickas & Lent, 1994). Huberman et al.'s (1998) research on teachers' career cycles, although focusing on one type of professional, has been important in advancing this debate. That they acknowledged the complexity of teachers' professional life cycles is important, because this understanding can be applied to other groups of professionals:

"The development of a profession is, therefore, a process rather than a successive series of specific events. For some, this process may appear to be linear, but for most, there are advances, regressions, dead-ends, and unpredictable changes of direction sparked by new realizations – in short, discontinuities. Although typical sequences can be shown convincingly, this should not hide the fact that there are some people who never stop exploring, never stabilize perhaps for psychological reasons, because of a sudden change of awareness, interest or values (cf. Mishler, 1992). Discontinuities may also occur due to extrinsic forces such as 'non-normative events', for example accidents, political events, or economic crises." (Huberman et al., 1998: 42).

In Baruch's (2004) view, the growth of multinationals in the 20th century has significantly altered the notion of careers. He points out that this development is bringing about "multi-directional career paths" rather than linear ones. For assessing career success, this change implies that multi-optional criteria need to be considered, criteria more related to inner satisfaction, life balance, autonomy and freedom, and other measures of self-perception. These criteria go beyond the linear model's classical measure of success that was based on income, rank and status. To cite Kallinikos (2003: 600): "The concept of career as a quasi-linear march forward must be significantly qualified to accommodate the current trends". While the linear career model can be likened to 'climbing a mountain', the multi-directional career model takes into account the 'full range of landscapes'. Azevedo (as cited in Santos, 2004) uses other metaphors to depict these changes: the career, he says, has evolved from a model of 'bird flight', with its relatively predicable linear trajectory, into one which he calls 'butterfly flight', which has a more chaotic and disordered trajectory. The second line of approach examines professionals' careers *subjectively*. This is the approach used by Kelchtermans and Vandenberghe (1994: 47):

"A career is not a chronological chain of positions and social roles, but rather, the 'moving perspective' in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions, and the things which happen to him."

This idea brings the subjective side of professional careers to the fore, and the relevance of gaining more knowledge about this by studying the personal visions of the professionals themselves. This approach looks more at the motivations, beliefs and perceptions underlying the professional career. The key question here is “How do people construct meaningful careers?” (Roberts as cited in Killeen 1996: 39).

We can view professionals' careers as part of their total passage through life. Brichaux (1999), for instance, views the professional identity of educators as being a product of different kinds of socialization in the course of their lives. The first of these periods of socialization takes place during childhood, in the family and at school. The second stage corresponds with the teacher-training period, and the third stage is built up from professional experiences. These are made more complex by ruptures. All these features can be noted in professional trajectories. One of the important conclusions of Werner and Kuster-Schapfl's (1996) research on social educators in Germany was that the people who work with children and adolescents outside the school system, draw more on life experiences as a resource for their professional life than on any formal courses taken; to build up a 'professional practice', the educator usually relies more on these life experiences than on professional knowledge gained academically. This confirms the importance of previous socializations and the continuity of certain attitudes and knowledge.

Collin's (1990) framework is a remarkable aid for studying people's occupational history, particularly for those interested in how they handled career changes. In his research, Collin inferred a continuum beginning with *perceiving the environment to be open* and ending with *perceiving it as closed*. Another important characterization that Collin identified is the professional's *predisposition to act upon the environment* – to develop a passive or active predisposition. The third construct is the *dimension of time* based upon their perceptions about the present and future. The majority of professionals in Collin's research “construed their environment as open, responded to it actively, and looked to the future. A few saw their environment as relatively closed, were relatively passive in their response, and had a time perspective fixed in the present. When expressed in this way, one can detect the interdependence of these dimensional constructs” (p. 52).

This point needs to be stressed in order to recognize that changes in a professional trajectory resulting from a move from one type of workplace to another are not superficial happenings, but are indicative of profound subjective aspirations developed over a period of time. They are indicative not only of what the individual would like to do at a certain moment, but also what they would like to do during an open period of time. Clandinin's concept of personal practical knowledge develops this approach further:

“We see personal practical knowledge in the person's past experience, in their present mind and body, and in their future plans and actions.” (Cited in Montero, 2001: 63).

Different theories have stressed the importance of gaining a better understanding of professional careers. Managerial theories have tried to explain what defines a manager. According to authors such as Schumpeter – as cited in Portocarrero et al. (2002) – the core attitudes and personal characteristics of managers, based on initiative and will-power, are oriented towards change, venture and entrepreneurship. From the point of view of economic theory, it is relevant to know what motivates professionals to engage in a specific area, but this, in itself, cannot fully explain a complex phenomenon.

Another approach – proposed by Young (as cited in Portocarrero et al., 2002) – is directed towards studying the motivation of professionals within the so-called 'third sector' of the economy. In this sector, motivations have nothing to do with financial gain or the ownership of an organization. The foremost of these has to do with personal development; the affirmation of personal identity and the need to achieve autonomy and independence. The second most important motivation has to do with the outcome

of people's efforts; the feeling of pride in achievement, faith in a cause, or the drive for power or control.

James (as cited in Portocarrero et al., 2002) offers other, more cynical, explanations on this topic. In his view, the main motivation of these 'third-sector professionals' is to disguise how the profits from these organizations are distributed and the fact that their own incomes are above the normal levels for the tasks they are carrying out, or to make contact with private organizations with the aim of receiving benefits, such as prestige. Finally, the development of religious organizations is driven by ideological and religious motivations focusing on conversion rather than on economic interest.

Management theories such as these help us to understand the motivations and personal stock-in-trade needed by professionals to enter and remain in certain settings. Among this set of motivations, action regulation theory emphasizes both the quest for autonomy and the opportunity to work independently. A general assumption behind this theory is that, in striving for autonomy to act, a person is trying to satisfy the basic need of being in control of their own actions. This theory provides an explanation of how an individual actor, who is motivated to operate autonomously, sets goals and reaches them. A crucial aspect in this is how much freedom or autonomy there is in setting and reaching those goals. For personality development, it is essential that the basic patterns are flexible and that there is a broad scope for autonomous action (Rubenson & Schütze, 1995).

To define the professional career more broadly, it needs to be placed in a social-historical context to reveal, and place in order of importance, certain trends. This definition also needs to reflect the evolving sequence of a professional's work experiences over time. Viewing a profession as a series of career trajectories concentrates on routes, including various non-linear routes, each with phases and sequences. However, a significant aspect of a professional's career is the subjective dimension in which motivations and biographical resources developed during the course of the career come to the fore.

3.2 Studying the educator in non-formal educational settings: by examining the dilemmas faced

In accordance with Erickson (see, Dixon, 1990), we assume that life is a matter of facing permanent dilemmas. However, different kinds of dilemmas are experienced to a large or small extent and at different moments in our lives. The focus here is on dilemmas viewed as being significant for the professional career. In another words, we assume a 'the dilemmatic construction of a career' (Pittman, 2000).

The professional dilemma concept is not a new topic in the debate about professional careers. In Schön (1983, 1992), for example, there are many references to dynamic-sounding terms such as 'dilemma', 'paradox', 'the pressure game'. This language clearly shows that professional practice is perceived to be a complex activity. The term *dilemma* reflects the intensive dynamics of professional practice, because 'how else can professionals learn to be intelligent, if not by reflecting over dilemmas encountered in the course of their work' (1992: 11, our translation). Huberman (1995: 194) also highlighted the importance of this term when he said that: "teachers have different aims and different dilemmas at various moments in their professional cycle, and their desires to reach out for more information, knowledge, expertise and technical competence will vary accordingly." This poses the question: Which moments are these? By restricting our observations to the period described by Huberman et al. (1998: 43-44) as the 'stabilization phase' in teachers' life cycles, in other words to the stage following 'career entry', it is possible to identify dilemmas that focus on teaching only:

"In effect, to choose, means to eliminate other possibilities. Unlike elementary school teachers, those at the secondary level may still dream of pursuing research, a university career, or even moving into a different profession (...). As the psychoanalytic literature rightfully underlines, the choice of professional identity implies a renunciation, at least for several years, of equally or more appealing identities."

From Schön's and Huberman's reasoning, two lines of understanding about professional dilemma can be discussed. The first of these focuses on Schön's term 'dilemma in practice', and the second one on Huberman's idea of restricting dilemma to the stabilization phase of the professional trajectory. This type of dilemma is renamed 'career dilemma' here. Giddens's contrast (1991: 112) between 'fateful moments' and moments that are part of daily life can be used to differentiate between them: "Fateful moments are those when individuals are called on to take decisions that are particularly consequential for their ambitions, or, more generally, for their future lives. Fateful moments are highly consequential for a person's destiny." To extend this contrast, the language of life-course literature provides the term 'turning points' to distinguish those changes that have lasting effects on one or more life trajectories (Wheaton & Gotlib, 1997).

'Dilemma in practice', a term also mentioned by other authors (Velon, 2004; Feldman, 1994), has been central to those studies that have concentrated on analyzing the particular tensions and choices that the professional has to make in his day-to-day work. It is also used in promoting casework inquiry for educators and problem-based learning strategies (Ontario College of Teachers, 2004; Fenwick, 1998). Dilemmas are presented as critical incidents that occur while teaching; situations in which teachers are forced to choose one course of action out of at least two options (Angelides, 2001). Dymock (1996) applied this 'dilemma-study method' to find out about school-leaders', dilemmas. The findings from his and other studies are that teachers use a repertoire of knowledge and skills in order to face, and deal with, dilemmas in daily professional practice:

"In each case, the teacher was faced with a dilemma that he or she needed to resolve. Each dilemma required the teacher to use several types of professional knowledge (knowledge of the curriculum, professional ethics, or signs of child abuse) together with rational decision-making skills in order to make a judgment about, and take action in response to the dilemma." (Reagan et al., 2000: 17)

Researchers in other disciplinary fields also use the 'dilemma-in-practice' method. In their research on expert sailing coaches, Saury and Durand (1998) mention the term 'dilemma' to refer to the contradictory situations encountered by these practitioners; situations that constantly threatened to destabilize their training work. To face these kinds of dilemma whenever they occurred during the course of their day-to-day work, the coaches studied by Saury and Durand had to adopt a pragmatic and progressive attitude. For instance, they found that although training effectiveness depended in part on the training load and the athletes' degree of motivation, these two factors could also be contradictory. Beyond a certain limit, an increase in the training load could lead to a decrease in motivation, thus reducing the efficiency of the training.

The term 'career dilemma' broadens the debate from the sphere of day-to-day practice to include other contexts and levels. Works such as Black and Haliwell (2000) are important in this sense, in that they investigate 'professional dilemmas' in terms of how teachers manage dilemmas on different levels, for example from the points of view of knowledge, their students, their role as a teacher, their relations with the local community or society at large. To reveal teachers' implicit knowledge, they examine some specific dilemmatic situations.

From his work in the area of counseling, Santos (2004), offers a more precise definition of *career dilemma*. He defines it as an actual or hypothetical situation in which a professional is confronted with several career options, of which all have both

advantages and disadvantages. In career counseling groups, the main purpose of presenting and discussing a dilemma is to solicit a number of appraisals of the situation in order to promote more complex thought about the career choices offered by that situation. Dilemmas, in this sense, are thus synonymous with choices from which a decision has to be made. For instance, a female educator told us in an informal interview that she liked the work she was doing on an environmental education project, but that the management of resources was somewhat unclear, and the organization for which she worked, an NGO, had not paid her for several months. She felt isolated in demanding more clarity, to the extent that she had decided to resign, even though she did not have another job. The dilemma she faced was: 'Should I continue in this kind of organization or should I quit and accept the risk of not being able to find another job?' No matter what she decided, the outcome was likely to have negative implications for her.

For the framework used in my research, I have based the term 'professional dilemma' on this latter, open and multilevel, vision of 'career dilemma'. More precisely, I have based it on *real personal experiences in which problematic and significant kinds of tensions have forced professionals at certain moments in their work trajectories to make choices and decisions between different courses of action*.

Moments of ambiguity and uncertainty underlie the term *dilemma*, implying courses of action and decisions that appear in some way to be incompatible (Wildy, 1999) or ambiguous. Different kinds of dilemmas occur in our careers, the consequences of which may be different. Others may be more complex due to parallel implications resulting from beliefs, values and emotions concerning career decisions. The terms 'ethical or moral dilemmas' highlight the fact that the decisions professionals make are not just technical decisions, but ones that include moral elements as well. Several authors suggest the importance of ethics in dealing with dilemmas in professions such as teaching (Theunissen et al. 2000) and social work (Linzer et al., 2003). Another perspective claims that there are variables in career and workplace theories (Santos, 2004; Kidd, 1998; van Veen, 2003). In career theories, for example, the rationalist model of human behavior is becoming increasingly insufficient in explaining why professionals make certain decisions, because, in theoretical and intervention career approaches, emotional variables have been largely overlooked. In solving dilemmas, it is now recognized that the main problem that people often have to face is coping with the intensity of the emotions brought on by the dilemma. Some dilemmas embody more ethical and emotional factors than others, and are experienced more subjectively. This understanding helps us to build up a framework for a subjective approach to professional careers.

It is a perspective that becomes more relevant when linked with *agency theories* (Giddens, 1984; 1991; Touraine, 2002; Marshall, 2000). To paraphrase Touraine (2002: 387): 'as a principle of integrating experiences that are ever more diversified, the self-referential effort of each individual or group is to create itself'. In other words, we try to safeguard and reinforce our individuality. By acknowledging the singularity of each individual actor, instrumentality and value orientations can be combined. Because these extend beyond social organizations, they can be reinforced by other major non-social components of individual and collective experiences, components such as 'the body' and 'life'. Dilemmatic situations occurring along career paths represent those moments when the professional has the possibility of affirming his singularity, of trying to combine the world of ends with the world of means, of trying to combine economy with culture. This vision calls for alertness to avoid making deterministic interpretations, like those which do not take into account the efforts of the individual to develop his life, despite social or organizational pressures. To progress despite these pressures, the individual has to progress a long way, from 'self as object' to 'self as subject':

“Where we have a self-as-object agency, actors are unable to impose their will on their surroundings, while, in the second type, those who interact with the environment do so in ways that shape it through their own behavior.” (Greener, 2002: 689).

Describing subjects as agents, implies that they are creative beings; but their creativity occurs within a given social context, that influences it without totally determining it. However, even when influenced by the same social context, different people adopt different beliefs, and perform different actions, so there must be space to manoeuvre, undecided space, between themselves and the social context; a mental space where individuals can decide what beliefs to hold and what actions to take when they face a dilemma (Bevir, 1999). But these undecided spaces only allow agency to manifest itself in the form of choice, and choice is only possible if there are alternatives (Marshall, 2000). Marshall borrows from Elder in implying that agency is manifested at critical turning points of life, or when resisting the *status quo*. Elder calls these critical turning points ‘life transition’.

It is also useful to place career dilemmas within the terrain of theories about the *balance between work and life* (Thompson & Bunderson, 2001; Crooker et al., 2002; Guest, 2002). In situations where the professional has to face a dilemma such as deciding whether or not to accept a job in another place, assume a major responsibility, or follow a course of study, the relationship between the work domain and the other domains of the person’s life will be involved in some way. The dilemma accentuates the complexity of this relationship, causing tension. To use Crooker et al.’s (2002: 387) definition:

“The work–life balance is the stability characterized by balancing the complexity and dynamism of an individual’s life with environmental and personal resources such as family, community, employer, profession, geography, information, economics, personality, or values.”

Complexity and dynamism in any individual’s life can be clustered under the headings (a) home and extended family, (b) job and employer, (c) occupation or profession, and (d) community and leisure activities. This implies that complexity and pressures begin in the environment centred on the home and the extended family. For example, as the number of people in a household increases, the number of schedules that must be coordinated also increases. If there are children and/or elderly people in the extended family, extra attention will be focused on them and the extent to which this is necessary will depend on the number of children and their ages and the care requirements of elderly members of the family. In the second cluster, working relationships, internal politics, continuing employment and issues related to scheduling and reaching work on time create anxiety and uncertainty. Job requirements, such as mandatory overtime, shift work, on-call requirements, and evening/weekend/holiday coverage impose on one’s personal time. Lengthy commutes and travel commitments also reduce the time available for other activities. The third cluster brings together choices for continued personal growth and development, such as continuing education and career changes. These can complicate the task of balancing work and life. The last cluster includes time allocated to leisure pursuits and commitments to other domains of life outside work and the family that can contribute to uncertainty. Community projects, civic responsibilities, functions in church and other religious groups, and hobbies all require additional time commitments. The more one becomes involved in discretionary activities, the more the demands of, and changes in, those activities will add complexity and dynamism to one’s life.

The ‘border theory’ is another theory about the balance between work and life. It visualises the individual not as someone whose behavior is reactive, but rather as someone with the ability to enact or shape their environment; managing and negotiating their work and family spheres, and the borders between them, to attain a balance:

“People are border-crossers who make daily transitions between these two settings, often tailoring their focus, their goals, and their interpersonal style to fit the unique demands of each. Though many aspects of work and home are difficult to alter, individuals can shape the nature of their work and home domains to some degree, as well as the borders and bridges between them, in order to create a desired balance. I define ‘balance’ as satisfaction and good functioning at work and at home, with a minimal conflict of roles.” (Clark, 2000: 751).

By grounding career dilemmas in *relational perspectives* Phillips et al. (2001) reveal other helpful aspects. This approach suggests an alternative framework from those models that depict the person who makes the decisions as a methodical person, devoid of impulses, who can obtain and use accurate information about themselves, alternatives, and the future. This person is characterized as a logical, objective individual who is free from cognitive distortions and emotional distractions, and who approaches the decision-making task with considerable autonomy and self-direction. However, individuals, when making decisions in real life, are limited by incomplete and changing information; it is often impossible to make a thorough search, nor do they have a comprehensive range of choice. The position of ‘others’ is a key factor in the decision-making process and it significantly influences the outcomes of decisions. Relational perspectives provide an alternative to the assumption prevalent in many models of human development in which separateness, independence, and autonomy are assumed to be the hallmarks of acceptable development. Phillips et al. (2001: 195) pose the main questions behind the relational perspective, as follows:

“What role do others play in decision making? In what ways are they involved? How do deciders involve others in their decisions? Without the answers to these questions, as counselors, trainers, researchers, and theorists we are unable to fully understand and facilitate an individual’s career-related decision making...”

Phillips et al. conducted research into career decisions by using young adults’ accounts of the decisions they had made during the transition period between school and finding work. Within a continuum from more to less involvement, they identified three categories of ‘others’ involved in these sorts of decisions. The first of these three categories, – in which the focus is on how ‘others’ involve themselves with the ‘decider’ – can be labeled ‘others’ actions’; the second category, ‘recruiting others’, revolves around how active the decision-makers are in enlisting the help of others in their decision-making; the third category, ‘excluding others’, includes instances where decision-makers more or less actively keep others out of their decision-making processes. Even the most autonomous decider might sometimes find themselves in a position of having to choose either to enlist the help of those who have become involved or to by-pass them.

As women’s lives are more closely characterized by social interaction and personal relationships, gender research has strongly supported relational approaches. Women’s lives are often less linear than suggested in theories, but attachment is vital to their development. Because marriage and childbearing tend to interrupt their careers, women may accomplish the same developmental tasks as men but during different periods of their life cycle. Although men and women may have a similar motivation to work, women’s career and life choices are affected by different sex-role socialization and work opportunities. The elements in these theories that help us to gain a better understanding of career development are: viewing ‘identity’ as a relational component (self in relation to others), and identifying ‘connectedness’ as an important context (Kerka, 1992; Crozier & Dorval, 2002; Forrest & Mikolaitis, 1986). This latter point is also taken up by Palladino (2003: 304): “Why has career theory neglected the importance of connectedness with others?”

A dialogic paradigm overlaps the above perspectives, supporting the idea that there is agency in 'self'–'other' dialogues – a polyphonic dialogue conducted by feeling and responding to the emotional–volitional tones of others. Sullivan, and MacCarthy (2004: 306) affirm and describe this sort of situation in relation to dilemmas:

“A more everyday example of this involves dilemmatic situations where we feel torn in two different directions. Another person may voice one direction over another, and in voicing our thoughts, we may intensify or indeed weaken our desire to go in that direction. In this sense, our agency becomes part of a responsive relationship with the other person, who voices our thoughts. The power of this other person lies in their ability to ‘interfere’ with our own internal dialogue.”

In this section, 'dilemma' in the working life of professionals is taken to be a key concept in understanding moments of tension that can better be described as 'career dilemmas'. This type of dilemma involves choices, decisions and personal conditions. In theoretical *agency* approaches, that stress the importance of the 'subject' making his/her own decisional zones using the degree of freedom allowed by the dilemma, 'choices, decisions and personal conditions' take on other meanings. The same applies to *work–life balance* theories that focus on the different relationships between the work and non-work domains underlying dilemmas and to *relational and dialogical perspectives* that offer a comprehensive view of how decision-making processes engage others, both verbally and non-verbally.

3.3 Studying the educator in non-formal educational settings: gaining insight into the professional knowledge.

Various tendencies and conceptualizations have supported the notion that studying the types of knowledge used by professionals in the course of their work is a problematic area. Bromme and Tilemma (1995) define professional knowledge as the 'activity-oriented knowledge of practitioners'. This includes specific factual information, definitions of the standard methods used, and problems encountered in the profession, understandings gained from specific situations and routine solutions. Researchers in this area have not only developed different knowledge bases, but also different codes for constructing meaningful interpretations of individuals, events, and objects commonly encountered in the specific professional field that they are studying (Bloor & Dawson, 1994). However, professional knowledge is not just a set of cognitive tools, but also a compression of images, metaphors, attitudes and beliefs built up during practitioners' careers. As these are often very different from one profession to another, it is these, in particular, that help to set the professions apart.

It is important to identify which contexts influence professionals' knowledge as it is these that are used, produced and supported in the different arenas of the professional's world. Eraut (1994) examines a broad spectrum to gain an understanding of what sort of scenarios influence professionals' knowledge. He distinguishes three types of contexts that shape educational professionals' knowledge: academic, organizational, and practice.

The *academic context* provides the specialized language and the high value placed on theories rooted in traditional disciplines or established fields of academic study. This environment, in which profuse citation is a norm, forces one to position one's ideas in close relationship with those of other writers. Institutional norms and practices, reinforced by assessment maintain an epistemological authority. These are all features that can be summarized in the following description: "academic contexts are dominated by written work, so applying knowledge requires the ability to write" (p.33).

In the *organizational context*, it is the language of policy, needed to cope with external demands, that predominates. In the case of a school, policy serves a number of

purposes. It is used to justify a school's activities, to market any specific aspirations and to inform the general public. It is also used to maintain coherence in actions undertaken by members of staff and to demonstrate not only to them, but also to the outside world, that the school management is in control. Eraut states that the knowledge used by a teacher in relation to the school as an organization means "more than working out one's own ideas or even writing them down. One has to relate to another people's ideas, to make compromises and coalitions, to persuade people to think again about certain policies and procedures, even to move people to a new view of what they are or should be doing" (p.34).

Within the *practical context*, assuming this to be delimited by the walls of a classroom, the only significant validators of knowledge are the teachers themselves. Compared with the organizational context, the validation process is, therefore, individual rather than collective. As it is usually very difficult to validate one's own methods and ideas objectively, more professional training is needed to guard against subjectivity. The norms and routines included in this context help maintain the mental efforts involved at sensible levels and make the professional's life more tolerable.

We propose adding a fourth context to those that influence professionals' knowledge: *professional organizations* and *specific professional cultures*. There are certain professional associations that set standards for their members (later reinforced by public regulations) and maintain and promote certain beliefs or traditions concerning the culture of the profession they represent. The tendency for power struggles to occur within professional cultures affects the workplaces of those professions (in this case, classroom environments and how different types of learning are acquired). To conceptualize professional knowledge adequately, it must also be grounded and interpreted within the social and historical composition of the profession's culture (Bloor & Dawson, 1994; Donaldson & Kuhne, 1997). Taking all these contexts into consideration provides a wider scope for discovering how professional knowledge is shaped at different levels.

In addition to the broad contextualization given above, there are tendencies that cause strong links to be built up between professional knowledge and *learning at workplaces* (Boud & Garrick, 1999; Rowden, 1996; Mott, 2000; Lowyck, 1996). This last concept reflects the most recent approaches which emphasize the central role of workplaces and settings in professionals' knowledge acquisition: they are not only places of work, but also places where learning takes place (Smylie, 1995); where professionals amass different kinds of knowledge. These approaches are aligned with recent psychological research that stresses learning-in-context (Matthews & Candy, 1999).

One of the outcomes of my research is that the subjects I used – educators with a pedagogic background gained within an academic context – clearly learnt and developed their professional knowledge from their subsequent heterogeneous non-schooling workplaces. To describe the undefined field of action of educators in non-formal education, Werner and Küster-Schapfl (1996) used the term the 'undecided profession' to differentiate this group of educators from teachers who have only been trained to work in schools (Ferry & Ross-Gordon, 1998). Why is it that becoming an educator involves a learning process conditioned by workplace cultures?. One specific characteristic of non-formal education is that the workplaces in which educators operate are situated in heterogeneous settings where other professional cultures are present in addition to the pedagogic one, so these educators also work alongside professionals from other disciplines.

A workplace is a *place of non-formal / informal /situated learning*. Despite the discussion about which of the above terms is the best for expressing the relationship between the workplace and the learning that occurs in these contexts (Smith, 1999), it is a common premise that professionals learn and develop knowledge, attitudes, and values at their places of work, and that these should not be regarded as an inferior form of learning. Eraut (2000) has produced a typology of non-formal learning, based on how intentional that learning is. Marsick (1988) viewed informal learning in

organizations as a dynamic and important paradigm in which individual learning is shaped by collective learning, and *vice versa*. Hager (2001), and Hager and Beckett (1998) differentiate informal learning at work from formal on-the-job training; the first is unplanned, much less predictable, and without a formal curriculum; it is implicit, often collaborative and collegial, and is highly contextualized. Tennant (1999) defends the idea that situated learning involves participation in practising professional communities. Empirical studies reveal how certain types of factors may have positive effects on informal learning (Gear et al., 1994) but yet act negatively, like an 'environmental inhibitor' on the job (Lohman, 2000).

Closely related to the above ideas is the desire to legitimate *practical and implicit knowledge*. The professional has long been associated with formal or academic knowledge. Formal methods, written texts, and assessment using tests and examinations comprise some of the great traditions of teaching and learning. Even older is the tradition, located mainly outside educational institutions, that involves learning by doing, typically on the job, and the acquisition of knowledge and skill under the supervision of a more experienced practitioner, from whom one gradually becomes independent. This type of learning is often self-directed, based on oral communication, and assessed in terms of competence, or mastery of performance. The first-mentioned tradition is formalized and institutionalized, while the second one tends to be informal, individual and often implicit. It is more difficult to articulate practical and implicit knowledge, especially as knowledge of this nature is largely self-evident for the experienced practitioner. A whole group of researchers, using different methods, have tried to identify practical and implicit knowledge in professions (Meijer, 1999; Reber, 1993; Eraut, 2000; Jarvis, 1992; Black & Haliwell, 2000; Douwe & Verloop, 1999; Connelly et al., 1997; Saury & Durand, 1998; Langley & Knight, 1996; Rodrigo et al., 1993).

Behind the association between the knowledge of professionals, learning at the workplace and practical and implicit knowledge, a new epistemology has arisen; a critical view that does not see professional practice simply as an applied version of a formal body of professional knowledge learnt through higher education. Schön was one of the most important authors to propose a critical argument to challenge professionals' traditionalism. He developed a critique of the dominant 'technical rationality' model of professionals' knowledge, based on positivist epistemology. However, this epistemology imposed severe limitations on what could be achieved in the face of real-world complexities, as it was only capable of tackling simple or simplified problems. There are situations in working life that demand creative conceptualization and framing. This epistemology also failed to document appropriately how professionals actually achieve their goals, because they build up experience in their places of work in a highly intuitive manner.

Thus, Schön (1983: 49) proposed a new epistemology:

"If the model of Technical Rationality is incomplete, in that it fails to account for practical competence in 'divergent' situations, so much the worse for the model. Let us search, instead, for an epistemology of practice implicit in the artistic, intuitive processes which some practitioners bring to situations of uncertainty, instability, uniqueness, and value conflict."

Despite criticism for his proposal, Schön stimulated the theoretical debate about professional knowledge and pointed to the gaps between certain types of professional experiences, and the frameworks needed to understand and close them.

Another challenging part of the literature is that on professional knowledge typology. The more categories and classifications can be specified, the more information can be gathered about how professionals are utilizing their knowledge. As Eraut (1994: 102) has observed:

“Many areas of professional knowledge and judgment have not been codified; and it is increasingly recognized that experts often cannot explain the nature of their own expertise.”

These emerging conceptualizations have created a two-directional taxonomy on professional knowledge. Firstly, there are general classifications about professional knowledge, based on the typical division: knowledge/skills/attitudes. As suggested by Ryle’s (1949) partition ‘knowing that’ and ‘knowing what’, these are very practical for introducing the topic. Van der Heijden (1998), Jarvis (1992), and Tennant (1999) go beyond Ryle’s proposal. Their additional classifications are summarized below:

- ‘Declarative knowledge’ or knowing that;
- ‘Procedural knowledge’ or knowing how;
- ‘Conditional knowledge’, being able or knowing when and where or under what conditions;
- ‘Meta-cognitive knowledge’ or knowing that one knows, knowing about knowing;
- ‘Knowing why’ : analytical and framed within the systematic academic argument;
- ‘Dispositional knowledge’ or attitudes, values, beliefs, orientations.

As Staz et al. (as cited in Hager, 2001: 85) mention, the significance of this generic knowledge depends greatly on the actual features of particular work sites.

The second route taken by the taxonomy is the outcome of different empirical research projects and reflections about teachers and educational managers. The authors reporting on this work classified professional knowledge into what can be summarized as nine major categories, see Table 3.1. The first group of categories (intrapersonal knowledge, personal philosophy, managing career) refer to kinds of knowledge that emphasize the inner world of professional knowledge, such as personal beliefs, values, attitudes and abilities to create mental spaces for self-reflection and self-awareness. The next type of category (interpersonal knowledge) highlights the sort of knowledge that the professional needs to gather about peer professionals, students and others in their immediate working environment; knowledge to help them interact effectively with colleagues and influence students, etc. Another cluster of categories is related to those that focus on knowledge gained from action beyond the interpersonal level, such as process knowledge, knowledge about the organizational context, knowledge about educational practice and situational insight. Very important core interests for educators are, of course, ‘subject knowledge’ and knowledge of the didactics of that subject.

Table 3.1 Types of knowledge of teachers, educational managers, managers and others

TYPES OF KNOWLEDGE	FEATURES
intrapersonal knowledge	<p><i>Control knowledge</i> (Eraut, 1994) Knowing one's own strengths and weaknesses, the gap between what one says and what one does, what one knows and does not know.</p> <p><i>Intrapersonal Knowledge</i> ((Nestor-Baker & Hoy, 2001) Behaving consistently. Building personal performance capacities. Strengthening the role /image using interpersonal and intrapersonal skills.</p> <p><i>Managing self</i> (Stenberg, in Nestor-Baker & Hoy, 2001) Knowing how to maximize one's performance and productivity.</p> <p><i>Self-knowledge</i> (Grossman in Montero, 2001) Building up a clear awareness of one's own values, dispositions, strengths and weaknesses.</p> <p><i>Meta-cognitive knowledge</i> (van der Heijden, 1998) The employee is conscious of the strengths and weaknesses of his performance, knows what knowledge and skills are required and has insight into how to compensate for these lacunas.</p>
personal philosophy	<p><i>Moral, social and philosophical theories</i> (Carr & Kemmis, 1988) on personal relationships, social classes, truth and justice.</p> <p><i>Rules, principles and personal philosophy</i> (Conelly et al., 1997) Rule: 'take heed of what student's say'; principle: 'students learn most when they pursue their own interests'. The rules and principles might be embedded in a broader, more comprehensive, personal philosophy about life and education, perhaps influenced by particular authors.</p> <p><i>Conceptual knowledge</i> (Eraut, 1994) How one perceives and thinks about the world. The set of concepts, theories and ideas stored up for use in analyzing issues or problems. Implicit perceptual frameworks.</p> <p><i>Common sense of practice</i> (Carr & Kemmis, 1988) i.e. opinions and assumptions (students need discipline; not answering a student's question diminishes the teacher's authority)</p> <p><i>Ideological beliefs</i> (Porlán, et al.,1996)</p>
managing career	<p><i>Managing career</i> (Stenberg, in Nestor-Baker & Hoy, 2001) Knowing how to establish and enhance one's reputation.</p>
interpersonal knowledge	<p><i>Knowledge of people</i> (Eraut, 1994) Building up knowledge about the people involved in one's everyday work</p> <p><i>Managing people</i> (Stenberg, in Nestor-Baker & Hoy, 2001) Knowing how to work with, and direct, the work of others.</p> <p><i>Interpersonal knowledge</i> (Nestor-Baker & Hoy, 2001) Influencing, controlling, and managing others; establishing trust; supporting, understanding, and cooperating with others; communicating with others; learning from others; handling social relationships.</p> <p><i>Managing others</i> (Bennett, Dunne & Carre,2000) Respecting the views of others, leading others, negotiating, learning in a collaborative context, assisting/supporting others in their learning paths.</p> <p><i>Getting to know the students</i> (Meijer, 1999) Getting to know specific students in general terms, unrelated to particular learning abilities.</p> <p><i>Knowledge of student learning and understanding</i> (Meijer, 1999) Knowledge of specific students in relation to particular learning abilities (e.g.,reading comprehension)</p>

process knowledge	<p><i>Process knowledge</i> (Eraut, 1994) Know-how, routinized behavior, rapid thinking. Planning, organizing, monitoring, coordinating and team building.</p> <p><i>Managing tasks</i> (Stenberg, in Nestor-Baker & Hoy, 2001) Knowing how to manage and prioritize day-to-day tasks.</p> <p><i>Management of tasks</i> (Bennett, Dunne & Carre, 2000) Identifying key features, setting and maintaining priorities, identifying strategic options, planning/implementing courses of action, organizing sub-tasks, assessing outcomes, using and developing appropriate strategies.</p>
knowledge about the organizational context	<p><i>Knowledge of contents and organizations</i> (Eraut, 2000) is often acquired from a process of socialization developed through observation, induction and increasing participation rather than formal inquiry. Thus norms, local discourse and other aspects of an organizational or occupational culture are acquired over a significant period of time by processes which add implicit meaning to what are explicitly interpreted as routine activities.</p> <p><i>Organizational knowledge</i> (Nestor-Baker & Hoy, 2001) Building credibility, encouraging external outreach, fostering organizational stability, managing organizational goal achievement, managing problem administrators, meshing staff, negotiations, upholding personnel standards.</p> <p><i>Situational insight</i> (Grossman in Montero, 2001) Includes a knowledge of the many situations in which teachers conduct their professional work (State, community, school, and classroom). It also includes knowledge of the families and community from which their students come. It can also comprise knowledge of the historical, philosophical and cultural foundations of a country's education system.</p> <p><i>Social insight</i> (Carr & Kemmis, 1988) Includes a knowledge of the social class and community from which a student is drawn; to help set, and achieve, realistic goals.</p>
knowledge about educational practice	<p><i>Knowledge of educational practice</i> (Eraut, 1994) An awareness, based on practical experience, of the advantages and limitations of a range of methods, techniques, and strategies.</p> <p><i>Knowledge of a curriculum</i> (Meijer, 1999) Of texts and materials that can be used in lessons.</p> <p><i>Knowledge of instructional techniques</i> (Meijer, 1999) The design, preparation and structure of lessons.</p> <p><i>Craftsmanship</i> (Calderhead, 1996) "practical wisdom acquired within one's own classroom".</p> <p><i>Knowledge about the teaching strategies and curriculum</i> (Carr & Kemmis, 1988)</p>
situational sensitivity	<p><i>Situational sensitivity</i> (Eraut, 1994) Developing the sensitivity to 'read' new situations to gauge whether they are easy or demanding, taken-for-granted or changing.</p>
subject knowledge	<p><i>Knowledge of the subject matter</i> (Meijer, 1999) Knowledge of the subject matter of a teaching aid (e.g. the topic of a text used for reading comprehension), which strengthens the effectiveness of the main teaching activity (e.g. to teach reading comprehension).</p> <p><i>Subject knowledge</i> (Calderhead, 1996) Teachers' understandings of their subject and the role these understandings play in helping children.</p> <p><i>Content knowledge</i> (Grossman, in Montero, 2001) This includes knowledge of the subject, especially from a didactic point of view.</p> <p><i>Academic knowledge</i> (Porlán, 1996) Metadisciplinary knowledge (constructivism), disciplinary knowledge and its applications (methods).</p>

There is no literature on the types of knowledge used by professionals, and specifically by educators in non-formal educational settings, in Peru. The research that comes nearest to this topic (Ruiz & Bobadilla, 1993) is a study about promoters. In other research reports on educators (adult educators, social educators, social workers) there is a lack of documentation and conceptualization of the specific kinds of knowledge that these professionals develop in their non-formal educational workplaces (Pino, 2000; Gibelman, 1995; Madrigal, 2001). These reports focus more on the functions of these professionals than on the types of knowledge developed in practising their profession. The aim behind this contribution is to fill this gap, by mapping the types of knowledge used by non-formal educators in the course of their work.

In this chapter, I have presented the types of knowledge used by professionals as being a product of various contexts encountered by practitioners in the course of their work, which influence their performance. These knowledge categories enable practitioners to learn and develop codes and languages which, in time, come to characterize, and so set apart, their specific professional cultures and organizations. Special attention has been given to the link between professionals' knowledge and concepts that stress the importance of settings such as the organizational context and the workplace where learning takes place. To deepen our investigation into professionals' knowledge, and as an aid in building up a taxonomy, we have mapped the types of knowledge that have already been presented in the literature.

3.4 Conclusion

To study the educator in non-formal educational settings – a category of professionals largely overlooked by the academic community – and to identify and gain a comprehensive understanding of this kind of professional, we propose using a theoretical framework approached from three directions: the professional's career path, the sorts of dilemmas encountered, and the repertoire of knowledge required to operate effectively. Following these three approaches enables us to discover both the differing and the complementary aspects of this kind of educator. These approaches also help us to view the overall idea of career development more as a continuing, life-long process of managing life, learning and work (McMahon et al., 2003).

In studying the concept of 'the career' in relation to professionals, we can take advantage of the studies that focus on professional trajectories and the subjective dimension. In theorizing about careers, one of the challenges is to devise a theory for the non-linear career trajectories and to gain an understanding of the subjective forces and motivations that trigger professionals to continue or rupture their career trajectories or seek changes of workplace.

The 'professional dilemma' can be understood as a deepening of the normal hurdles faced by professionals in the course of their career trajectories. Coping with career dilemmas forces the individual to use 'agency capacities' influenced by others. This has immediate effects on the balance between the professional's work and life.

'Professional knowledge' is amassed in different contexts, crucially through practice and within organizations. The learning processes are non-formal and practical. The typologies of the professional knowledge gained and the relevance of the learning processes opens up the possibility of shaping an alternative epistemology on this topic. The basic ideas behind our theoretical framework of the educator who works outside the normal school system are portrayed in the dynamic graph below (see Figure 3.1). The wavy line represents the core career trajectory of the professional. By representing it as a wavy line, rather than a linear one, we indicate that we are talking about the new tendencies in professional career paths, especially among those professionals who have not followed the mainstream of their particular field. This kind of line also expresses a lack of continuity; there are spaces in the line to denote possible ruptures

in the career path. This sort of trajectory is arrived at by placing different kinds of non-formal educational settings at the top of the graph. The other zigzag line, with black dots positioned at changes in direction, represents the professional dilemmas encountered by educators in the course of their career trajectories. The impression given is that these different sorts of dilemmas, represented as black dots, emerge from the normal career history. The white blocks below the wavy line represent the professional's knowledge, each block representing a different type of knowledge accumulated in the course of the professional's career. The somewhat random positioning of these white blocks indicates that this is developing, rather than static knowledge.

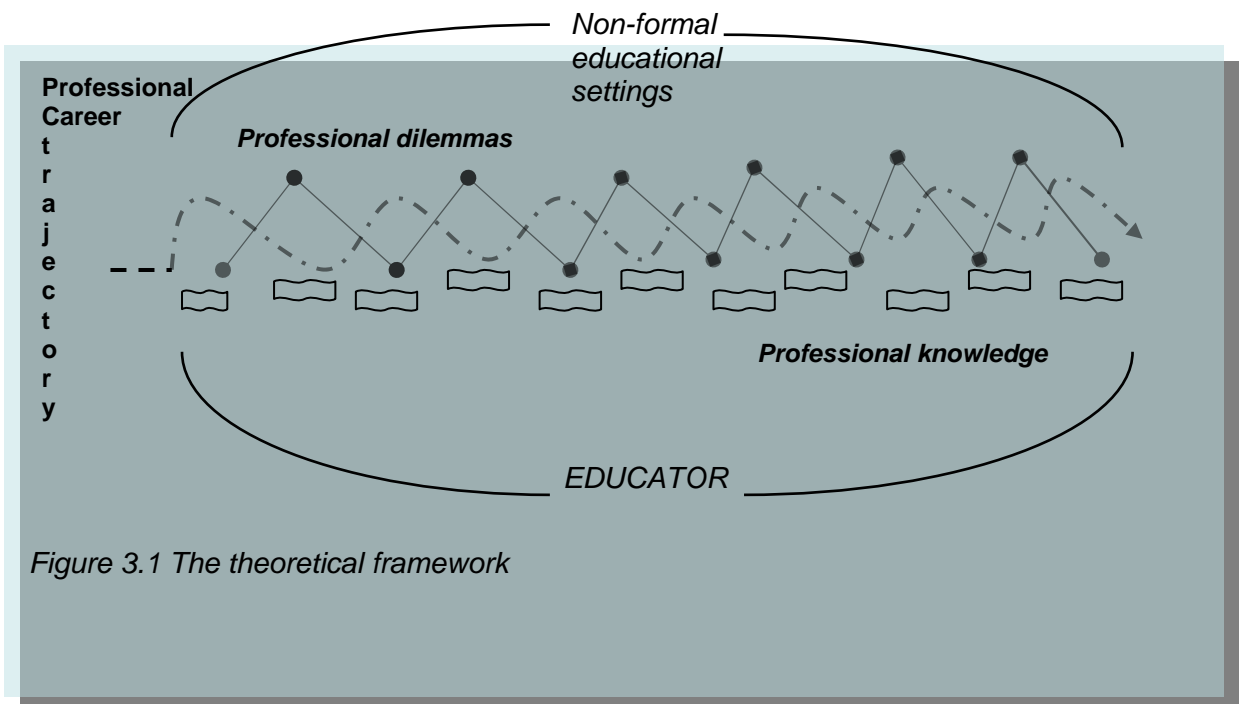


Figure 3.1 The theoretical framework

CHAPTER 4 - AN OVERVIEW OF THE METHODOLOGY USED IN THE RESEARCH

Introduction: The methodology – the approach and processes

The research reported here has been carried out using qualitative methodology. This is an approach to research that incorporates a range of epistemologies, perspectives, and research techniques. It is an approach positioned within an interpretative, constructive, subjective, hermeneutical paradigm in which the key route to amassing knowledge is viewed as being through a person's beliefs and how these influence their understandings of interactions in their daily life and work. As Blustein et al. (2005) mention, because of the limitations of existing theories, qualitative approaches and narrative methods are highly favored in exploring populations that have not been studied very much.

The above paradigm presupposes that human beings are autonomous, reflective creatures, actively constructing the world around them. They develop general knowledge – i.e., knowledge about society at large – and personalized knowledge – i.e. knowledge about how they themselves interact with it – simultaneously. They learn to interpret their surroundings and orientate themselves within it. In the so-called 'free world', where the bounds of gender, culture, caste, stigma, etc. are not the accepted norm, this is largely a self-determined process, in which individuals are free to decide what behaviour is appropriate in a given situation. But even in these parts of the world, insofar as behaviour relates to certain situations and roles in life, society expects the individual to adopt certain attitudes and kinds of behaviour. The process of adjusting free will to societal expectations causes the individual to 'gain experience', and the outcomes of all courses of action that cause an individual to gain experience, influence how that person will behave or act in certain future situations, and how that individual constructs reality in general. The paradigm for constructing reality is thus pluralistic, relativistic, and dynamic (Hermes, 1999; Amuchástegui, 1996).

To the above assumptions, we can then add the macro context in which professionals develop their career. To investigate this we use the ecological, metatheoretical perspective proposed by Faltermaier (1992) to gain an understanding of how this agent influences specific contexts. Thompson's approach (1990) is useful here, because it proposes a comprehensive framework for linking text analysis and interpretative routes with the contextual dimension. This perspective reduces a problem identified by Wexler (1987: 110): "The problem of textual analysis is that it may become reified, abstracted and frozen as scholasticism". The assumption of this approach is that group processes are linked to social trends, and that and the main social trends are processed through dialectical feedback between specific groups. There is a crucial interactive relationship between individuals' lives, their perceptions, experiences, and social- historical contexts (Goodson & Sikes, 2001). From phenomenology and symbolic interactionism, an epistemological background can be identified that helps educators – the subjects of our study – to construct specific meanings about themselves and their profession from their interactions with different levels of environment (van den Berg, 2002).

Although the bounds of this research are more limited to professional issues, the biographical perspective – the relationship with total life experiences – is also important, in addition to the contextual paradigm. It is impossible for an individual not to link other parts of his life retrospectively with his profession. As Killeen (1996: 33) mentions: "careers are part of biography, and take place in, not outside, history". This narrative-retrospective paradigm for studying careers assumes that "we all live inside stories" (Connelly et al., 1997: 672) delimited by a past, present and future, and connected along a plotted line. "People have, after all, a life history, and this history is – for most professions – essential for understanding their professional development and expectations for the future" (van

den Berg, 2002: 589). Thus, from this perspective, “an individual’s life is more like a story than a set of traits or scores” (Palladino, 2005: 392). In reconstructing professional trajectories of our case studies, and in exploring their different phases, and any other characteristics, this retrospective vision and focus is taken into account. Career studies have used an interpretative perspective to highlight these contextual and biographical perspectives:

“If we wish to study careers, we need to listen to people’s narratives and to interpret them, both in terms of what they know and understand of themselves and their context, and of what they may not necessarily know or understand, but can be brought into play by the researcher. These include the wider ideological, social, economic, cultural, and historical contexts. In using this approach, we desire to gain access to others’ experience.” (Collin & Young, 1992: 9).

Social constructionist thinking contends that people’s understanding of the world is grounded in linguistic and communicative conventions created through interactions and relationships. The understandings gained from experience can be evaluated largely through the language people use to describe and explain them. Language is a tool not just for communication, but also for defining and describing experiences. Language embodies specific views of reality. Language not only reflects, but also shapes social relationships, thus discourse is part of the social process in that it constitutes social meanings and social practices (van Noppen, 2000). Another aspect of social constructionist thinking is the issue of the power and significance of knowledge generated by human experience and the language used to define and narrate that experience (Shamai, 2003).

For almost all qualitative methods of research, language is both the subject and the medium. One promising focus of study is the *metaphors* that people use to express and organize their vision of reality; the understandings that they transport from one world to express those of another (Ricoeur, 1977). Various authors, in studying one or other of the professions, have devoted time to analyzing metaphors because, as they are a good way of expressing knowledge, they are also a good means for making sense of professional experience (Calderhead, 1996; Denshire, 2002). In addition to metaphors, there are other verbal expressions that embody emotions which, thanks to human language, represent not only what the person thinks but also how they feel (Maturana, 1988). One feature of this approach is its flexibility in conducting enquiry into these aspects. As Calderhead and Shorrock (1997) have mentioned, data is collected interactively and iteratively in response to initial questions. This data is then compacted and interpreted, and, in so doing, more specific questions, or questions concerning verification, are often generated, which in turn guide subsequent data collection and analysis.

My research questions would be better answered by using one of the best-known qualitative methods – the case-study (Vulliamy et al., 1990; Ragin & Becker, 1992; Gomm et al., 2000). It has been acknowledged (Merriam, 1988) that case-study research in education, using qualitative techniques, is a promising way of discovering, gaining insight into, and understanding the people being studied from their perspectives, instead of from someone else’s. This naturalistic inquiry, focused on meaning in context, requires a data-collection instrument that, when gathering and interpreting data, is sensitive to underlying meaning. The methods employed utilize human sensibilities such as interviewing, observing, and analyzing, so humans are best-suited for this task.

This research design is based upon multicase or collective case studies. Stake (1994) defines it as an in-depth joint study of a number of cases to investigate the general conditions surrounding the cases, the cases as phenomena, and the cases as part of a population. The aim is to accumulate information from various sources about the same

subject; about, for example, the same undergraduate study at the same institution. Stebbins (2001) finds the case-study method a particularly appropriate approach to use where scientific knowledge about the group of people being studied is limited, and where the research is exploratory. This applies very much to the group of educators who took part in our cases.

One of the main qualitative tools used in this process is the semi-structured interview. The purpose of this technique is to describe and interpret themes within the worlds in which the subjects live (Steinar, 1996). In the subjective approach introduced by the interpretative community of researchers (Piantanida & Garman, 1999), the semi-structured interview is used to stimulate narratives, dialogue and reflection. These are very important ways of identifying subjects' viewpoints: "To live means to continuously compose stories, as long as one's life journey continues. This principle is applicable to all aspects of one's life, including one's working life and career development" (Chen, 2003: 3).

Empirically, there have been two main stages in this research. The first stage involved collecting and analyzing the *curricula vitae* of 35 former students of the Faculty of Education of the first private university in Peru: the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru, located in the capital city of Lima. The second stage, developed in 2003 and 2004, consisted of selecting and interviewing six educators, and analyzing those interviews.

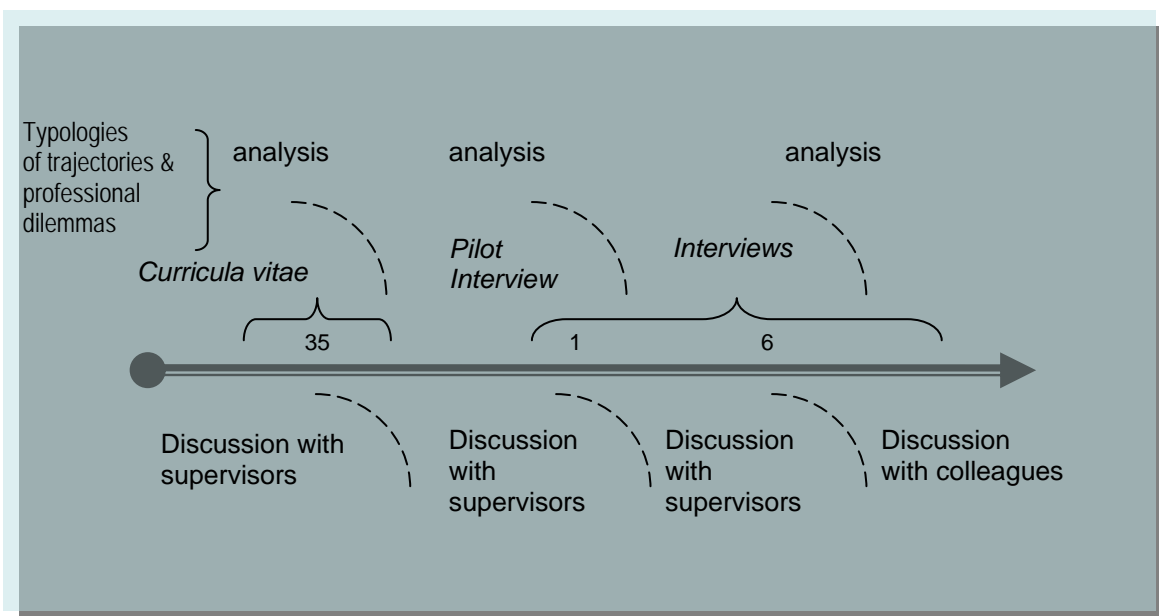


Figure 4.1 The empirical processes in this research

4.1 The sample

As there is no data base of PUCP Faculty of Education graduates working in non-formal education, I used the *snowball technique* (Becher, 1999; Goodson & Sikes, 2001) to select my sample, by asking some of these former students if they knew of others who were working as educators outside the school system. I did not use random selection to choose this sample.

I collected 35 *curricula vitae* (CVs) from former students, all of whom have been engaged to some extent in non-formal educational settings in the course of their careers. To help acquire a wider vision, I was rather flexible in the criteria I set for choosing the *curricula vitae*. It proved unnecessary to collect more CVs than this, because they provided a sufficient diversity of career paths, ages, gender, and

workplaces. Moreover, these 35 samples confirmed that a segment of former students were indeed working close to educational processes outside the school system, and these were not the only ones. At a later stage, after the initial selection phase, I collected a further eight resumé in this segment.

After this first step, I selected a restricted sample from the *curricula vitae* provided using the *typical-case selection* (Merriam, 1988) or *purposive* (Goodson & Sikes, 2001) strategy. This strategy is one in which the researcher compiles a profile of the attributes of an average case, so that specific cases can be gauged against it. Then, setting more precise criteria, I invited the people in that sample to take part in semi-structured interviews.

For this research, all the interviewees had to have the following profile of attributes:

- The educators who were selected had to be graduates of the Faculty of Education of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- The graduates selected were those whose career paths were most predominantly in the field of non-formal education. To meet this criterion, the selection had to be made not just from one type of career path, but from different ones (see Table 4.1, below).
- To obtain a homogeneous sample I decided to select three male and three female educators.
- The educators had to be at least in the middle of their career, i.e. they had to have 12 or more years of professional experience (Huberman, 1995) – enough to make it possible to reconstruct it.
- To obtain a range of professional experiences, the graduates included in the sample were chosen because they had built up their experience in different settings (such as an NGO, an enterprise or a public institution). Some were working in Lima and others in the provinces. So the selection was made from educators working in different settings.

Using these criteria, we selected six educators to be interviewed. By coincidence, all of them, except one graduate who had qualified as a teacher of secondary-school mathematics, had specialised in teaching social sciences at secondary-school level. In addition to interviewing the six former students, I also conducted three similar interviews, informally. This helped me to make some contrasts, and to clarify my reflections. Most of the respondents thanked me for the opportunity of being interviewed because it allowed them to talk freely about themselves and to recall many aspects of their professional life:

“I never thought that we would reflect on this”; “if you hadn’t asked me, I wouldn’t have thought of this, one goes through life working without stopping”; “very interesting what you have told me, because I have never asked myself about it in that way”.

4.2 The instruments

4.2.1 The *curricula vitae*

The first big step in becoming more familiar with the professional characteristics of educators in non-formal educational settings was to analyze the *curricula vitae*. One of my specific research questions was: *What are the characteristics of educators’ careers in non-formal educational settings?*

Following Foucault’s ideas (1980), modernity offers the possibility of documenting the individual. The *curriculum vitae* is a typically modern document that records people’s individual lives, and in particular their work domain. It is a personal presentation in which facts relevant to a particular job are highlighted, while other facts are suppressed or not even mentioned. For the purposes of this research, the *curriculum vitae* is, to some extent, a symbol of what Giddens calls “the reflectivity of self” (1991); individuals

have a need to set their “self-actualisation” on paper; to say what they have done in life and to place more value on some experiences than on others.

This modern artifact is at the crossroads between the individual and institutions. Institutions can “read” elements of a person’s personal history through the curriculum vitae. In that way, the individual “empowers” institutions to familiarize themselves with key aspects of personal career trajectories; the curriculum vitae speaks to unknown others on behalf of the individual. Workplaces “read” curricula vitae from the point of view of their own specific needs, using them to judge which individuals are likely to perform best for them. The curriculum vitae is a means of separating functional roles from personal issues:

“The distinctive mark of the modern workplace is the fact that humans are involved in it qua roles, not qua people. Bureaucracy regulates work, but leaves other aspects of a person’s life (that is, family, community or public life) outside its immediate jurisdictions.” (Kallinikos, 2003: 598)

I asked the informants to write down as many details about their professional careers as they could. For many, it took some weeks to do this task.

Analyzing each curriculum vitae – connecting years of experience and kinds of setting by a time-line – enabled us to outline a typology of career paths and to position each of the respondents within it. This typology is based on the different levels of engagement within the non-formal educational field, and it embraces five types of career path:

- *Graduates who have worked in non-formal educational fields in the course of their careers, without getting involved in formal education.* These were the strongest career paths in non-formal education in the sample.
- *Graduates who have worked in non-formal education for most of their careers, interspersed with short periods in formal education.* Typically, these were career paths of educators who had been working mainly in non-formal educational settings, but who, nevertheless, were open to taking on specific jobs in formal educational settings.
- *Graduates who began their professional careers in formal education and then moved permanently to non-formal education.* These trajectories were characterized by the educator working in formal educational settings for a few years, especially at the beginning of their career. Then, a significant change occurred which led the educator to move towards non-formal educational settings instead, without returning to formal education.
- *Graduates who have worked in formal educational settings for most of their careers and moved to non-formal educational settings in the latter part of their careers.* This type of trajectory was typical of those educators who had been implicated in formal educational settings for most of their professional careers, but who had changed over to the non-formal educational field in the latter part of their careers.
- *Graduates who have worked in both non-formal educational settings and in formal educational settings throughout the educator’s career.* This is a trajectory in which practitioners had developed their professional careers in both formal and non-formal educational settings by, for instance, working part-time in both settings simultaneously, or by building up approximately half of their career in one field and the other half in another.

Our analysis of the curricula vitae was helpful in selecting a smaller sample of educators, to interview them. We only selected those that were examples of one of the

first three types of career path, because these were the most relevant ones in terms of length of experience in the non-formal educational field. This also made it easier to formulate questions for the interviews.

Table 4.1 Criteria for selecting the sample

Interviewees	Gender	Workplace	Place of Residence	Type of Trajectory
LL	Male	NGO	Provinces	Full employment in non-formal education
LV	Female	Church Institution	Lima	Full employment in non-formal education
RM	Female	NGO	Lima	Relevant employment within non-formal education and partial presence in formal education in the course of her career.
JM	Male	NGO	Provinces	Relevant employment within non-formal education and partial presence in formal education in the course of his career.
JC	Male	Public Institution	Lima	Relevant employment in non-formal education and partial presence in formal education at the beginning of his career.
RR	Female	Enterprise	Lima	Relevant employment in non-formal education and partial presence in formal education at the beginning of her career.
LM (pilot)	Female	Public Institution/ NGO	Lima	Relevant employment in non-formal education and partial presence in formal education at the beginning of her career.

As well as typifying career paths, it was helpful to analyze the *curricula vitae* in order to generate another typification of the professionals' dilemmas that we had tested in the pilot interview (see Figure 4.1).

4.2.2 The semi-structured interviews

This instrument was my main tool for collecting verbal data in order to accumulate information that would provide answers to my specific research questions. The semi-structured characteristic of this instrument was a very important aid in discovering more about an educator's perceptions. These interviews took the form of face-to-face

conversations about the interviewee's career path. Although these conversations had a certain focus, interviewees were free to fill in the details in whatever way they liked. I interviewed each of the six interviewees twice, for approximately two hours on each occasion. To keep their memories fresh, the second interviews were held two months later. The twelve interviews were tape-recorded under good recording conditions, and transcribed word for word (a total of 115,600 words). Following Peräkylä (1997), decisions regarding reliability were taken on the basis of the technical quality of the recordings and the adequacy of the transcripts.

The educators agreed to be interviewed without payment, on the understanding that the information they provided would be used for this research only and that it would be confidential. Great care was taken to ensure that the comments were reported anonymously and that no names were given of people or institutions. The interviewees gave their approval to use this information under the rules established for avoiding personal risk.

In formulating core questions on a flexible range of topics, the following suggestions were considered: to spend time building up the confidence of the individuals involved, thereby encouraging open and honest cooperation; to organize the topics in such a way that memory and interest would be stimulated; to hold the interview in the interviewee's office, or at another location where it could be conducted in privacy; to avoid influencing an interviewee's answers and insisting on them giving an answer to every question, thus forcing them to give over-rationalized or defensive answers; to ask general questions to introduce certain subjects; to ask short questions; to pay attention to those topics which generated strong emotions in the person; after a time, to interview the educator again to check the strength of their claims (Hammer & Wildavsky, 1990; Calderhead & Shorrock, 1997).

The pilot interview helped me to improve the range of topics and the questions asked during the semi-structured interviews. I used the following criteria to gauge the ease of interaction between the interviewee and the interviewer:

Table 4.2 Criteria used in validating the questions

Interviewee	Interviewer
Ease in understanding the question: Does the interviewee ask for a further explanation before they can understand the question?	Explicitness: How explicitly did the interviewer formulate the original question?
Quick answer: Does the interviewee answer the question almost immediately, or do they remain silent?	Emerging: Does the interviewer ask emerging questions or not?
Content-related: Does the interviewee answer the main issue of the question, or do they digress?	
Style: Does the interviewee answer the question by talking about themselves, or do they behave cautiously?	

Taking these criteria into consideration, I decided to (a) use the same way of formulating the questions at identical stages of each interview, (b) change the form of a question without changing its position in the interview, or change the form and position

of questions (c) delete some of the questions. I then discussed the report of this pilot interview with my supervisors.

The interview was organized in three parts, each containing sub-topics. Specific kinds of questions (see Table 4.3) were asked under each sub-topic.

The first part of the interview was devoted to reconstructing informants' career paths since leaving university. Soon after starting this reconstruction, the data from the curriculum vitae, and the oral information were checked against the interviewer's time-line. This strategy was useful in reminding informants of the key events in their careers and when they had taken place (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Borgen & Amundson, 1990). Information about positions, tasks and incomes was also exchanged during this part of the interview.

The second part of the interview focused on topics relating to professional knowledge. We asked about the skills, knowledge and attitudes that they had learnt during their professional life, and asked them to try to recall critical incidents. We jogged their memories to help them recall, spontaneously, and in detail, situations that were not necessarily sensational events. Important here were minor incidents and small everyday events that could be recalled in detail (Angelides, 2001).

The third part of the interview was concentrated on talking about dilemmas in the professional sphere, as identified in our initial classification. They discussed the tensions experienced in various facets of their career, such as tensions related to Education as a discipline or to specialization within the field of Education; and locational and institutional tensions.

Table 4.3 Framework of the semi-structured interview

TOPICS	QUESTIONS
I Professional characteristics	
1.1. career trajectory	+Could you describe the part of your career path since leaving university that contains the most important periods? Which of these periods can be positioned in a time-line? +To what extent does the following time-line reflect the overall trajectory of your professional life? +Can you remember details of how you came to work in your current place of work? And how about your first place of work?
1.2. tasks	+What are your more regular tasks in your current workplace? +Which of these tasks do you find the most interesting? Why?
1.3. incomes	+What is your present income, approximately? +Have you ever earned more than this amount? When? Doing what?
II Professional knowledge	
2.1. Skills/Knowledge/Attitudes	+Which are the three most important skills /knowledge/ attitudes that you have developed during your career as an educator? +How did you learn these, or at least one of these? +Can you remember any critical incidents or experiences

	<p>in connection with punctuality which caused you to put experience into practice?</p> <p>+Which skills/knowledge/attitudes would you have liked to learn more about during your career as an educator?</p>
III. Professional dilemmas	
3.1. Dilemmas in the disciplinary or working field	<p>+Was your decision to study education clear-cut? Did you face any tension in choosing education as a career?</p> <p>+Having followed a teacher-training course to qualify for the school system, why are you working in non-formal educational settings? What has motivated you to stay in these settings?</p> <p>+Have there been moments when you have considered leaving non-formal educational settings? When and why?</p> <p>+What do you expect from your professional future; do you want to continue in the same settings that you're in now?</p> <p>+If you are not a school teacher, how would you describe your professionalism?</p>
3.2. Dilemmas of what to specialize in	<p>+Did you experience moments of tension in selecting what kind of course to follow after your undergraduate studies?</p> <p>+How did you choose your Masters specialization, or other studies?</p>
3.3. Locational dilemmas	<p>+If you're working in the provinces: What made you decide to move there? What does working in the provinces mean to you?</p> <p>+If you have previously worked in the provinces: What made you decide to move there? What was your motivation for working in the provinces? Would you like to return to working in the provinces?</p> <p>+If you haven't worked in the provinces: Have you ever been asked to work there? What happened? Would you like to work in the provinces?</p>
3.4. Institutional dilemmas	<p>+Have you ever been in situations in which you wished either to change your position, project (or department) in the same institution? Why did these situations occur? What steps were taken to resolve them?</p>

4.3 The procedures

After completing the interviews and transcribing them, I started the code–recode procedure and separated the data into matrices in order to position the information in accordance with my research questions. For the analytical phase of the study, I used two sorts of matrix. The first only referred to each individual interviewee and the second was a global matrix to reflect all the interviewees. All the material was comprehensively indexed. Taking Arksey and Knight's (1999) suggestions into consideration, two other procedures were carried out: the different categories were adjusted to the analysis, and standardized, and, secondly, the accuracy of the index was checked. In some cases, the same units of text were indexed in different categories. I used the units as originally

allocated in the interview, but also took into consideration units in other places that were not directly linked to the question asked. One helpful way of systematizing the analytical process was to make a written report of each interview, condensing the analysis and the routes facilitating the interpretation of information. The context for interpreting the statements was provided by reviewing each informant's first and second interview, by making an overall review of all the interviews, and by setting theoretical frames of reference (Steinar, 1996). To produce the final report, it was essential to read these reports, and the matrices, several times to accumulate information. My supervisors reviewed this work and gave their opinions on the basis of these reports.

Table 4.4 Research questions and the procedures adopted

Main questions	Specific questions	Procedure
<i>What are the characteristics of educators' careers in non-formal educational settings?</i>	What are the specific career trajectories of these educators and their main characteristics?	Analyze the <i>curricula vitae</i> and work out the time lines
	What are the principal motivations of these educators to remain within non-formal education?	Analyze the semi-structured interviews; code them and work out the matrices
	What are the career perspectives of these educators?	Analyze the semi-structured interviews: code them and work out the matrices
	What is the significance of this kind of professional within the Peruvian context?	Analyze the time-lines from the semi-structured interviews and compare them against the context
<i>What typical dilemmas do non-formal educators have to face during their careers?</i>	What do educators in non-formal educational settings understand by vocational dilemmas, disciplinary field dilemmas, specialization dilemmas, locational dilemmas and institutional dilemmas?	Analyze <i>curricula vitae</i> . Analyze the semi-structured interviews: code them and work out the matrices
<i>What knowledge have these educators gained from their workplace experience?</i>	What are the most relevant skills, knowledge, and attitudes characterizing educators in non-formal educational settings?	Analyze the semi-structured interviews: code them and work out the matrices
	From which sources do educators in non-formal educational settings mainly draw the knowledge that they use in their professional life?	Analyze the semi-structured interviews: code them and work out the matrices
	What kinds of mixed knowledge do educators in non-formal educational settings have?	Analyze the matrices

Using our procedure, we selected 96 excerpts of qualitative information provided by the semi-structured interviews. In this final report, these are printed in italics. The criteria for selecting these excerpts were:

- the relationship with the particular subject, as revealed by the interview.
- the presence of metaphors and explicit emotional verbal expressions, as emphasized in our qualitative approach to the language.
- the presence of critical incidents, as a means of acquiring specific retrospective narrative information.
- the representation of different viewpoints, to balance the different perceptions of the interviewees.

Twenty-one of these 96 excerpts (21%) included some kind of metaphor in the interviewees' way of talking. Sixteen of these 96 excerpts (16%) were explicitly included because they were critical incidents. The 'Control Matrix of Excerpts in the Final Report' is included as Appendix B. We used this as a tool for managing the empirical data. It also proved to be a helpful tool for checking the relation between an excerpt and the category of excerpt to which it belonged, and for identifying which excerpt had been classified as containing a critical incident, a metaphor, or an emotional expression. Ordinal numbers, the same as those in the Control Matrix, were used that correspond with each excerpt in this report. Both the Matrix and this report summarize the 96 excerpts; however, three have been used twice. In addition, in checking the different viewpoints to balance interviewees' differing perceptions, I worked out a 'Control Matrix of Interviewees' Excerpts' (see Appendix C). This last instrument afforded a total overview of the number of excerpts used from each interviewee, so it acted as a check against the over or under representation of interviewees' viewpoints.

Although talking about critical incidents was confined to the second part of the interview, we noted any reference to them throughout the entire interview to give our information more substance. We also took note of them in the analysis phase, on the assumption that these incidents would give us clues to help uncover related facts. Moreover, we assumed that these critical incidents would crucially affect educators' perceptions and practices (Goodson, 2003).

Taking different authors into consideration (e.g., Young & Friesen, 1990; Borgen & Amundson, 1990; Kerry, 2005), we selected 16 meaningful critical incidents – at least two from each respondent – using the following criteria:

- The interviewee relates, realistically and credibly, a personal situation experienced earlier, or one being experienced at the present time.
- The interviewee is able to relate enough details about the situation to know who are involved and in what context.
- The interviewee relates a story, but gives no general or theoretical opinion.
- The interviewee recalls dialogues with other people.

4.4 Validity issues

In qualitative research, it is important to apply *intersubjectivity* to increase the reliability of analyses. This helps to strengthen credibility and avoid biased subjectivity. To improve intersubjectivity, we used a range of methods suggested by different authors (Geijsel et al., 1999; Milinki, 1999; Calderhead & Shorrock, 1997). In doing this, we strove to achieve different forms of consensus, such as:

- *Consensus*: I held the first interview with a colleague – a peer-helper – and then analyzed this interview with him afterwards (Oscar Silva, faculty member and Ph.D. student).
- *Regimentation*: To minimize discrepancies, I followed the same procedures for collecting the data as for analyzing it.
- *Explicitness*: Each step of the procedure was carefully described and justified in different papers.

- *Argumentation*: I discussed the methodology in meetings and mailed the discussions to my supervisors. Two meetings were held with my peers at the Department of Education at the Catholic University of Peru to discuss the design of this study and how it was progressing. In addition, I presented some of the interim results at an International Congress of Education in Chile (May 2004) and at a session of the Interdisciplinary Workshop on Schools promoted by the Social Sciences Department of the Catholic University of Peru (June 2004).
- *Participant feedback*: Consensus is necessary, not only between the different stages of research, but also between the researchers and respondents. This was obtained by providing feedback based on the results of the study and interpreting the reactions of respondents during the second interviews.
- *Data triangulation*: I crossed the information provided by the curricula vitae with the information provided by the interviews and the informal interviews.
- *Theory triangulation*: I used many theories and perspectives to interpret and explain the data.
- *Low inference descriptors*: I selected descriptions that closely equated with the participants' own accounts, (verbatim) to present, as accurately as possible, the interviewees' perspective. This is indicated by the number of quotations included.

Methodologically, this research is to some extent close to Rebollo et al.'s (2001) qualitative study of educators. These researchers also selected six educators, 3 male and 3 female, all working in different contexts, and applied semi-structured interviews to reconstruct their professional trajectories and ask about another issues. My research differs from it in that I added other kinds of question, used complementary sources of analysis, such as the curriculum vitae, and tried to take advantage of the metaphors and images used by the interviewees, as well as the critical incidents they recalled. This research introduces an alternative way for studying the former students of a faculty, by focusing on qualitative methods. These differ from the ones used in studying mainstream career paths.

CHAPTER 5 - CAREER PATHS OF EDUCATORS IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

In this section, the first general research question is explored: *What are the characteristics of educators' careers in non-formal educational settings?* This chapter reports the outcomes of examining the case studies from two complementary understandings of professionals' careers. The first one portrays career trajectories as a sequence of periods, each characterized by a set of facts; the second one focuses on identifying educators' career perspectives and their motivations for entering and remaining in the non-formal educational field. As they move within more diffuse boundaries than teachers in the school system do, to gain an understanding of this type of educator, it is important to gather this sort of information.

In this section, I have tried to combine the contextual and biographical approaches in order to find answers to the following specific questions:

- What are the actual career paths of these educators, and what are their main characteristics?
- What are the main motivations of these educators for remaining within non-formal education?
- What are the career perspectives of these educators?
- What is the significance of this kind of professional within the changing Peruvian context?

5.1 Findings

5.1.1 *The career paths*

The interview analysis confirmed and strengthened some of the approaches started while analyzing the *curricula vitae*. This analysis focused on the routes, or trajectories, taken by graduates after leaving university, and on whether they were related in any way to their student background.

The first clear finding was that these trajectories are not completely linear. They move, in varying extents, within three major fields: the educational field, another professional field and a non-professional field.

The *educational field* includes the formal and non-formal subfields of education. The first comprises teaching, managing tasks in schools or in institutions of higher education. The second is related to developing educational activities in other settings beyond schools and institutions of higher education.

Other professional fields cover those education graduates who are employed in carrying out activities that have nothing to do with the educational field.

The *non-professional field* covers periods in which the graduate was neither working in the educational field nor in any other professional field. Usually this implied that they had no conventional job at that moment.

The following brief descriptions outline the routes followed by each of the six graduates studied. After that, to highlight their differences, we give a graphic presentation of the different sorts of career path (see Figure 5.1).

Case: JC (male, 39 years old)

JC is married, with two daughters. He graduated twelve years ago and works as an educator. He obtained a Bachelors and Licentiate degree in Secondary Education, and

is qualified to teach Philosophy and Social Sciences. In addition, he has a Diploma in 'Strategic Management in Training'.

His career path, so far, falls into the category 'began partly in formal educational settings followed by relevant employment in non-formal educational settings. Has not returned to teaching in formal settings'. His career can be divided into three phases. The first phase began when he was still an undergraduate student. At that time, he also worked in a poor state school, and continued to do so until some time after leaving university. The second phase was when he moved to another type of school, a private middle school situated in Lima. He worked there for six months, teaching subjects related to the main subjects of his degree. During those six months, he devoted time not only to the school, but also to a new job as a trainer. This would become his full-time job.

The third, and more permanent phase was when he took up his new job as trainer in one of the most important public institutions — the one dealing with tax policy. He worked in this institution's Department of Training for 11 years. It was during this time that he gained his Strategic Management in Training diploma and formally obtained his Licentiate degree in Education.

His trajectory includes a change from a school to a non-formal educational setting within the state apparatus. He did not go through the experience of a non-governmental organization, although at some point he applied for a job in this type of setting. He moved directly into a public institution, as a trainer, at a salary 100 percent higher than his first wage as a teacher had been. In the course of those 11 years, he became involved in five major tasks: diagnosing problem areas, planning, giving advice, carrying out executive activities, and assessing training. Overall, this presents a picture of permanent and successful engagement at the same institution throughout the 11 years. He has not been unemployed since he left university. In fact, he was employed, even while he was there.

Case RR (female, 38 years old)

RR is married, with two daughters. She graduated twelve years ago and works as an educator. She has a Bachelors degree in Secondary Education and is qualified to teach Mathematics. She has not taken any graduate courses since leaving university. RR's career path is similar to that of JC's, in that she began her career by working partly in formal educational settings. This was followed by relevant employment in non-formal educational settings, without returning to formal teaching. From her account, the two main phases in her career trajectory, so far, are as follows:

During the first period, she worked as a secondary-school teacher at private schools in two middle-class areas of Lima. She did that over a four-year period, with a break of a year in between to look after her baby. During that time she worked part time in an engine importing business. After that year, she returned to formal education.

The second long phase was when she left school employment to search for a job close to her new home. It was half a year before she finally got a job at the laboratory of a transnational pharmaceutical enterprise. During that phase, she held several jobs. She first visited physicians to promote medicines and later extended this work by carrying out educative campaigns in schools, and elsewhere. In addition, she trained other promoters employed by the laboratory, and worked as assistant to the manager. RR also developed educative materials. When we last interviewed her, she was on the point of leaving to become a manager of an independent family enterprise.

RR's career path reveals a significant change from a school to a non-formal educational setting within the business world. She did not go through the experience of working in non-governmental or governmental organizations. She went almost directly into the business field, acting as a trainer and taking on other tasks for a salary 200 percent higher than her first salary as a teacher had been, and now 300 percent higher as a manager. Her overall career path so far can thus be interpreted as one of

successful employment with the same institution for a period of seven years. She has only been unemployed for a short time since leaving university.

Case: RM (female, 46 years old)

RM is divorced and has one daughter. She graduated 21 years ago and works as an educator. She holds a Bachelors degree in Secondary Education and is qualified to teach History and Geography. In addition, she holds a Diploma in 'Leadership and Management' and has followed the Masters program in 'International and Intercultural Management'.

Her entire career path so far has been directed towards non-formal education, although she has undertaken some work in formal educational settings from time to time. From her own description, we can outline at least three periods in RM's trajectory.

The first period started when she left university and discontinued the teaching experience that she had been building up during her undergraduate studies. In the year following her daughter's birth she devoted her time to motherhood and did not work at all. The second period covers the time when she decided to work outside school settings. This led to a range of jobs in various NGOs in Lima and in the Andean provinces. The third period focused on consolidating her employment in an NGO, while at the same time remaining open to project work in formal educational settings, either as a consultant on school subjects or teaching certain courses at universities. She spent seven consecutive years consolidating her position at an NGO for development issues in Lima, and is now the academic coordinator for this institution. Her work as coordinator and trainer includes collaborating with trainers of similar institutions, designing courses, developing and preparing educational materials for course participants, supervising these courses, training, evaluating, and systematizing. One of the tasks she finds most interesting is direct training. While fulfilling these tasks, she also lectures in Masters programs at universities in Lima. In addition, she has established a consultancy to introduce certain new topics at school level. Also during this period, she has gained a Diploma in Gender Studies from a Peruvian university followed by a Masters degree from a university, abroad.

RM's career trajectory illustrates how some non-formal educators build up their careers (and their earnings) by changing workplaces, subject matter, and the type of recipient that they train. RM moved from formal educational workplaces, such as schools, to the non-formal educational workplaces offered by non-governmental organizations; she moved from addressing teenagers through subjects related to secondary education, to addressing adults by assessing and satisfying their further education needs; she progressed from an income as a state teacher to a much higher income (\$ 1200 per month) as a professional, specialized in adult education and development issues.

Case: JM (male 40 years old)

He is married with two daughters. JM graduated 19 years ago and works as an educator. Qualified to teach Social Sciences at secondary-school level, he started studying for a Masters degree in Social Management, but did not complete the course. JM's career trajectory has so far been strongly oriented towards non-formal education, but he has also spent some time working sporadically in formal education. From his story about his working life, the following phases can be identified:

In the first of these phases, he worked for approximately two years as a teacher in a state school for handicapped students in Lima, at the same time becoming involved in a special program for the parents of these students. His mother is the director of this school.

The second phase was very important because this was when he moved to the non-formal education field. He left his job, moved to a poor area of Lima, and became an adult educator within the context of socio-political activism. This involvement lasted for 18 years, during which time he became a social leader of local and national communal organizations. This work did not offer a regular income. Specifically, he was active as a

promoter and trainer in organizations devoted to giving food to poor families. For two years, he was also the secretary of a local organization in the neighborhood where he lived, and a member of the executive committee of the communal organization for his home district.

The third phase was marked by a crisis in this socio-political movement, which forced him to return to formal education, though on different terms. He sponsored and managed innovation in a school situated in the same poor area, a task that kept him occupied for three years. Classroom teaching was not his main task there.

The fourth phase began when he left that school to become an independent consultant working in adult education training, programming projects and producing educational materials. His clients were NGOs and educational organizations such as schools and universities. In 2002, he and his family decided to move to one of the Andean provinces, and since then he has continued to work in that region. At present, in addition to his independent consultancies, he is also a director of a recently founded NGO that aims to promote educational development by linking formal and non-formal education in the province — one of the poorest Andean provinces in Peru. This has been his most successful phase, as far as income is concerned.

JM's career path is not a simple linear trajectory. He has mainly worked in non-formal educational settings as an adult educator, although some of his jobs have been in formal educational settings. However, except at the beginning of his career, his presence in formal education has been mostly as a consultant or trainer, rather than as a school teacher. His socio-political commitment was stronger in his first job in the non-formal educational field. It weakened in later years. The more his socio-political commitment declined, the more his income grew. In fact, at the beginning, in the communal organizations, he was working virtually as a volunteer. His decision to go with his family to live in the provinces led to another important change. It gave him a successful experience in professional terms: 10 years of permanent work as an independent consultant. Nowadays, he is frequently involved in programming and training, especially the latter, which he prefers. He also develops educational materials such as modules and handbooks. In his curriculum vitae he also lists other, less frequent, tasks, such as program evaluation, and field study.

Case: LL (male, 40 years old)

LL is married, and has two children. This educator graduated 16 years ago. His academic background includes a Bachelors and Licentiate degree in Secondary Education, which qualifies him to teach History and Geography. He started the course for the Diploma in 'Youth Culture and Development', but did not complete it.

LL's career is characterized by constant employment in (different) non-formal educational settings. He has never taught in schools. He divides his career history into three phases, all of them in the non-formal educational field.

During the first period, he worked with peasants on organizational matters aimed at boosting their productivity. This work was carried out in conjunction with various NGOs. In the first project, situated in a northern coastal province of Peru, he worked with peasants there, for approximately a year. In the second project, which lasted for two years, he trained peasants from different parts of rural Peru to take on leadership roles. A second period in his career trajectory began when he agreed to join an NGO, as an employee. This long period lasted for seven years. His job was coordinating a rural project to boost the productivity of small enterprises dedicated to fruit production in a province close to Lima. Specifically, his contribution was to the training component of this project.

The third period started three years ago in yet another NGO and is still going on. It entails giving support to social organizations in the rural areas of one of the poorest provinces of north-eastern Peru. At first, LL was in charge of a specific project in this province, then later he became the NGO's coordinator for the province. This period differs from the previous ones in that boosting production was a less prominent aspect.

In his current position, LL is busy with the following tasks: coordinating activities with other institutions, planning the internal work of his office, advising on the training component of the projects being organized by his office, training adults from rural areas, and producing educational materials. Of these tasks, his favourite ones are institutional planning and producing materials.

During his career, LL has worked with various kinds of NGOs, mainly in coastal and Andean areas of rural Peru. He has never worked in governmental institutions. His activities have been directed towards the training component of projects aimed at boosting production and organizing rural communities, socially. He has been able to maintain his educational identity as a professional trainer. Overall, we can view the 16 years since he graduated as a successful career path, characterized by constant employment and a progressively increasing income. He has not been unemployed since leaving university.

Case LV (female 56 years old)

LV is single. She graduated 24 years ago and works as an educator. She has a Bachelors and Licentiate degree in Secondary Education and is qualified to teach Philosophy and Social Sciences. She has not taken any graduate courses since leaving university.

Since leaving university, LV has not taught in schools. Her work has been concentrated within diverse non-formal educational settings.

During the first period after graduating, she was involved in a public literacy program for migrant women in Lima, and also in pastoral activities in a parish in the same poor area. She had already been involved in both of these activities as an undergraduate student. However, she discontinued this work for a year in order to finish her Licentiate thesis.

The second period was marked by her move into the world of NGOs. She quit her involvement in the literacy program and started to work as a promoter. Later she became a director of an NGO that supported social projects in the same poor area of Lima.

The third period was marked by another transfer within the NGO world. She moved to another NGO – one belonging to one of the Churches active in Peru – at first as a promoter and then as the Executive Secretary. In this position, her most frequent tasks are: coordinating her institution's participation in international networks, training (a third of her time is devoted to training), approving projects; coordinating the internal team, and representing the institution in legal matters. She has been doing this nationally important job for this NGO for 15 years.

This graduate's career path shows a combination of working in public and non-governmental organizations. The first, linked to the literacy program, was in one of the traditional settings of non-formal education, while the second was linked to church programs through her work in a parish and in other institutions that offered support to the local area. LV's appointments, in top positions in the NGOs with which she was involved, are indicative of a successful career trajectory. Directed at first towards a specific area of Lima, which later on had national repercussions, her work has clearly had an increasing impact. This is reflected in her increasing income. In the 24 years since graduating, she has only been unemployed for one year, and this was her own decision.

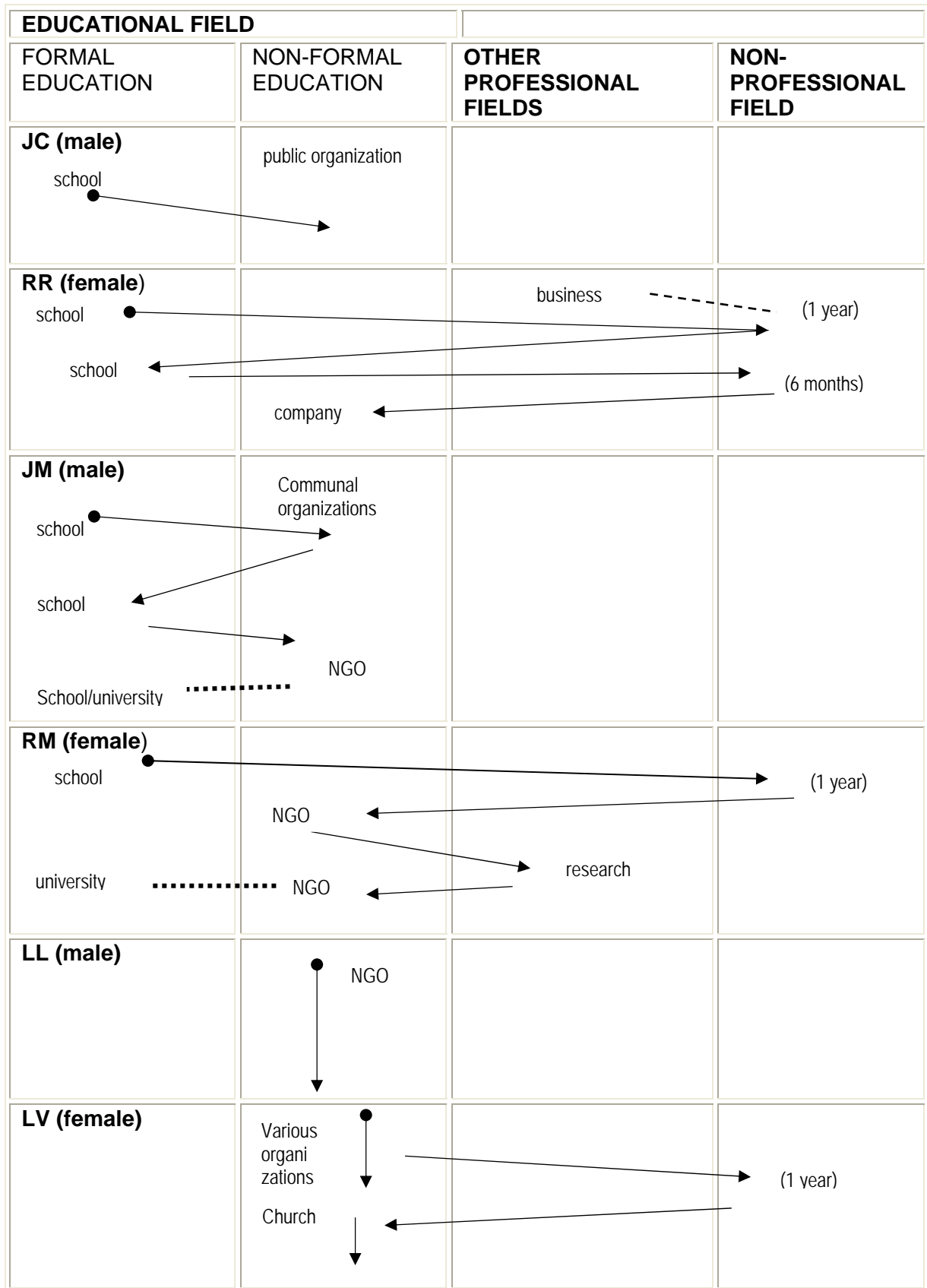


Figure 5.1 The various career paths of the six educators who were interviewed

5.1.2 *The characteristics of these career paths*

The trajectories described above are alike in so far as these educators have been successful in non-formal education despite the fact that they were all molded by their own training to become school teachers in the formal education system. However, because their entry into non-formal education differed in each case, their career paths are also different.

Using the trajectory classification developed from analyzing the curricula vitae, my first task was to look at *the range of flexibility* in these six trajectories. Do they confirm the initial classification? To answer this question, the career paths in the sample described in Section 5.1.1 can be compared with the three types of trajectory listed below:

Type 1: Graduates who began their professional careers in formal education and then moved permanently to non-formal education. JC's case is very clearly of this type, and fits in with our assumption. RR's case is more complex because she did not move directly from formal to non-formal education. Hers is a flexible career path; the result of repeatedly searching for optimal solutions for the changes in her private circumstances. She first moved from working in a school to combining part-time business employment with family duties. After this period, she returned to school teaching, until a house move led to short-term employment while she looked for a more conveniently situated job. At this point, she applied for a job as a trainer in a company.

Type 2: Graduates who have worked in non-formal education for most of their careers, interspersed with short periods in formal education. JM and RM's career paths fit into this type. So far, both of them have concentrated on non-formal education, while keeping their options open in formal education — JM through his consultancy activities for schools and universities, and RM by lecturing in universities. The difference between them is that, JM has gained more experience in schools in the course of his career, and RM in research activities.

Type 3: Graduates who have worked in non-formal educational fields in the course of their careers, without getting involved in formal education. LL, with his uninterrupted work as an educator in NGOs is a good example. LV's trajectory, however, is somewhat more diverse, because she interrupted her non-formal educational activities for a year and was also involved not only in the NGO-world but also in a public adult-education program.

Of all the cases, RR's is the most complex, because her career path extends beyond our initial suppositions, while the other ones fit more clearly into our trajectory classification.

Our second task was to look at *the range of employment* of this group of professionals. Clearly, these graduates have had no difficulty in getting a job. Three of them did not mention a period without a job, and of the other three, one graduate (LV) chose not to work for one year in order to spend more time on her Licentiate thesis, and the other, RM, decided to become full-time mother to her baby daughter for a year. The last of these three (RR) was more complex, in that she was partly unemployed for a year to look after her baby daughter, and afterwards, when searching for a new job closer to her new home, had no work at all for six months. It is interesting to note that it was only female educators who had gone through periods of unemployment, and these were mostly in connection with childbearing. The male educators did not mention unemployment in their narratives.

Our third task was to look at *the range of institutional continuity* in non-formal education. How much of their careers have these educators spent with one institution? How many of them have only worked for one institution as opposed to various ones? At

one end of the spectrum, there is JC who has worked steadily in the same organization throughout his entire career in non-formal education. After working as a school teacher for two years, he took up training activities in a public organization, and has continued with this job for 12 consecutive years. RR is next along the spectrum. She worked in the same institution for seven years. This was the only job in which she was engaged in non-formal educational activities.

The other two cases (LV and LL) can be positioned in the middle of this spectrum, because they worked in three or four institutions as educators. The two cases at the other end of spectrum (JM & RM) show major diversity in their careers, as they have worked for five or more institutions. At first, JM was engaged in communal organizations and after that in a variety of non-formal institutions. These were without permanent links, however, as he worked for them as a consultant. There was no apparent relation between a graduate's position on the continuity spectrum and the number of years since their graduation. LV, for example, is an older graduate, but yet she has only worked in three organizations since her graduation 24 years ago.

The fourth task was to look at *the range of positions and tasks* developed by these graduates during their career paths. Three of them even began their professional tasks before leaving university. Four of our graduates have gained further status by being appointed to important positions in their institutions. LV was the Director of an NGO in a previous job and is now the Executive Secretary in another NGO. JM is currently the Director of an NGO in one of the Andean provinces. LL is the Regional Coordinator of an NGO in a northern-eastern province of Peru. RM is the Academic Coordinator in her NGO.

We see that all these graduates have built up their careers by beginning with positions of lesser responsibility and then moving to higher positions. The most permanent range of tasks that they assumed during their different trajectories is presented in the following table.

Table 5.1 Ranges of relevant tasks developed by graduates in the course of their careers

	Training	Developing educational materials	Planning projects	Evaluating	Coordinating campaigns	Carrying out administrative tasks
JC	X	X	X	X		
RR	X	X			X	
JM	X	X	X			X
RM	X	X	X	X		
LL	X	X	X			X
LV	X		X		X	X

Training consists of actively teaching a specific topic, or promoting certain competencies by giving courses and workshops to small groups of the target population. In some instances, the target population comprises employees from the same institution, and in others, members of a certain sector of society. JC, for example, is more involved in training those employees of his institution, who themselves train other employees. His criticism is that these 200 'instructors' in his institution apply "very administrative-oriented criteria rather than technical or educative" ones in managing their own training activities. RR stresses the importance of training the personnel who promote the products of her company in public places (such as supermarkets). Like

most of the graduates in this group, she is involved in external training. Only JC is more involved with internal training. JM mentions his training activities with poor people. LL, RM, and LV mention this too, and to a lesser degree, RR.

Developing educational materials implies designing and distributing specific materials such as modules, handbooks, papers, and so forth. RR views this task as a means of reinforcing the educational nature of her activities and the support given by her institution for this production:

1

"It was not simply a matter of saying 'Listen, I'll sell this brand', let us speak of Nopucid [the brand], 'I sell you Nopucid and you buy it'. We had to talk about the illness, the pediculosis and everything from an educational viewpoint. It was very beautiful, with all the materials that you could imagine wanting to have in your surroundings. They [the company] provided you with everything. That is to say, for me it was marvelous, you could see slide projects ... an Art Department that could do the things that I wanted to do. You can imagine, how happy I was."

LL gives another perspective on the materials. He views them as part of a process of transferring information from the specialists to the target population through the metaphors of translation:

2

"Translating what the engineers had, what the sociologists had in their files and notes; translating it to modules and materials."

Planning projects is another important task for many of the graduates. Planning is undertaken to meet different needs. LL emphasizes planning in relation to social needs:

3

"I feel more passionate about institutional planning that helps to serve social organizations. They dictate the pace, and it should be that way. Let the institution satisfy these needs The adult peasants say: 'look, my interest in training is that, you lead your institution in that way or do whatever possible to go along with us'."

Except for two cases, this group of educators makes scant reference to *evaluating* and to *coordinating campaigns*. The latter implies organizing and monitoring regional and national campaigns around a particular subject or product. For example, LV specifies her engagement in a national–international campaign about the external debt of the third world, and RR talks about her leading a campaign to launch a product onto the market. In many of these campaigns led by RR, the target population was made up of teachers, students, and the students' parents. The fact that, even though she was just a visitor to these workplaces, she was able to conduct these campaigns successfully, was largely due to her previous experience working in formal-education workplaces. She was also able to draw on her contacts in different kinds of societal and state institutions.

The *administrative* tasks, including those in connection with human resources, the income policy of the institution, budgetary issues etc., have mostly remained in the hands of educators in top positions.

The fifth task was to look at *the academic itinerary* of these educators since they graduated.

With the exception of one educator, all of them completed their undergraduate courses and obtained their Bachelors degree four or five years later. Half of them satisfied the requirements needed for their Licentiate degree – a very common professional degree in Latin America. Some gained this qualification soon after obtaining their Bachelors degree, although, in one case, this did not happen until six years later. Two educators successfully gained a post-graduate Diploma, although not until between six and 16 years after completing their courses at the Faculty of Education. One graduate failed to complete his Diploma course, and only one graduate gained a Masters degree, and

this 17 years after qualifying as a teacher. Another graduate started a Masters course, but then dropped out. Neither of these Masters and diploma courses had any direct relation to their Bachelors degrees.

Table 5. 2 The academic backgrounds of the six educators who were interviewed

Graduate's name	Years of study	Bachelors Degree	Licentiate	Diploma	Masters Degree
RM	1974-1982	1982 in Secondary Education: History and Geography	No	1998: NGO Leadership and Management	1999: International and Intercultural Management
LL	1982-1987	1992: in Secondary Education: History and Geography	1993	No (2003 Youth culture and development: dropped out)	No
JC	1982-1991	1996: in Secondary Education: Philosophy and Social Sciences	2002	1996: Strategic Management in Training	No
RR	1984-1990	1994: in Secondary Education: Language and Literature	No	No	No
JM	1979-1984	No (Philosophy and Social Sciences)	No	No	No (2000 Social Management: dropped out)
LV	1973-1980	1985: in Secondary Education: Philosophy and Social Sciences	1985	No	No

Sources: curricula vitae, interviews, and the data base of the Catholic University of Peru intranet.

5.1.3 Motivations for entering and remaining in non-formal education

An important aspect in an enquiry into the career paths of this group of educators is to find out what motivated them to enter and remain involved in this subfield. Several sources of motivation can be identified to explain their presence in this field so for many years: earlier social experiences; attractive labor conditions; the support of a

network of friends in non-formal education; and links built up with underprivileged social sectors and the sense of being able to help.

There is evidence that earlier *social experiences* created a predisposition in these educators towards non-formal education. These experiences generated attitudes that led them to want to work with poor people, attitudes that were channeled by church or political organizations, and developed during their time at school or university.

JM remembered his first steps in adult education, while still a teenager attending a catholic school in Lima:

4

"I began adult education, indeed, in the fourth of secondary with the Jesuits in San Luis. This influenced me, being a student in school. San Luis [a poor area of Lima], the hill, was at the back of the school and I started when I was in the fourth of secondary, as a volunteer in the PEBAL [an adult-education program] of the Jesuits. This has influenced my profession until now."

LV was very involved in adult education and pastoral work, undertaking both activities throughout her time at university.

5

"Then, the places where you alphabetized were in the parish; parishes or markets were the only available places. I usually had contact with the parish, and I could always help in something because I had had some training. So, being part of the pastoral team, I worked in the catechesis. Then a kind of symbiosis took place between my work as promoter of literacy and my pastoral work."

Even as a university student, RM had participated as a volunteer in an adult-education program sponsored by the State to reinforce the basic skills of poor women — migrants from the Andean provinces — whose first language is Quechua. She also developed her political activities in the same sector.

6

"Some friends from the Faculty of Education were doing their thesis on teaching reading and writing in this area of Lima and they asked me to help them. Political interest was another aspect. I was involved with a political party and I was active for them in that area of Lima."

LL also mentioned earlier experiences when he was a school and university student. These were associated with church movements for the young:

7

"I was a parish boy; always a member of a group. I continued as a member of a team after leaving the Boy Scouts, teaching and training people. I liked doing this, especially if it involved working with young people. I enjoyed being in JECO [a church movement for students] and I also wanted to be in UNECO [another church movement]. As a Scout, I had been a leader, with boys under my care, and that gave me a lot of satisfaction. So when I had to decide what to study, I thought of all those experiences. Where could I find this?, I asked myself. The answer was: in the classroom, working with young people."

The *attractive labor conditions* provided another important motivation for staying in non-formal educational settings. Compared with educators' perceptions of the limitations of working in schools — rigid norms, heavy routines, sickness, and poor working relationships among teaching staff — the labor conditions offered in non-formal educational settings are more attractive. On the one hand, educators find these settings interesting because they can work more flexibly and innovatively, and with more autonomy, in multidisciplinary teams, and these conditions make it easier to balance work with the family. In all cases, another strongly motivating factor has been the incomes received in these workplaces, which are much higher than in formal education.

RM emphasizes the importance of flexibility as it gives the opportunity of interacting

with colleagues in different ways and therefore of building up better relationships. Flexibility also opened up possibilities for innovation, giving her more autonomy over her own work. These sentiments come to the fore in the following dialogue in an attempt to counterpoise the bitter experience of working in schools, as expressed by the metaphor (“*I had to struggle against the entire world*”):

8

01 L (interviewer): “What has motivated you to work in places other than schools?”

02 RM: “Well, the first thing is that I felt that state education, in this case the traditional catholic school, did not help me, because I had to struggle against the entire world. We had different conceptions of discipline; the relation between teachers and students. At a certain point, I began to think about joining an alternative educational project. It was another possibility, wasn't it? But I was pulled in another direction.”

03 L (interviewer): “What is it that has pulled you and kept you in the same sort of work for many years. What is it that has given you this sort of satisfaction?”

04 RM: “The variation, the novelty, the difference, the possibility to do other things, like traveling, for instance. My perception is that, as a classroom teacher, you are in a routine. But you can make it more creative – a good teacher can be wonderful, but I couldn't do this. I enjoy creating a new course, a different course, about something that I have never taught before. I enjoy moving from one place to another, in the country and in the world.”

05 L (interviewer): “Do you believe that you have been molded as a classroom teacher by routine schemes?”

06 RM: “Yes, it is part of our family culture. Maybe it comes from my mother's experience as a teacher. She worked as a classroom teacher for 30 years; the last 15 years in the same school with the same scheme, and with the same routine from March to December. She had few possibilities for innovation, or creation. In practice, it doesn't have to be that way, because you can do many new things, but the culture of the majority of teachers is adapting a routine that they don't control.”

07 L (interviewer): “Do you feel that in non-formal education you can control your work, innovate, and change the scenarios, too?”

08 RM: “Exactly, I can innovate.”

LV highlights health problems as a reason for moving and remaining in settings other than the school classroom. She uses the metaphor ‘firewood’ to refer to throat problems and heavy routines:

9

“My throat feels like firewood ... the chalk, the dust and talking all the time spoils your throat. I also dislike doing lists of grades [laughs]. Oh! Don't give me this to do. Apart from these aspects, my involvement in the dynamics of the local church were such that I said to myself: applying to be a teacher in a school is the very last thing I should do.”

RM reinforces the idea that the flexible environment in NGOs offers more possibilities than in schools, where the teacher's work is much more isolated, for working collaboratively in multidisciplinary groups:

10

“Mainly it was richer, I could build things with other people, build proposals, develop new ways of doing things, train the physicians and nurses, experiment. Compared with that, working in the classroom was a lonely experience. There was little cooperation among the teachers, and hardly any collective construction. The difference was significant.”

LL also considers this type of working relationship with other professionals more difficult to achieve in the school environment:

11

“When I began the practicum in the NGO, they gave me many secondary benefits, such as a scholarship, a house, food, etc., although finishing university was enough. In addition, NGOs gave me new relationships that I wouldn’t have had by working in schools. It would have taken much more effort to build up these relationships in a school environment than with other professionals more distanced from education and with those who have been abroad.”

12

“I can now recognize two motivations for starting this work. The initial one was that I felt that I would very much like to discuss educational topics with people who had a different outlook.”

Another graduate appreciates the flexibility of work in non-formal educational settings because this made it possible to spend more time with the family. JM, as a freelance consultant in the non-formal educational area, spends more time at home, working close to his family. This allows him to be in contact with his daughter from his current marriage. In this way, he is trying to avoid a repeat of what led to the divorce from his first family. This is reflected in his metaphor of intense commitment (*“I am mad about my family”*):

13

“I have quite a peculiar dynamic, you know. It’s to do with my first daughter ... Since I lost her, I have been a guy with a trauma about my family ... [he refers to his elder daughter, from his first marriage]. Being a consultant is marvelous for me. When I married again, my trauma was my family. I am mad about my family. Working as a consultant means staying at home. In a survey carried out at CIFO [his second daughter’s school] – this is a joke – among the children, and later on, the parents..., who were asked to fill in the same survey to see if they agreed with what the children said ...they let us see what our children had filled in. In my case it said: “What does your dad do?” My daughter’s response was: “He’s always at home”.... so they classified me as unemployed. Although that was a joke, nevertheless, my daughter saying that I was always at home made me feel really good.”

For RR, working in a company means that she does not need to take work home, and so she can spend more time with her children:

14

“It is something that I thank the company for. They give me the possibility of always being calm and happy, because I can spend a lot of time with my daughters; I can be a very close mom ... on Saturdays and Sundays nobody disturbs me.”

As mentioned above, one important motivation for working is to earn an income. By working in non-formal education, all the cases studied here earned at least double the income they would have earned as a classroom teacher. RM recalls a critical incident with her mother when they discussed her income.

15

“After getting married, I didn’t have a job, and my mother said to me: ‘ OK, daughter, now you’ll have to look for a job as a school teacher. Your husband is always changing jobs, nobody will guarantee him work, right?’ ‘OK. mother’, I said, ‘ if you’re promoting development, there is no long-term job. Do you think, mom, that what teachers earn is a helpful contribution?’ ‘No’, replied my mother, ‘ but with that income, at least you’ll be able to have breakfast’ . My mother has been a school teacher for 30 years, so her view is different from mine. For me I was determined to earn more than a school teacher, and so that put me in a position to see things differently.”

This conversation clearly reveals the tension between the classroom teachers’ situation of having a lower income with a permanent job, and that of development promoters, who earn a higher income, but whose jobs change. Her preference for the second option implied that she would try to gain access to the non-formal education field.

JC recognizes that the prospect of earning a low income as a school teacher and his wish to get married had been powerful factors influencing his decision to look for a job in non-formal education:

16

"I was searching around – why? Because what I earned as a state school teacher was not enough to keep a family. For me, it was important to start a family; I wanted to formalize my engagement and get married."

As we remember, he looked for a job in other schools and in an NGO, before eventually accepting a job with a public institution.

The other interviewees confirm this perception about their incomes increasing. At the time of the interview, their monthly incomes ranged from between \$800 and \$2000: LL, as regional coordinator of an NGO, earned \$800 dollars; RR, as a company employee, \$850; LV, as an executive secretary of an NGO received \$1000; RM, as academic coordinator of her NGO, received \$1,200. JC, as a public employee, earned \$1,500; and JM, as a freelance consultant, earned \$2000. There are no relationships between gender or academic degree and income. The male educators are at the poles of the sample and the female educators in the middle. The highest earners, JC and JM, do not have a graduate degree.

The graduate who works in a company reported additional benefits; she had received a productivity bonus. This type of benefit was not available to those working in NGOs. For example, even though LL has a high position in an NGO, he mentions that he does not receive social benefits such as private medical insurance, bonuses, and so forth. *Support from friends working in non-formal education and the effectiveness of their communication networks* is another key factor that has helped educators to establish themselves in areas outside classroom teaching. It is clear from several of the accounts that educators had profited from this kind of support. JC was one of them. He had received a proposal from a friend who was the head of a training department in an institution. This job had not been advertised in a newspaper, nor had he been recommended by other people, so he did not have to face any competition. The main reason why he was able to enter this new setting was because of the initiative taken by a close friend – a male graduate of another faculty of the university where he had studied. JC's only evaluation was by interview. He almost failed the first interview, and had to go through a second one to get the job.

17

"In 1991, a series of reforms resulted in the replacement of 70 percent of the institution's human resources capability... one of the institution's strong points at such times was that new personnel were taken on and trained ... This placed heavy demands on the training department, so reinforcements were needed. Joseph Perez – you know him too – was one of those responsible for the training area. He knew me from university and we were good friends. He knew what I had been doing up to that point. He started making round about inquiries; I didn't realize why, at the time until he phoned one day, saying: 'I want you to be in charge of this task'... and that is how I started working at the institution."

JM's story is similar, in that a friend's support – a male graduate from the same generation as JM and the same faculty – was largely responsible for the change of direction in his career. This graduate helped JM at a time when his future was unclear. He helped him to understand his potentialities better and gave him the chance of working in a non-formal educational setting as an independent consultant. This gave him a status that allowed him to demand a high remuneration for his professional services. In the next critical incident, we can see how JM's friend (Arthur) reworded JM's cumulative experience to bring it into a broader context that would give JM a better chance of getting a job.

01 JM: "...I did nothing, after quitting politics. Then I bumped into Arthur and he helped me. I had to support myself, to live like a citizen.' Arthur asked me: 'How are things?, and then he started to play with words...' [JM recalls his conversation with Arthur]:

Arthur : -"But, what can you do?"

JM: "I don't know, I am an expert on neighborhoods."

Arthur : "And, who the hell will hire an expert on neighborhoods?"

JM: "It was my political specialization."

Arthur: "Put your specialization there [asking him to write it down]"

JM: "eh.. neighborhood work"

Arthur : "Erase 'work' and put 'development' instead."

JM: "So I deleted 'work' and wrote down 'development'."

Arthur : "Now, erase 'neighborhoods' and put 'community'. OK, so you're an expert [on community development]. You'll have a job tomorrow..."

RM reports a similar experience. She received a proposal from a friend – a graduate of the same faculty as herself and the same generation – to work in his NGO. There were no admission formalities, such as selection procedures. This was a small NGO, and RM's task was to work part-time with a physician and a nurse on activities associated with health education:

"José was a key person in the institution and they were looking for somebody who could work part time. This suited me fine, because I had to move house. I had taken a year off work to look after my baby daughter. Although I had to return to work, I still wanted to spend a lot of time with her, so this proposal was OK.... I didn't know how much they would pay me, but I felt that whether I accepted the job or not should be based on how interesting the proposal was and whether it offered the possibility of learning something new, rather than just on the payment."

She emphasized: "generally speaking, almost every new job that I accepted was without a formal interview... they usually just called me up."

There are only two instances when one of our interviewees reports a neutral way of following a formal admission process. RR is one of these. She talks about entering the non-formal educational field by applying for a job advertised in a newspaper. She had to go through a formal selection procedure, including an interview based on psychological techniques, followed by a final interview with the manager. There was no close friend to help her; she was in open competition with other professionals. JM also recounts applying for a job as a trainer from an advertisement in a newspaper, which was followed by a formal procedure, including an interview.

The above accounts point to the presence an informal network of graduates in the non-formal educational field, based on friendships established while they were at university. It is interesting to note that these friendships are not just ad hoc ones; there is a pattern to them: they are from the same generation of undergraduates at the same university, either in the same faculty or in another one. The accounts also show that the demand for these educators cannot be met entirely from the standard newspaper advertisements and formal application procedures, such as those followed by RR and JM.

The relationship with certain social sectors and the impact that the educator can have on them should also be added to the list of motivational factors, as some of these educators are strongly motivated by the belief that their efforts to educate certain underprivileged groups help to further development.

For example, one of JM's strongest motivations for working in non-formal education, is that, as a militant actor in a poor community, he feels that he is part of their world; that he is helping them. He sees it as his mission to enter the world of the poor, first by going to live in a poor area in Lima, and currently by working in one of the poorest Andean provinces of Peru. Working as a professional in non-formal education is not his aim in itself; it is more an outcome, or consequence, of his mission to help the poor.

Staying close to these underprivileged people and having an impact on their lives is illustrated by the critical incident described below and the excerpt from a dialogue. In the first, notice his use of the emotional metaphor: “broke down”:

20

“When you are working with peasants, their situation has an impact on you, and even more so, when you run workshops for peasants. By the end of one of them, when we were evaluating it, I had already broken down four or five times because a partner had stood up to say: ‘apart from the topic that we have worked on, I could not leave my daughter. I thought she would be a nuisance, but your approach to her during this workshop has changed my understanding of her’. Oh God! At that moment ... it touched me a lot; those are moments when you feel that you can influence people. My reaction even began to worry me. I asked my partners: what happens when one breaks down in a workshop one is running? My tears dropped onto the evaluations! It has begun to worry me. It happened to me in Vilcabamba, Grau, in Apurimac [in the provinces] ... You feel how the people have been touched, and I get very excited. I prefer executive work for that reason, rather than hiring experts and sending them into the field... I am not into management; that is not my profession.”

21

01 L (interviewer): “Working in non-formal education, what has given you the most satisfaction?”

02 JM: “the feeling that people are touched, that they have made a decision to change, to direct training, mainly in the popular sector.”

LL is also explicit in recognizing that an important motivation for joining the NFE were the people for whom he would be working:

22

“The first motivation was that I realized I wanted to work with adults. This attracted me, although I didn’t know why.”

LL then goes on to explain his reasons for preferring to work with adults; comparing formal with non-formal education:

23

“Working with adults – we had always recognized it in Oscar and Ramiro [other graduates]. Adults know what they want to learn. They assess themselves and guide their own education, whereas in formal education it does not happen in the same way. There you are told what you should learn. In informal education, you discuss things with national leaders of the Peasants Union: ‘You know partner, our needs are these and we only have three Sunday evenings to achieve them. The participants are working people; what would be the best way to do the training’. It is a challenge, and we have had to adapt to working with adults. This is the reason why I took on this sort of work.”

RR admits that one of her motivations for entering and continuing in the enterprise where she now works was that she could maintain contact with schools through the campaigns for this sector developed by her organization. A strong reason for LV not to apply for a job in a school was that she already had a close relationship with a parish in a poor area of Lima.

5.1.4 Career perspectives

The *career perspective* is an overview of the professional’s vision of the direction they would like their career to take. This sort of perspective is typically made up of lines of continuity, rupture (Brichaux, 1999), and ambiguity regarding such aspects as workplaces, subject areas of jobs, recipients/clients, etc. In forming this perspective, the individual links the past–present–future of his professional career subjectively, by

constructing levels of continuity, ruptured by discontinuity. The cases included in this section allow us to highlight the different subjective ways in which the educators in our sample have viewed their career perspectives.

Evident in the sample used in this research are educators who place more emphasis on the continuity side of their career as a whole, by taking a retrospective and prospective vision within a specific sector. JM, who has spent most of his career in non-formal education, interspersed with short periods in formal education, is one of these. By stressing his commitment to a continued involvement with the specific group of people with whom he had been working since he was a teenager, JM reveals that it is important that there should be historical cohesion in his professional career. In this perspective, the career path is characterized by linear continuity, brought about, in JM's case, by social commitment, the extent of which is eloquently expressed by his use of the metaphor about sitting on top of an enormously high 'stone':

24

"It was a line of continuity that began when I was teaching adults in the PEBAL program ... [the program in which he participated as a teenager]. I realized that I had always been committed to helping poor people. I imagined myself, in the future, sitting on a stone four thousand five hundred meters high, talking to poor people."

RR's perspective also focuses on continuity centred on a specific organization and group of people, although it is less linear and rational. In spite of an objective change in workplace — she worked in schools for some years before moving permanently into non-formal education — RR wants to retain her links with students from her new workplace. Indeed, although she now works in a commercial enterprise, she maintains active links with schools, and is nostalgic about her previous work in schools. In addition to the critical incident that she recounts, there are certain moments in her narrative when she also remembers her students.

25

01 RR: "I didn't lose contact with the students, with the boys, even though I didn't have the heavy responsibility any more of being a teacher, the father, the mother. I like communicating; being with students; singing — because we compose songs."

02 L(interviewer): "As part of your job with the commercial enterprise?"

03 RR: "Yes, at the beginning of one's lecture; and if you work with children, you begin by singing."

04 L(interviewer): "OK And have you ever thought of leaving non-formal education?"

05 RR: "Yes, when I first started, I considered returning to classroom teaching"

06 L(interviewer): "Would you have liked to go back to the school you had left?"

07 RR: "Yes, yes I wanted to go back to that school, I was nostalgic about it, can you imagine?"

26

"At Christmas [at company parties], the bosses were always there, the assistants, a former teacher and myself. Including all the promoters, there were around thirty or forty people altogether. We usually stood in a circle ... and they always said: 'RR should give the speech because she speaks so well', and they made me speak It was in those moments, when I was trying to convey a message that I remembered my students. It was as if I saw all the boys, in front of me. As a teacher one works with a lot of young people, promoters don't... In those moments I remembered the school students and how I spoke to them, and the educational part of me came to the fore again."

RR shows here that her career outlook is not so dedicated that she cannot allow space for latent desires. She is able to remain in contact with her new workplace, while still experiencing feelings for the previous one. Her career path is ambiguous, open to nostalgia and the moments in which she remembers her students, rather than being closed and unidirectional. In fact, the work she's now doing, devising and carrying out campaigns in schools and other sectors for a commercial enterprise can be seen as a way of staying in contact with her previous work domain.

While in JM and RR's perspective, the line of continuity is based on engagement with

specific sectors of society, of other educators, the line of continuity is based on a certain topic or type of workplace. For instance, in the case of LV – who has been fully engaged in non-formal education since she left university — the line of continuity of her career follows certain topics of social relevance and a specific kind of organization (the Church):

27

“I feel part of this institution and I am happy. I believe that this institution is a good setting for offering services that are important for our country. We try to alleviate or solve fundamental political, economic, environmental, and human rights issues. These are important subjects, and the setting gives us a creative space in which to operate. I can’t imagine a life just working in a school and returning home in the evening, without doing anything else. I like helping people, collaborating.... I want to continue working in some of the areas we are working on now.... I want to continue working from inside the church on problems that have a fundamental effect on the well-being of the civil society.”

From this we see that LV’s vision of continuity is grounded in alleviating or solving certain issues of social relevance and in the relevance of having a specific workplace (the church) where those those goals can be furthered. This justifies her distancing herself from schools and the type of life that she associates with the school as a workplace. This implies that the social relevance issues in which she is engaged cannot be tackled in a workplace such as a school.

The line of continuity between RM’s first political experience as a student and her inclination to work in an NGO afterwards can also be seen to be related to an issue of social relevance. She expresses this by asking a number of rhetorical questions:

28

“For me, political formation, and the opportunities to act politically, was a parallel school to my university studies. At a certain stage, it was even more important in my formation than university was.... In the first place, it motivated me more. Sometimes there were issues that were much more interesting than anything we did in university. I remember that we had reading circles. We read Gramsci ... we read interesting things; things that tried to be of weight, of quality. Besides that, one learnt to think politically: What should one do in relation to that? How should one view the country? How do I view it personally? And, in fact, for me, that was what led me, later on, to realize that I would like to work in an NGO [a non governmental organization] rather than being satisfied as a classroom teacher.”

5.2 Conclusion and discussion

The main objective of this chapter was to increase our insights into some of the characteristics of the career paths of educators in non-formal educational settings. The data analyzed provide us with an important source of information about the professional trajectories of these educators. We have explored their range of flexibility against our initial classification of trajectories, the range of employment included in them, the range of institutional continuity, the range of positions and tasks, and the investment in academic input undertaken during these trajectories. In addition, we have analyzed the sources of motivation that underlie the career trajectory of these educators and how they view their career perspectives.

Our analysis of interviews and curricula vitae confirms that educators such as these, those who work outside schools, set conditions for their functioning as professionals. Educators working in *specific organizations* usually assume certain positions in relation to an *issue or topic*, or to a specific concentration of *tasks* that is linked in some way with their training and experience as teachers. Most of this is paid employment. The professional history of most of those educators in our sample who are employed within various NGOs — with the exception of two cases (RR and JC, the first in a company, and the second in a public institution) — shows these institutions to be

important sources of employment, because they have retained space for developing non-formal educational projects in Peruvian society. They have a permanent need of educators to work in different settings in many regions of Peru.

Our first point of discussion will be centred on the contextual approach needed to answer one of the specific questions posed in this chapter: What is the significance of this kind of professional within the changing Peruvian context?. We identified one particular trend that could be discussed, based on the relationship, in the Peruvian context, between these educators and the professional world.

The presence of these educators is not only indicative of the need of certain organizations for this kind of professional, but also of the critical situation in which school teachers find themselves, and the fact that these organisations offer an attractive, and more lucrative, alternative. There are forces — such as a scarcity of jobs in schools, the low status of teachers, and their low incomes — that press these educators to look beyond the school classroom as a working environment. Some background information is needed at this point.

The surplus of school teachers and the fact that they earn very little, is not without consequences: many teachers migrate to other kinds of jobs; those who stay, become overworked. Currently, the universities and higher institutes train nearly 18,000 teachers every year, but the system can only employ 3,500 new teachers per year, in addition to the 110,000 teachers who are already unemployed (Rühling & Scheuch, 2003). Even though the number of students is more or less stable, the total number of teachers is rapidly increasing. This trend forces teachers to seek other types of jobs, ones that are often both unstable and informal. In Peru, it is not only teachers who have to face this problem, but other professionals as well. Burga and Moreno's (2001) studies — based on the Home National Poll of 1997 in Peruvian urban areas — on the mismatch between occupational opportunities and schooling reveal that 44 percent, or at least four out of each ten professionals are working in areas that bear no relation to their university studies and initial training. This gives us a better understanding of the societal limitations in generating optimal conditions for making the best use of its professionals.

School teachers are forced to search around and fight for other kinds of jobs, parallel to their main job. According to the Home National Poll (1997), 31 percent of teachers in Lima have a second job, compared with 19 percent for other groups of professionals. Diaz and Saavedra's (2000) survey of 822 state and private school teachers in Lima, revealed that 57 percent of the male teachers and 33 percent of the female teachers in state schools had an additional job. The percentages were similar for private-school teachers.

The graduates who, in recent decades, have changed their workplaces for the better conditions offered in non-formal education are a minority group in Peru. This trend differs significantly from those identified in Tarazona and Maish's (2002) research on the loss of employment in Peru. In this study, 70 percent of the sample sees few possibilities for getting another job, and if there are opportunities, they are often lower-skilled jobs that pay even less and offer poorer working conditions. In the study undertaken in Lima by one of the most prestigious survey organizations, 96 percent of their sample affirmed that it is difficult to find a job, 50 percent felt insecure in their job, and 51 percent expressed the wish to find another job (Apoyo, 2003). Neo-liberal policy in Peru have reduced the number of employees in many public institutions and frozen wages and promotion among professionals within the State apparatus for at least ten years. Elsewhere, public professionals have been forced to change their jobs and to take on different tasks, as a way of forcing them to leave.

Our research revealed some informal recruitment tendencies in the professional world. The information provided by our interviewees reveals the importance of friendship in gaining access to non-formal educational settings. Evetts (2002), taking Collins' suggestion, states that it is fruitful to analyze an individual's career in terms of the motivations, resources, and contacts leading from one job to another. In his opinion,

career should be analyzed as a succession of personal encounters. This assumes that each link in the occupational chain is mediated by a friendship network. Our empirical source confirms this assertion, and it is also close to the assertions made by Ruiz and Bobadilla (1993). These authors recount that 40 percent of their sample — promoters employed in NGOs — said that they had gained entrance into an NGO with the help of a friend already employed in the organization. Only 15 percent of them had gone through a formal application process. This finding reflects the mainstream strategy for getting jobs in Peru, at least in the educational field. Rühling and Scheuch's (2003) study of 277 teachers in Peru showed that 49 percent used a personal contact rather than formal application as their predominant strategy for finding a new job.

Another factor brought to the fore by the educators in our sample is the enormous improvement in income that can be expected once the educator leaves school employment. Indeed, as a teacher in a state school, the average income is only 240 dollars (Rivero, 2003), while the minimum income in our sample of non-formal educators is 800 dollars. Only in a very small number of top private schools in Lima is it possible to earn as much as this. It is relevant to refer back to the beginnings of some of our interviewees's stories, to discover why they decided to study education. RM remembered her mother trying to put her off her plans: "*My mother was a teacher and she said to me that I would die of hunger if I became a teacher. Luckily I found a way not to die of hunger.*" RM's income is higher than any state teacher's and better than that of most private teachers and other professionals.

These trends reflect on the kind of society in which these non-formal educators operate. They have to fight not only for employment, but also to find employment connected with their profession for almost the entire length of their career trajectories. In general, these educators managed to avoid unemployment, except for very brief periods. In succeeding to work on tasks related to their profession, they were able, therefore, to maintain their links with education and thus with their professional identity. At the same time, they took advantage of their social networks to gain access to jobs in non-formal education.

Our second line of discussion focuses on identifying the sources of support that helped professionals gain entrance to the non-formal educational sector and remain in it, such as: earlier social experiences, attractive labor conditions, networks of friends in non-formal education, and emotional ties with certain social sectors. From Collin's (1990) constructs, introduced in Chapter 3, we see that these motivations have been largely responsible for creating a closed perception of their initial or expected professional environment (in schools) and an open perception of the non-formal educational environment. These motivational factors have been progressively important in opening up other doors and crossing boundaries. These educators were predisposed to try very actively to find work beyond the school. They accepted proposals or sought work in workplaces new to them, despite their total lack of knowledge about the new subject areas in which they would be expected to work. An optimistic vision of their future in non-formal educational settings was an adequate enough stimulus to overcome this hurdle. The opposite was true, however, when it came to working in schools. Their vision in that direction was restricted and ambiguous, based on their criticism of the school system with its rigid routine, lack of working autonomy and a motivating climate that encouraged innovation, little opportunity to work in multidisciplinary teams and a lower income. These critical factors and the manner in which they were communicated are somewhat different from the 'leavers' encountered by Moore and Birkeland in their (2002) study of American teachers who had experienced great frustration or failure. In our sample, this restricted and ambiguous perception sometimes implies a pessimistic vision, though not necessarily in all of them. RR, for example, in our interview with her, is not pessimistic about her experiences in school; neither does JC communicate strong feelings against schools.

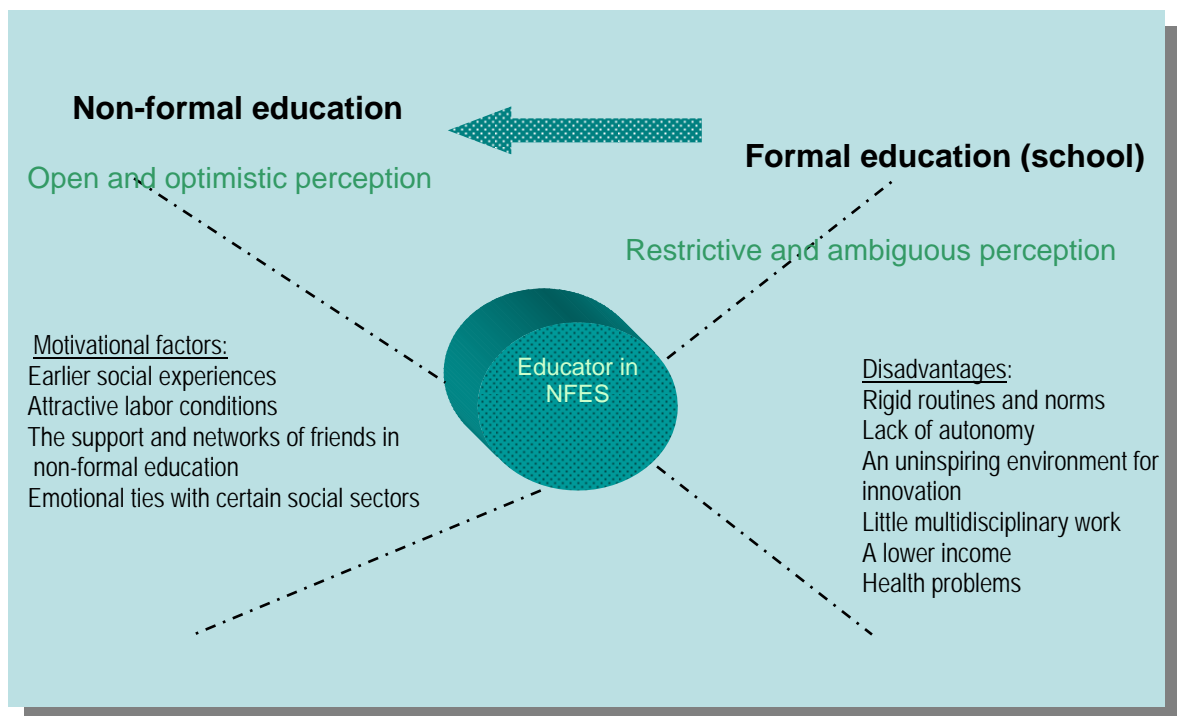


Figure 5.2 Perceptions of mobility in moving from formal to non-formal education

A third point of discussion, was to use Brichaux's (1999) ideas to look more subjectively at aspects of permanence and discontinuity to complement Collin's (1990) approach. The data analyzed allowed us to use Collin's constructs to deepen how educators have built up perceptions about the formal and non-formal educational environment to aid decision making as to whether to be optimistic about entering and remaining in the non-formal environment. Their long-term career perspective adds a dynamic, subjective dimension to this decision-making process, helping them to recognise lines of continuity, rupture and ambiguity along their career paths. It is a perspective that gives people an overview of their life-time experiences. Further dynamics in the career perspective are created by lines of continuity, rupture and ambiguity with respect to previous workplaces, the subject areas of the jobs, the actual tasks involved, and the recipients of these activities. A number of those who broke away from formal education and moved to another kind of workplace — RR is one of them — retained a latent desire to stay in contact with students and schools. In this non-standard case, although the break with the school was objective, the subjective break was incomplete, because there was still a desire to be in contact with previous experiences. Latent desires detract from complete closure with earlier experiences. This cautions us to be more flexible in classifying what appear to be unbroken career paths. RR is an example of an educator whose career began partly in formal education before moving permanently to non-formal education, but who is interested, nevertheless, in maintaining links with her past. For me, this was an important discovery. This prompted me to discuss Huberman et al's (1998) conception of a 'stabilization phase' in teachers' life cycles in more depth. They understand this

phase to be one in which teachers focus on teaching, excluding or postponing other aspects of their jobs, until they have sorted out, mentally, and substantiated, their own professional identity. From the case analyzed, it becomes easier to understand that there can be degrees of ambiguity in changing direction that allow professionals to focus on one kind of setting while, in their minds, remaining open to past settings, to the extent that they take steps to keep in contact with them in some way.

In most cases, we found that *social concerns* created a strong line of continuity. Our educators were members of the middle class in Lima, who had had previous social experiences in the poor areas of the city. With the exception of RR, they were motivated by religious or political interests. By becoming professionals in non-formal education, they had managed to reinforce and update their *social concerns* in these areas. That these concerns were long standing can be seen from their main subjects at undergraduate level, most of which had a social science bias. The *social concern* of these educators is understandable in a society that has to contend with profound levels of social deprivation; where 54.8 percent of the people can be classified as 'poor' and 24.4 percent as 'extremely poor' (Herrera, 2002). Indeed, in the 70s and 80s, this social injustice stimulated a strong protest movement among university students (Commission of Truth and Reconciliation in Peru, 2004).

These *social concerns*, formed during their youth — a similar pattern can also be seen among German social educators, see Werner and Kuster-Schapfl's (1996) study — continued in different settings in their work as educators in non-formal education, and became an important feature of their career profile. Ruiz and Bobadilla, in their (1993) study, found similar tendencies among social promoters in Peru. In their interviews with these promoters some common imperatives can be identified: "The search for social justice and equality, and the wish to work with social groups discriminated by class, race, culture and gender ...are important social motivations among the promoters. ... promotion offers the possibility of taking action to alleviate these urgent matters..." (p.72). JM's career path, for example, is dominated by a sense of commitment to help a specific group of people (poor adults) rather than focusing on workplaces or on specific topic areas.

The fourth route of discussion looks at the career profiles from the point of view of motivation. From the managerial theories introduced in Chapter 3, the profiles of these educators appear to be somewhat similar. In a country where there are no institutionalized ways of being an educator beyond the school setting, by changing from the mainstream career path of the profession, these educators have taken a pioneer's route. Compared with the majority of teachers, who choose the heterodox route, theirs is a pioneer profile, involving risks and challenges — entrepreneurial in character. This also confirms Young's ideas (as cited in Portocarrero et al., 2002) about the motivations of professionals in the 'third sector' of the economy. For most, in that sector, they are motivated, not by money or ownership, but by personal development; by the affirmation of personal identity, the necessity of autonomy and independence, and the feeling that their work has social relevance. That the settings and the attitudes prevalent in those working environments permitted them an autonomous style of work is a perception that features strongly in their personal profiles. This fits in with Rubenson & Schüetze's (1995) action regulation theory in which they identify the relationship: autonomy–control–change. Autonomy gives people control over their work, and the more control they have, the greater are the possibilities to effect change (RM: "I am fascinated by creating a new course, a different course, about something that I have never been taught before. I am fascinated by moving from one place to another, in the country, and in the world"). This finding about how educators deliberate on working even more independently confirms Rühling and Scheuch's research (2003) among 277 Peruvian teachers. They conclude that the opportunity to plan their work and to make autonomous decisions is valued by teachers as being one of the most important issues in their work, and yet it is exactly this aspect that is not encouraged very much in schools.

CHAPTER 6 - DILEMMAS INFLUENCING EDUCATORS IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the types of career dilemma that the educators in this study have faced during their career. This information is then compared with findings from some other approaches. Typifying professional dilemmas in this way helps us reduce the gap in our knowledge about how career decisions are made, and how career paths are planned in the light of commonly encountered dilemmas, in this case within the context of the education profession in Peru.

We take professional dilemmas as being synonymous with *career dilemmas*: those problematic and significant tensions that force educators at different moments of their working life to make choices and decisions from among different possible courses of action. With this meaning in mind, and using the literature, the *curricula vitae*, the interviews and my personal experience, the evidence suggests that five categories of career dilemma can be identified: vocational, field, specialization, locational and institutional dilemmas. The first one was not included in the initial categorization, but due to the importance that the interviewees attached to it, and the subjective perspective adopted for this research, I decided to include it in this report.

The main question in this section is: *What typical dilemmas do non-formal educators have to face during their careers?* To answer this question, the following questions were asked:

- What sorts of *vocational dilemmas* are educators in non-formal educational settings confronted with, and how do they react to them?
- What sorts of *field dilemmas* are educators in non-formal educational settings confronted with, and how do they react to them?
- What sorts of *specialization dilemmas* are educators in non-formal educational settings confronted with, and how do they react to them?
- What sorts of *locational dilemmas* are educators in non-formal educational settings confronted with, and how do they react to them?
- What sorts of *institutional dilemmas* are educators in non-formal educational settings confronted with, and how do they react to them?

6.1 Findings. The dilemmas

6.1.1 *Vocational dilemmas: help the underprivileged, but 'die' of hunger*

The tension behind the *vocational dilemma* revolves around how to plan a career that encompasses specific undergraduate studies. In the course of their narrative, almost all the interviewees recalled one important dilemma faced before, or during their time as university undergraduates. Only one educator had adhered to the same vocation. In most cases, the vocational dilemma led to the person changing their initial vocation for the educational profession. Although it is a dilemma faced long before the graduate status has been reached, subjectively, it is nevertheless significant. It is important to note how the person actively assumes the personal price of certain dilemmas. The vocational dilemma creates a crisis situation in the individual's vision of their past–present–future trajectory, so it creates a biographical crisis to some extent.

Most of these graduates had a different vocation in mind when they started thinking about higher education and what they wanted to do in their working life. Three of the graduates had thought of studying for a career associated with the church, but had changed their minds later on. Two other graduates who were interviewed began their undergraduate studies in the social sciences by specializing in economics and sociology; and another in the sciences, by specializing in food science. Our pilot

interviewee had spent at least one semester taking accountancy courses, either at the Catholic University, or elsewhere, before being confronted with a vocational crisis and family tensions, in deciding to do education instead.

LL had to face a similar crisis in the second term of his course in food science; he didn't like working in a laboratory. In searching for an alternative way forward, he began to recall the times he had spent as a member of a group, and how he had enjoyed it, and through those memories he began to discover his real vocation:

29

"I was a parish boy; always a member of a group. I continued as a member of a team after leaving the Boy Scouts, teaching and training people. I liked doing this, especially if it involved working with young people. I enjoyed being in JECO [a church movement for students] and I also wanted to be in UNECO [another church movement]. As a Scout, I had been a leader, with boys under my care, and that had given me a lot of satisfaction. So when I had to decide what to study, I thought of all those experiences. Where could I find that?, I asked myself. The answer was: in the classroom, working with young people."

However, the option for education was challenged by his family, because of the poor pay that teachers receive:

30

"My dad said: 'But how much will you earn; where will you work?'. My mom was also worried, and my aunts, who had been teachers themselves, said: 'If you decide to do it, OK, but be careful. And don't complain if education doesn't reward you as well as you would like'. No matter how rich their families may be, teachers always tend to be poor".

Before deciding to study education, JC had thought of becoming a priest, but he was not accepted for the training. Focused on a desire to work with people — 'you work mostly with people' — education seemed an acceptable alternative. At first, his father questioned this decision, but later on he accepted it.

31

"My first option was the priesthood. I applied for the training, but they turned me down. It's perhaps as well! Then I thought, what is close to it? Education for me, rather than the apostolate [he laughed]. Education involves working with people; you work mostly with people. For me, it was the nearest thing to my first option, so that's why I chose it."

For JC, another possible career was economics. In fact, he had studied economics for a semester at a private university in Lima, but he had found it disappointing. The economics that was taught there did not meet his expectations. In addition to this frustration, his family were finding it difficult to pay for his studies at that university, so he had had to leave.

RM had also decided to study economics on entering university, rather than education. Nevertheless, after her first years at university she changed her main subject and moved to the Faculty of Education. As she recollects, this led to a struggle with her mother:

32

"My mother was a teacher. She told me that I would die of hunger as a teacher, but luckily I found a way not to."

Her mother's use of the metaphor 'die of hunger' gives a highly emotional and strong warning to her daughter, heightened by the fact that not only is she RM's mother, but also a former teacher. The motivation behind RM's decision to study education was her involvement in politics, as expressed in the 'practical eye' metaphor:

33

"I entered politics with a practical eye based on a direct relationship with people. That was the worthy thing, and as we were prompting a revolution and all of those ideas, I had to be close to the people. As an economist, that was impossible, so I moved to education."

When the pilot interviewee entered university, she had decided to study accountancy, not education. Nevertheless, during her first years at university she had changed her main subject and moved to the Faculty of Education. This she remembers, led to a struggle with her father. “*If you don’t change you will die of hunger in education,*” her father had told her, and he refused to talk with her for two months. As a warning, he had used the same strong and emotional metaphor that RM’s mother had used.

Before studying education, JM had thought of two possibilities: not going to university at all, or, if he did, studying to be priest. He decided against either, but conceded that he had chosen education as a career because it would give him many of the aspects that he found interesting in the priesthood:

34

“My mom said: ‘you have to study education’, but I didn’t want to fucking study anything. My dad told me: ‘study what you like, but you have to go to university’. I didn’t want to fucking study. It was a form of rebelliousness. Among those tensions, if I had to study something... among those tensions ... The nearest thing to priesthood was education, that was clear.”

In spite of having spent time on other courses, and having faced family pressures, these future educators solved their vocational dilemmas by moving to the Faculty of Education. They made this choice because education was closer to their personal interests, and in terms of building a personal life project, it satisfied their biographical needs better. The priority for all of them was to work with people, and this was why their search had begun in other professions like education. At the time when they had to face this vocational dilemma, they were young people, dependent financially on their families, so they had to face contradictory emotions to withstand strong family pressure against their choice of a career in education. Their relatives used a powerful metaphor — ‘die of hunger’ — to persuade them to look for another profession.

6.1.2. Field dilemmas: crossing borders

Field dilemmas are the kinds of tension that arise in the process of moving from one working field to another (e.g., from the educational to the business field), one subfield to another (e.g. from formal to non-formal education, or vice versa) or within a specific subfield. This can result not only in a complete transfer from one to the other, but also in parallel engagements — remaining in one, while maintaining a presence in another. Based on the analysis of the graduates who were interviewed, three types of field dilemma can be identified. Firstly, there is the dilemma of deciding between *working in the professional educational field or going beyond it*. In ‘*going beyond it*’, this could mean not working as an educator in order to spend more time on family duties, returning to academia or taking on a job outside education. However, reducing working time in the educational field to spend more time on family duties or to finish courses is usually only for limited periods. Educators generally return to the field as soon as they have achieved their aims.

RM experiences a dilemma of this type in trying to decide whether to carry on working in the formal educational subfield or whether to leave and spend more time looking after her baby daughter. This is a typical gender-based dilemma about how to achieve an optimal balance between work and a life issue. As she explains:

35

“I had decided to bring my experience at school to a close and then to do nothing for a while. I left because I wanted to finish university... then I met my future husband. We married and my daughter was born. Then I decided not to work for a time, until she was a year old.”

Similarly, RR left her job as a teacher to spend more time looking after her baby daughter, but also took on a part-time job in a business. The latter was an important step for her, because it gave her the opportunity to explore 'another world':

36

01 RR: "I've only talked about it a few times. But, well, that was my first experience as importer because there was a 'boom' in used cars, that had been brought from the frontier. Then, in that year, I became pregnant.... Well, I said to myself: 'It would be best to stay calm this year. I won't look for work.' But I was interested in business, so I traveled to Chile to collect those used cars. I became an importer [laughed]. I really liked doing that and looking after my baby as well, right?— because she was born in that year. I had always liked business, right? I did many things."

02 L(interviewer): "And was it a good experience?"

03 RR: "Yes, I learned a lot as a person, and it was my first contact 'outside the classroom'. I matured as a person. I learned that there is another world out there, and other things to do in life. It's one thing leaving university to go to the classroom, and another going to do something else."

For LV, the field dilemma was leaving the educational field to spend time studying again. Because this meant loss of income, she had to ask for her family's support:

37

"I had studied and worked at the same time, so there was a series of courses that I hadn't been able to complete. They were courses that had been given in the afternoons. The Catholic [university] is fundamentally for full-time students, right? Then, in the end, after I had worked for several years, I had to ask for a year's license without payment, because I still hadn't finished the course, and I also had to ask my parents to support me for a year, because it was the only way I could have finished the course."

The second type of field dilemma is when educators had to cope with *leaving their work as teachers in the formal education subfield to become educators in the non-formal educational subfield*. In contrast to the first type, here, the educator does not leave the educational field, but moves to a different type of subfield. In some cases, there was no clear linear way of working through the dilemma, because it had emerged rather suddenly. The experiences described below show how this kind of dilemma emerged in these graduates' careers.

JC was a teacher who had been trying to move out of the state system to improve his income, because he was thinking of getting married at that time. He had been trying to get a job in a private school and had also applied to a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) for a job in non-formal education. However, he had failed the application. At that moment, a proposal had appeared for a job as trainer in a public institution, and this application was successful. He was able to resolve his dilemma, therefore, by accepting a proposal that he had never actively pursued. He had imagined that the only way in which he could go beyond formal education would be to get a job in an NGO, but instead he found himself working in one of the most important public institutions: *"Until then, I had assumed that my only possibility of working outside a school would be in an NGO"*.

RR's field dilemma resolved itself in a similar way. She was teaching in a school, but then she had to move to another district. She started to look for another school closer to her new home, but the offers that came her way were not very interesting. She became unemployed for a while, until she spotted an advertisement in a newspaper for a job as a trainer in a company. She applied for the job, and was accepted. She would have preferred a job as a teacher, but with some experience of working in the business area before, she had found an interesting proposal in a company, instead.

JM's field dilemma was either to continue working in a special school or to move into an unconventional situation as an adult educator in non-formal education. While in the situations described above, the change is from one type of workplace to another, with a

regular income and standard working conditions, for JM, it was different, as he explains here:

38

01 L (interviewer): *"Could you first try to describe the long periods in your career, ... from the time you left university up to the present"*

02 JM: *"If I had to speak of periods, then the first one would be the period related with my mother's educational project — a school for handicapped children. I've worked in education for handicapped students and... I've worked in something that I was not ready for. Social [Sciences] is my specialty.... I have done ceramics with mentally retarded and deaf children for a couple of years, about three years... It was not a lot, but it was during the first period after leaving university. These were courses that were funded by the state."*

03 L (interviewer): *"Is it a state school?"*

04 JM: *"Not, it's private, but they offer special education with state funding"*

05 L (interviewer): *"Yeah, OK."*

06 JM: *"Small, but interesting; significant"*

07 L (interviewer): *"But did you also do it while you were a student or immediately after leaving university?"*

08 JM: *"No, after leaving, I disappeared from formal education, and, in fact, had been working more in social work, political and social work, even though it was unpaid work. You can call it a period of socio-political commitment."*

09 L (interviewer): *"But did the work have an educational dimension?"*

10 JM: *"You mean after leaving university, right? It was 99 percent adult education."*

A third type of field dilemma is when educators, who are *already working in a non-formal educational activity decide to move to another job in the same non-formal educational sector*. Unlike the previous kinds of dilemma, therefore, this one has nothing to do with the fear of having to leave the non-formal educational sector. No radical change of field is envisaged.

LV — the interviewee with the longest experience in non-formal education — had to cope with this type of field dilemma on at least two occasions. The first occurred when she decided not just to concentrate on her literacy tasks, but also to find the time to help an NGO.

39

"I felt that I was already reaching the end of that work in literacy. It became more complicated by the day. The women had many difficulties. The economic situation had become more and more difficult, so they had less time to study. Although there were organizations everywhere that maintained contact with them through food aid, they could not concentrate on their literacy classes, if they didn't have enough food. There was a series of difficulties around that, and as I had been doing that work for 16 years already, it seemed long enough. As my literacy classes at that time were only in the afternoons, I decided to spend my mornings doing other work. So I started working in an NGO."

Later on, after a stressful period during which she had managed an NGO, she had to face a more complicated dilemma: she had to choose from three options, all of them in the area of non-formal education. The critical incident described below illustrates this:

40

"I had spent many years in that area of Lima ... I was already tired; tired in the sense that I couldn't manage the administrative thing. I felt that I had had a lot of trouble, and that there were other people who could do the job better than me, so I preferred to quit that institution. This coincided with XX's [another institution] proposal. That was in February '89, notice! So I had three job offers in '89. I had ZZ and YY's [other institutions] offers, so what was I to do? I am very close friend of KK, and she advised: 'you should work at ZZ... but talk with HH [a priest]'. HH arranged an appointment for me. Then I told him: 'I have a dilemma: I have three job offers, which one do you think would suit me best?'"

LL also experienced this sort of field dilemma when his institution was involved in a crisis and a proposal was put forward that he should move to another organization. The intensity of this critical event is expressed in the metaphor 'left in the air':

41

"The institution had exploded because of its internal problems. It had not up-dated its projects; the directors were constantly changing, especially the older, more experienced, ones. The institution was subdivided into smaller NGOs, each one occupying the areas in which the institution had originally been active. But the educational area could not become an NGO. We didn't have the capacity to take action on the proposal of becoming an NGO. It was impossible at that moment. So we were left in the air, and a team was constituted from PP [another NGO] that had to have a multidisciplinary character, including a lawyer and an economist. 'LL we need a promoter' [a colleague stated]; 'But I'm an educator' [LL replied]; 'But we need a promoter to make modules to work with farmers on total quality' [the colleague responded]."

Although what happened to JC cannot exactly be described as a dilemma, in that he decided to stay with the same institution and department, it is nevertheless relevant, because the moral dimension at this critical period for his institution triggered a dilemma. The decision to continue in the same workplace came at high emotional cost, because as someone working on ethical questions in a company that had become corrupt, he was clearly in an untenable, if not dangerous position there:

42

JC: "What occurred at that time was due to my institution. It's a very important public institution, and powerful people wanted to put their hands on it. Against our wish, this institution had become part of the mechanism... [of corruption] and this was very painful."

L (interviewer): "But you were working on ethical questions for your institution, weren't you?"

JC: "I felt disappointed, I felt disappointed. I said this to my institution. I felt disappointed."

From this analysis, I have been able to identify three types of field dilemma with which these professionals have had to contend: whether to remain working in the educational field, or whether to go beyond it; whether to leave the subfield of formal education as a teacher, to move to the subfield of non-formal education as an educator; and, thirdly, whether to move from one non-formal educational activity to another. In facing these decisions, the interviewees had to cope with tensions from different directions. In justifying their decisions, in some cases they refer to a *broader context* ('*the economic situation had become more complicated*'). Others focus on the *workplace* as being the critical point of decision making ('*The institution had exploded because of its internal problems*'). The *job itself* is also mentioned as a dilemma-creating factor, especially in situations that are emotionally loaded. ('*I was already tired. Tired in the sense that I couldn't manage the administrative thing.*')

These tensions are also evident in the interviewees' accounts of their career trajectories, because they influence the educators' self-perception of their careers ('*as I had been doing that work for 16 years already, it seemed long enough*'). Family concerns were also important factors influencing their options ('*I had decided not to work for a time, until she [her daughter] was a year old*'). Personal motivations also created tensions that could actually cause a dilemma ('*I had been working more in social work, political and social work, even though it was unpaid work. You could call it a period of socio-political commitment.*'); it helped to shape them, especially if other causal factors were also involved.

6.1.3 Institutional dilemmas: moving within an institution

An *institutional dilemma* refers to those pressurizing situations within an institution that shape alternative 'intra-organizational movements'. These can be upward (promoting) movements, downward (demoting), or lateral, (by-passing) movements (Kalleberg & Mastekaasa, 2001). They create situations in which those employees who feel threatened start to deliberate on whether to stay in the same department or position or whether to try to relocate within the organization.

The data analyzed suggest two types of institutional dilemma. One is where the educator has to decide whether or not to accept a key position in the institution. As we can see from the following excerpts, these dilemmas can be complex. They are often very difficult decisions to make, even though the new position offers a higher income and more attractive working conditions.

LL's situation clearly fits in with our 'institutional dilemma' category. At the time of the interview, he was under pressure to decide whether to change jobs or to stay where he was. When his institution asked him to take on the position of regional coordinator in addition to his function as coordinator of a specific project, LL was faced with a complex dilemma. He resolved this by accepting the new position of regional coordinator of a new office in an Andean province in north-eastern Peru, even though he had no background to assume this new responsibility. The feeling of belonging to the institution and of making a personal sacrifice for that institution is manifested in his use of the metaphors '*I am the eyes of the institution*'; '*they depend on me, on my painful hands, to learn about...*' to recount this dilemma:

43

01 L (interviewer): "Have you ever had to face some kind of dilemma or tense situation in your institution that has made you want to change your job?"

02 LL: "Yes, not so long ago. I'm a regional coordinator, but I don't have the formal background for this position, right? They asked me to coordinate this office, but it takes some time to learn how to do that. I'm not a smart lawyer; I'd never done that sort of job before in other NGOs, and I didn't come from an NGO in Lima where you can build up stable working relationships. I was responsible for a specific project to help social organizations, at the time when they suddenly asked me to open an office in the provinces. We were very sceptical about this plan, but the financial sponsor was enthusiastic and gave us the money to set up this new office. So I set it up, and I now I'm managing it as I think best, despite my limitations, which are again being questioned, and this makes me tense... Although I've been in this position of regional coordinator for two years now, I still don't know the job well enough. There are better qualified people than me in the organization, with more experience, who manage their own offices more successfully ..."

03 L (interviewer): "What was your reaction when they had asked you to be in charge of regional coordination?"

04 LL: "I thought it would be simple. Leading the office; doing the things that are necessary, We're not in the deficit and we have a complete team. This is an achievement. However, compared with other offices, they are managing more projects than we are, and they have more people. For me it's so difficult, and I don't know how to consolidate my NGO in this place.... So, this office has not grown as fast as they had expected. 'We are falling behind. What needs to happen? You can improve your income and equip your office with better facilities. Why can't you offer more services?.' That made me very concerned and tired. Now I've told them that I do not want to be responsible for the specific project any longer, I only want the regional coordination.... I'm the eyes of the institution. They depend on me, on my painful hands, to learn about this region. Their theory about one person being able to do everything is collapsing."

The above dialogue points to some of the factors in this dilemma. Firstly, LL's recognition of his background limitation in managing offices, and his vague perception about how to set up a new office. Secondly, his acknowledgement that his office lacks ideas about how to increase the number of their projects. Thirdly, his results, compared

with those of other regional office managers is being criticised. Fourthly, in defense, and to simplify his tasks, reduce stress, and so increase his chances of succeeding, he has started to re-negotiate his responsibilities by dropping the project he was working on to concentrate on managing the office. To reach that decision, he first had to cope with another dilemma: whether to stop coordinating the specific project or continue with both coordination jobs.

In the critical incident below, RM talks about a specific dilemma when she had to decide whether or not to change her position in the NGO in which she was working in Cusco. As a candidate for the position of director of that NGO, she describes the tense moments when the election was taking place. This also illustrates way of determining who should occupy a top function in an organization — from the votes of its members:

44

“It was difficult after leaving FF [an NGO]. Before that I had worked in Cusco, and the dilemma had to do with a change of director there. The year before I left, the director had been on the point of leaving, and an election process for a new director had begun. I was a candidate, but I didn’t win. All the workers at FF had voted and the former director had voted publicly for another candidate. It was badly managed. There were 12 people in the assembly and they asked me — one argument was that the other candidate was from Cusco — if I would stay there. I replied that if they had elected me, I would have considered staying there for two years — the period required for this (rotating) position — but after that, I didn’t give any guarantees.”

LV also had to cope with an institutional dilemma when she was asked to leave her job as promoter to be the second most important person in her institution (after the president). She was very surprised to be asked to do the job, and it put her in a critical situation because it evoked three emotions: loyalty to the former head, because she had him to thank for her job at that institution, and she did not want him to think that she was canvassing for his dismissal. Her second problem was that her team had another person in mind for this position, so she also had a loyalty problem in that direction too. Her third problem was her concern for the institution, and the risk to on-going projects if someone with another perspective took over the job. She felt her decision should take this risk into consideration. With this in mind, she finally decided to accept the proposal.

45

“We had talked about this matter many times. It was important that this position should not fall into the hands of another... of another... group of people who were not active in this subject area, who might have jeopardized on-going work. So I had to say ‘I cannot say no’ because what we wanted for this institution was somehow at risk.”

JM found himself in a very different situation regarding movement within an institution. He was faced with a dilemma while in a high position, because he wanted more grass-root contact with the group of people that his NGO had been set up to help. He wanted to be more involved in training activities for the rural people and less with the administrative tasks of running the organization.

The other type of institutional dilemma that emerged from our analysis data has to do with those moments in which educators have to decide whether or not to move to another department. Perceptions of one’s own professional competence, the competencies of others, and the internal protocols that have to be followed in negotiating a transfer come into play here.

The following dialogue illustrates the dilemma that JC was facing — whether to stay in the department he was in at the time, or whether to leave it. It was a complex dilemma, because if JC had moved, he would have had to sacrifice his direct contact with training tasks. His sensitivity about the motives of the person who might officially propose the transfer created further tension:

01 L (interviewer): "Have you been in situations in which you wanted to change your job, or the kind of project you were working on, or move to another department of the same institution, or leave?"

02 JC: "I'm not sure whether it's actual or not, but I suspect that, at this moment, I'm in this situation, because of how the institution and Human Resources are developing. Human Resources wants to take over my specialization in training. My impression is that more than one person wants me to transfer to something else. They have insinuated that to me."

03 L (interviewer): "Was this proposal made in a positive way?"

04 JC: "Yes"

05 L(interviewer): "Was it done in recognition of your contribution?"

06 JC: "I believe so"

07 L(interviewer): "But, do you perceive it as such?" 08 JC: "It is a tempting proposal, but, on the other hand, I am worried about leaving the training in a direct way. I believe that I should be giving more to this. I like it, and my institution needs me. So, I am not sure whether to accept the proposal or not. I should study it formally...."

09 L (interviewer): "And what would happen if they told you to go to this other area?"

10 JC: "If my boss was the one to tell me, I would take it badly." [smiled]

11 L (interviewer): "But he is your boss! Isn't your boss the person who proposed it to you?"

12 JC: "Yes, but I wouldn't expect him to say something like that..."

13: L (interviewer): "If he wasn't the one to tell you, who would?"

14: JC: "Someone from another area. I would expect them to say: 'Hey, come here'. But if my boss told me 'Go over there', I don't know whether I would expect that."

RR also had to cope with tension when she began working in a company. Her dilemma was whether to continue as a medical visitor or to accept the position of marketing assistant in another department. In the dialogue below, RR explains what prompted her to choose the second position: she liked to give trainings, the links with managers and promoters, overseeing many things simultaneously, and she disliked the stressful schedule of her old job.

47

01 RR: "I had been a medical visitor for a time."

02 L (interviewer): "In the same enterprise?"

03 RR: "Yes, but I left."

04 L (interviewer): "Why?"

05 RR: "Because I like training, the link with the promoters and promotions."

06 L(interviewer): "And was this experience as medical visitor short or..."

07 RR: : Yes, for one year."

08 L (interviewer): "And in that work you didn't train, you only visited doctors' practices."

09 RR: "Yes, hospitals in the morning and private practices in the afternoons. It was a terrible schedule, because it was from 8 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. or 1p.m., and from 4 to 8 p.m. It was a bad schedule."

10 L (interviewer): "Was it complicated for you?"

11 RR: "Well, more because of the schedule. I was used to another schedule... it was also communication...it implied going to the doctor and explaining the product and how it helps the patients. It was also communication."

12 L (interviewer): "And did you ask to be a visitor, or did they propose this work?"

13 RR: "They proposed it. They told me that I could do it well. OK. I did it for a year."

14 L (interviewer): "And after that, they told you to go and train people?"

15 RR: "Then I told them."

16 L (interviewer): "Ah, you told them?"

17 RR: "Yes, I told them that I preferred to go back into products I could identify with. The ones that don't need a prescription."

18 L (interviewer): "And why did you decide to give trainings? What motivated you?"

19 RR: "I was in more contact with the bosses. I liked that. The world of viewing everything, viewing materials, assisting the manager, training. I viewed more than when I was just visiting the physicians. The assistant has to know about everything."

In each of the last two cases, training was one of the key issues in the educator's mind in deciding whether to continue working in a certain department or not — and similarly with JM. In this sense, the dilemma can be seen as a tension between training versus administrative, planning, and selling activities.

Syntactically, the data reveal four underlying factors about institutional dilemmas.

There is an existing, generally recognized, *perception in the institution* that the educator's professional competencies justify their promotion to a higher position, or to being transferred to another department.

Personal self-perception is another essential factor influencing a professional's awareness of how good his background is for carrying out the new tasks, how much stress will be involved, and his level of motivation will be in developing this line of tasks (training, managing, planning, etc.).

The third factor is the professional's *relationships with others* and how they manage these relationships from a distance, with other candidates for the position, and with the dominant group inside the institution. This management of relationships involves levels of loyalty and the professional's understanding of workplace loyalty.

The last factor refers to *protocols* and has to do with *the manner* in which job openings and departmental changes are processed within an organization.

6.1.4 Locational dilemmas: Lima or the provinces

Locational dilemmas refer to the tension caused by situations in which 'geographical mobility' is required (Ratcliffe, 1999) for employment requirements to be fulfilled. We have encountered this sort of dilemma in our case work, both in Lima and in the provincial areas — two of our educators (LL and JM) live and work in the provinces, while another one, who used to live in a provincial area, now lives and works in Lima. Ideological motivations, personal circumstances, family support, labor conditions, professional profiles were some of the reasons why the educators in our sample decided to go and live and work in the provinces or to accept a job that involved traveling to the provinces or living outside Lima. There is evidence, therefore, of a range of movement: from those who make a complete move to the provinces to those who visit the provinces for a short time only.

This type of dilemma is very evident in JM's narrative. JM has strong ideological motivations and is clearly dependent on family support. Although these factors are overtly evident in different parts of his interview, they come to the fore particularly in the most recent period of his career. His dilemma was whether to stay in Lima or to move to the provinces. The reasons that were impelling him to leave Lima were rather special; different from the majority of our professionals. So, in spite of a lower income and less favorable welfare conditions, he and his family moved from Lima.

Understanding why he did this; understanding his logic in deciding to migrate to the provinces, is clearly important for the analysis.

48

01 L (interviewer): "Then why did you decide to move to Cusco? You've probably hinted at it earlier in the interview, but could you tell me now, in more detail: why did you decide to go to Cusco? Did you know beforehand that, economically, you would be much worse off?"

02 JM: "No, no. The main motivation for leaving Lima was not an economic one ... rather, it was ...".

03 L (interviewer): "But had you made any financial calculations or not?"

04 J: "When we discovered that, with 1,800 [dollars] you can live like a king and that the president of the Bank of Credit only earns 1,200, I knew that we could live in Cusco. In

other words, we found out that we wouldn't die, but in terms of actual amounts, that was not a high priority. You have to understand our logic: our search was not economic. In fact, in a way, earning only 3 and 5,000 dollars monthly was one of the reasons why we wanted to leave Lima. We had been doing so well that we looked at ourselves — in these sorts of matters, we understand each other very well — and realized that everything was beginning to bother us ... that's happened more often in our marriage ... In other words, we were not searching for economic well-being. It was the other way round, we were almost trying to escape from economic well-being and the fact that we were already living in Tablada [one of the poor districts of Lima]."

Once in Cusco, there was a second migratory dilemma to face: which other Andean province should he help — Ayacucho or Apurimac. He chose to work in the second one because of the recent infiltration in Ayacucho of the Sendero Luminoso (a terrorist group). As he mentioned:

49

"There are people [willing to go with him] enough to do the work. They work hard and take their children with them, but no one is willing to see their children die."

His overriding interest in the provinces, especially those in the Andean region, is again evident in how he views his future. To do this, he uses metaphors that combine extreme simplicity ('sitting down on a stone') with exaggerated distance (4,500 meters high):

50

01 L (interviewer): "How do you view your future?"

02 JM: "I imagine sitting down on a stone, 4,500 meters high, talking with people that way. When people are needed so much, it'll be like that, that's clear."

LL is ideologically motivated to help rural people in particular. His career trajectory has taken place mostly in the provinces. During his final year as an undergraduate, he had worked in an NGO in a northern province of Peru, while most students had preferred to stay in Lima. Although he had lived in Lima later on, his jobs had required him to make many trips into the country. During the '80s and '90s, traveling to some parts of Peru had been quite a challenge because of terrorist violence. In fact, there were risks involved just in traveling to work with peasants or other members of the public, and these had posed a permanent dilemma:

51

"Remember that the central offices of IAA and IPA [both NGOs] were in Lima because terrorism was close by. We were very afraid of going into the provinces. We came back to Lima for security. They [the terrorists] killed some Japanese volunteers in Huaral [an area where he worked] ."

RM remembered how she had been faced with a very important decision to move to Cusco. Strongly influenced by her family situation, personal circumstances and her rather ill-defined profile as a professional, this complex decision had not been her only option. However, it had been a good decision from the point of view of her career, because her presence in the province, doing development work, had given her the opportunity to clarify her profile, step by step. She highlights the lack of definition in her profile prior to moving to Cusco by using a physical metaphor: *"I had one foot in one place and the other in another."*

52

01 L (interviewer): "You worked in non-formal education in the provinces, didn't you? What made you decide to work there?"

02 RM: "Yes, I worked there for five and a half years. That was another vital decision ... it was very important. I was working in an NGO in Lima and my husband was employed there, too, also in an NGO. There was a lot of violence at that time. I am talking about the period 1987-88. We were restricted by the fact that our incomes did not allow us to live independently. We lived in my mother's house. It was not bad. We did not have a

bad relationship with my mother, but we were not independent. In addition, we had to spend a lot of time getting to work and traveling to and from my daughter's school. Together, this took up six hours of our day. We decided that this was no life for us and that we would look for another place. In addition, I lost my second child shortly after birth, and we had this feeling: 'Ah this is bad, this place is not right for us: we should move somewhere else'. So, we began to look for other options, and of the three possibilities, we decided to go to Cusco. It was the only place where my husband had had a job offer, but I hadn't."

03 L (interviewer): "So you had offers in other places?"

04 RM: "Yes, we had both had offers in Piura and Huancayo. We didn't accept the last one, because there was much more violence there than in Lima. In Piura, my husband said: 'What am I going to do in a fishing community, with just the sea and hot weather? I can't imagine getting used to that.' So we moved to Cusco. It was where he was born. In reality, we also felt that we were going there to learn. My husband had been to other parts of Peru as well, but I felt that especially strongly."

05 L (interviewer): "In your case, was it your first experience of living outside Lima?"

06 RM: "Yes, it was. Another factor was my daughter's health. She had asthma and other problems typical of Lima, and so moving to a place where the weather was dryer was good for her. There were many advantages in going there, both for the family and in terms of opportunities to do other things."

07 L (interviewer): "And did you have the chance there to work in an NGO?"

08 RM: "Yes, but when I first went there, I was a housewife. It was only later on that I became a volunteer in an NGO. Then they started to give me a little bit of money, and I began to establish myself, step by step. Actually, I feel that Cusco has been the place where I have finally been able to clarify my career profile, because in Lima I was first in KK [an NGO] and after that in HH [another NGO]. I was neither a promoter nor a researcher. I had one foot in one place and the other in another. It all became clearer in Cusco."

RM acknowledged that her work in the provinces had given her a wider vision of Peru. It supports her current work for the provinces, and it constitutes an important part of her biography:

53

"For me, it was another way to see Peru, finally. I believe that the experience in Cusco allowed me to realize that Peru is more than just Lima. It's, more diverse, with many things to do. Going from Lima and saying that I've been in the provinces are two very different things. I've lived and experienced the difficulties."

RR is at the other end of the sample. She has always lived in Lima and when she began working in a company, she was very enthusiastic about extending her work to the provincial areas. She convinced her manager that campaigns should be carried out throughout the country. However, although she enjoyed these activities, the work became very stressful: "At first I loved to travel. I traveled enough — for a week each month — but later on I didn't do that any more, because I got so tired." However, she only wanted to visit the provinces, not to live there. Her 'world' and her family were in Lima, but she didn't mind doing some work for the provinces. She expressed it as follows: "It was very gratifying, knowing the idiosyncrasies; seeing the shortages, needs and contrasts". During a critical incident that took place in one of the southern provinces, she recalls with satisfaction that she was able to help professionally. She uses the metaphor 'a grain of sand' to imply that every little bit of effort helps:

54

"I had a very beautiful experience in Chincha [a coastal province]. There is a children's organization there called 'Carmen'. They invited us for a chat about Hygiene and Health. I was just one of the trainers and... I appreciated the effort and the work that the people from out of town put into it. Many of the people were from Lima, but the managers ensured us that all the local people supported the organization too. They had helped them to get started. There are children... of all shades of Afro-American descent."

The managers brought soccer trainers, and gave the children food while they were being trained. It's a very poor area ... but people who live there sometimes do very well ... some young people have become top footballers for the Alliance team and other clubs. So you get to know a little more about the world when you're traveling around, and your 'grain of sand' can make a contribution."

As an important leader of a nationally significant NGO, LV has traveled to the provinces many times, but she realizes that living and working in hilly rural environments is bad for her physical health:

55

"Objectively, I'm a city person. The country is very beautiful, but I'm no good in hilly country. I was born in the highlands, but the truth is that heights don't suit me. Moreover, I have a dry skin, and if I go to high places, I have to use creams and suchlike. It is very inconvenient. The forest is too hot ... the bugs. I can't tolerate it. So, I stay in the city. Put me here, in Piura, or in Trujillo. I like coastal cities. Put me next to the sea. Don't take me away from the sea!"

From the above data, we can see that the educators have had a range of experiences in the provinces. For some, it has been lengthy; for others restricted; for some, it was a positive experience, and for others a negative one. Those that viewed it positively associated it with the contribution they could make professionally to people's needs in the provinces. It also gave them a wider insight into the realities there, and the opportunities to extend their professional experience in demanding contexts in different parts of Peru. The negative associations were mainly linked to the security problems, stress, and health problems due to the natural terrain.

6.1.5 Specialization dilemmas: family and work, or further studies

For graduate educators, one of the dilemmas that most of them face is whether or not to carry on studying at postgraduate level. In our sample, three of them (RR, LL, LV) only took training courses or attended seminars, and conferences. Of the other three, one (JC) studied for a diploma, another (RM) completed a diploma course and gained a Masters degree, and the third (JM) started a Masters course, but did not complete it. The four who did not gain a formal qualification at postgraduate level nevertheless remembered the decision as to whether to follow a postgraduate course or not as being a critical issue on their personal agendas.

In the first place, this dilemma rests on questions such as whether to stay with the family or to further one's studies. Expressed differently: what would the consequences be, in terms of time and money, of investing family money in further studies, and perhaps more importantly, what does the family think about it?

RR admitted accepting specialist courses offered by the enterprise where she was working, rather than searching for other courses. These fitted in with her job better, and the employer paid:

56

"I lacked that ... the enthusiasm to study further. To take more advantage of what the company offered me. I took a couple of courses, but I didn't discipline myself to carry on. Maybe that was my 'error', but it was because I had small daughters, and in '97 I was also pregnant. She's just turned six now, and I'm launching her into the world. So all my free time was, and still is, for them."

RM was faced with similar considerations when she explored the feasibility of taking a Masters course:

57

"I wanted to do a Masters in Gender to continue my specialization [based on a Diploma]. I applied in England for a Masters course on this topic, but didn't get it. Then I re-considered the whole question of further studies because of the difficulty of managing

my family situation. It would have been too stressful for my daughter to have had to leave her school and move countries with me. I had also applied for another Masters course in the Netherlands, but to get a scholarship I had to be under 30 years old. I was frustrated. I had said to myself: 'I'll only do a Masters when my daughter has finished at school; only when her situation is more stable and I can travel abroad alone to study'. Then somebody from this other Masters course came to my NGO and gave me a brochure about their program. It looked interesting. You could study for a Masters abroad from January to May, and then return to Peru, and travel back again for a few months the following year. This gave me the opportunity to study on a part-time basis, for a few months each year."

For LV, the dilemma was whether to continue her studies or whether to focus on her family's needs. This resulted in her postponing these studies until sometime in the future:

58

01 LV: "Many things interest me. I'd like a Masters in Gender, in Political Sciences, in theological questions. They all interest me. The main problem is time and money."

02 L (interviewer): "But have you already decided to follow certain courses or take particular diplomas?"

03 LV: "No, I haven't, because if I think about it objectively, my personal situation would make it impossible. I'm the income earner at home. My elderly mother depends on me, and I have two nephews who also depend on me economically. Although they have parents, they cannot support them. So I have to support the whole household. My old mom... is really very dependent... Someone has to be with her all the time. She's become very dependent. She's only at ease when I'm at home, because only then does she feel that she can leave everything in the house in my hands. So, if I decided to study, it could only be in the afternoons and evenings, and that would mean spending less time with her."

Another aspect of this type of dilemma is the tension between working and studying: sacrificing work (and income) for further studies. The educators who described this tension were concerned about the impact on their work and the compromises that would have to be made at their places of work. Their underlying perspective was thus their vision of work.

The tension for RM was when she had to reconsider her initial intention to get a job. She was offered the opportunity of studying for a Diploma, but there was very little funding. She took the course, but describes this critical period as 'the poorest time' of her life – see below:

59

"In reality, I came in the Christmas of '93, after I had finished my work at the NGO in Cusco. I came to look for a job, but I was not sure whether to come to Lima. When I was on vacation here, I had given my curriculum vitae to a number of workplaces...and I had talked with Helen. At some point, she advised me: 'Why don't you apply for the Diploma on Gender'. Then I said to her: 'I'm looking for work because I need money. I have to support my daughter.' Helen told me: 'We have scholarships. It's only a little, but with this you can do other things. The scholarships usually go to provincial people. How many years did you work in Cusco?' 'Five years,' I replied. 'That's OK!', she said.

The gender theme was an important issue for me because I had been working on it in Cusco. For me, the possibility of studying for a diploma rather than working was very attractive ... I could concentrate entirely on the diploma. But it was the poorest time of my life, because the scholarship only gave me 200 dollars a month. I had to go and live with my mother."

In hindsight, JM regrets his earlier attitude to studying and his negative views about going to university. He had perceived academic specialization as a waste of time and energy, because there were much more urgent things to be done to help solve the many problems of the poor areas. Nevertheless, he ended up starting a Masters course, although he never finished it.

"I believe it has to do with my social re-orientation. It's a part of that moment when I felt that the action... that reality was placing too many demands on me to think about it comfortably. Perhaps it was also a rejection of academia, but it was stronger than that. Perhaps it was more of an attitude to rejecting academia. But I recognize that I should have been more systematic. I have picked up a lot of information, but I've not done a balanced study, I've not read much; I've never made a reading plan... and I now realize that's a weakness."

These excerpts from RM and JM's interviews reveal two opposing ways of looking at their situations. On the one hand, there's the reasoning that revolves around trying to decide whether to sacrifice working (and the income) to study full time on the diploma, because getting the diploma would be highly valuable in furthering one's career. While, on the other, there were those who undervalued furthering their studies on ideological grounds and so did not continue with them, but devoted all their time to social work instead.

This type of dilemma is not restricted to specialization, there are other dilemmas associated with it, such as which kind of postgraduate study to pursue — i.e. what subject to choose and where to study. This can bring the educator into a complex situation, because they have to manage different conditions simultaneously. RM, for example, had initially cleared both aspects, but then she was forced to change both the subject and the location of her further studies. JC knew what to study, but not where. RM's dilemma was typical of decisions concerning Masters programs. It was a conversation with a close friend that helped her to reflect on her way of working and how best to manage the study opportunity to get the most out of it. She was able to adapt her initial urge to study the diploma subject by identifying relationships and new perspectives with the topic of the Masters course, to make this the more relevant option, as she recalls below:

61

"When I read the title — Diploma in Intercultural Management — and then — Masters in International and Intercultural Management — I said: 'Damn! What has this got to do with my specialism of gender?' At first I thought: 'Shall I do this, or not?'. I discussed this with a friend, and she said: 'There are two kinds of people. You have been educated according to the A type. The A people are those who make efforts to achieve something, and work and work and achieve. The B people are those who are open to new things; who take advantage of the opportunities, but don't let themselves suffer. Your mother is an A type, so you've been educated as this type, but it's up to you whether you want to be an A or B type.' This discussion made me think differently. I said to myself: 'In reality, I have a theoretical background in gender, and my theme is about gender and organizational culture in an NGO, but I don't know much about organization and management. OK, I'll try it.' In fact, I adapted and enhanced my theme, because I had not seen the intercultural issue. I went to Bangladesh and did many things.... and so the Masters took form and I was able to complete it."

Although JC has not studied for a Masters yet, he is thinking about it. The subject he has in mind is adult education, but he has not yet found a suitable Masters course on this topic in Peru. The most interesting courses are all abroad and this would mean that, although his institution offers scholarships to fund such studies, while he was studying, he would have to move his family abroad too. For this reason, he is considering a number of other Masters courses first. In this respect, JC's situation is the most favorable of all the educators interviewed. Not only has he received encouragement from his boss for this new opportunity, but his institution has already completely funded an earlier diploma course at a private university in Lima.

6.2 Conclusion and discussion

The dilemma perspective helps us to gain a more dynamic image of the educator who works in non-formal educational settings. This group of educators consists of professionals who have had to face various kinds of objective and subjective dilemmas in the course of their careers. They have had to *live* through these sorts of situations in order to make decisions on relevant aspects of their careers for which there may not always have been a very rational, planned solution. Some of the changes emerged slowly or progressively; other solutions involved an abrupt change.

From the data, various professional dilemmas can be identified: vocational, field, specialization, locational, and institutional dilemmas. These are categories that can all be verified empirically. One important finding that emerged from the interviews is the presence of vocational dilemmas. This had not been anticipated in our first categorization of professional dilemmas, but as it was raised by almost all the interviewees, it obviously had to be included. For a number of the educators, tension from this sort of dilemma had to be faced before they left university, and, in particular, the educator who had had to live a career dilemma since the beginning of his undergraduate studies.

From the *agency approach*, we learn that there are different ways of managing the uncertainty and ambiguity created by moments of tension. The educator is faced with making a choice out of various possibilities. Educators can thus be viewed as managers of career dilemmas; professionals who are able to read and take action on pressures from different sources in order to make decisions that will have a positive bearing on their working and private life. They are the kinds of decision that will synthesize and in some way reflect on educators' past, present and future. Responding to a career dilemma is thus a 'biographical' move. According to Heinz (in Marshall, 2000: 13): "biographical action refers to the fact that individuals attempt to link their experiences to transitional decisions and interpret their options not only with respect to subjective utilities and social norms, but in terms of the legacy of their personal past. Biographical action is the main contribution of individuals in negotiating status passages with institutions and social networks, for example in entering new status configurations and departing from old ones." I would like to build on what Heinz has said by including links not only with the past, but also with the present and future. Our findings support the view of the *agency* approach that a professional's actions are not determined by external factors alone; that there is a "significant zone within which individual meaning-making and choice operate in ways that simply cannot be predicted" (Huberman et al., 1998: 62). Professional dilemmas are those individual experiences in which the professional is challenged to use this zone and make sense of his career in terms of his personal background and future aspirations. Not knowing fully what these are, for the onlooker, how the individual responds to the dilemma may appear somewhat incoherent, contradictory or ambiguous. RR, for example, left the job she enjoyed as teacher to look after her baby, while exploring non-educational jobs as a business woman that offered more flexibility.

Onto this zone of individual meaning-making, the educator blends in his personal reading of different levels of pressures, such as the contextual forces surrounding the particular dilemma, the institutional conditions involved, and family demands. All these factors together condition professional dilemmas and the way in which educators read them and seek solutions. Although one kind of factor may play a dominant role, to unravel the dilemma, decisions are made by taking a range of factors into consideration. *In looking for an exit* to a career dilemma, imaginative effort is also often required. This is in line with earlier findings (Sime, 2003) about how people use contextual resources in responding to personal crises that have implications for their families.

There has been an awareness for some time that the literature on the factors influencing career decisions is limited (Moore and Birkeland, 2002). The aim here is to

deepen our knowledge by providing explanations that have emerged from the current research. Table 6.1, below, summarises the findings of a *multilevel approach to career dilemmas*. The most relevant pressures are given for each kind of dilemma. These may come from different sources, and on different levels. They include the cognitive pressures generated by the person facing the dilemma, family pressures, pressures from work settings, and pressures on various contextual levels surrounding the workplace. Depending on how educators connect with the pressures on these different levels, they either try to weigh one set of factors against another to find the most advantageous solution, or they look for an intermediate solution. RR provides an illustration of this intermediate option when she made a proposal to her organization to develop a campaign from Lima for the provincial areas, rather than moving to those areas.

By taking a multilevel perspective, it becomes possible to identify the specific kind of pressure that is influencing the dilemma. To ground this *multilevel approach to career dilemmas*, we will adapt the significant features of Young et al.'s (as cited in Chen, 2003) career contextualist approach: multiplicity, meaning, and interwovenness. 'Multiplicity' refers to the complexity of variables and factors involved in constructing the dilemma. The second stresses the importance of a person's perception and interpretation of the dilemma. The third highlights the intertwined relationship between variables that affect the dilemma.

The first column of Table 6.1 gives a brief description of the dilemma. The plus and minus symbols indicate the poles of the dilemma. The other columns show the pressures involved. Each column is reserved for pressures at a different level and the plus or minus symbols indicate the pole of the dilemma towards which the various statements veer. Ambiguous statements are shown with both symbols, because they can lead to either pole.

In the *multilevel approach to career dilemmas* used for this research, the *vocational dilemma* focuses on the tension between *studying Education or another discipline*. In spite of different negative pressures, all the educators in our sample solved this dilemma by opting for Education. There are adverse contextual factors detracting potential students from studying education, such as the low social status of Education as a profession, as well as a limited choice of main subjects in Faculties of Education. In addition, there is not only no stimulus from parents to follow this profession, but strong pressure not to take Education as an undergraduate study at all. How strong this pressure is varies, however. How do these young people cope with these strong negative pressures? They reason that, despite the family's concern and dismay at them opting to study education, they will nevertheless agree in the end with their choice of study, because of the reputation of the university — the Catholic University of Peru is one of the most prestigious universities in Peru (Apoyo, 2004). They hope this will compensate for their decision to study Education. For the educators in our sample, these negative pressures had less pulling power than the positive cognitive pressures from their internal world. A number of our interviewees had begun other courses of study before moving to Education, and they had done so out of dissatisfaction with the other courses. Others were motivated towards Education as a means for being in touch with people, or to strengthen earlier positive experiences in specific social domains, such as certain sorts or levels of school. These emerged from the research as being two of the key cognitive pulling powers for people to go in for Education as a profession, despite the negative external pressure. Their choice of vocation was then reinforced by their experiences of working in non-formal education in institutional workplaces which took some of them on as helpers even though they were still students, studying to be school teachers. In line with the agency theory, the findings of this research confirm that, in facing a vocational dilemma, people typically find a way that is not overly determined by social and family pressures.

There are three types of *field dilemma*: *whether to remain in the educational field or to accept staying outside it; whether to work in the non-formal educational subfield or in*

the formal educational subfield; or thirdly, *whether to carry on doing certain non-formal educational activities or to accept new activities within the non-formal educational subfield*. The first of these field dilemmas can develop in three ways: the educator leaves the educational field to spend more time on family duties, to complete academic requirements not finished earlier or to accept employment in the business area. The first course of action is the one often followed by female graduates who take time out of their profession to look after their new-born babies. The reason for the second course of action is usually to finish incompleting courses or to write a thesis after working as a professional in education for many years. The third line of action takes advantage of accepting attractive business positions in the informal (market) economy of Peru. Whichever line of action the educators in our sample took, they received positive support from their families. In our opinion, the first of these field dilemmas is less far-reaching than the other two because it usually involves a short-term absence from the educational field. Going beyond the educational field can also be considered as being not catastrophic, because the educators who did this soon discovered that they could return to the educational field.

The positive pressures to work in educational jobs beyond schools come from contextual factors, such as the expansion of non-governmental organizations, and the demand for trainers in different kinds of public and private institutions that offer higher incomes than the teacher's salary. These pressures are made more positive by the low social status of teachers in Peru, and by pressure from educators' families to improve their financial situations. In some cases they look for more flexible working conditions within the non-formal educational sector because that allows them to build a better balance between working and living. Nevertheless, there are often other significant cognitive factors in the educator's vision such as socio-ideological motivations and personal concerns about educational tasks.

In coping with the dilemma of changing from one non-formal educational activity to another, our research reveals that educators also weigh up external factors such as the economic crisis, terrorist violence and drug-trafficking and evaluate the difference between the current and the new activity from the point of view of the physical and financial risks involved. For some, the problem is more one of internal crisis within their institution that makes it so difficult to continue doing their job effectively that they start to look for other possibilities. In a few cases, though, explicit support in dealing with the dilemma is offered by internal elements. Sometimes, educators recognize limitations in their own performance which persuade them to look for another job. Others, by critically examining their own career cycles, realize that they should make a change after doing the same job for so many years. Other pressures usually strengthen this feeling.

The *institutional dilemma* is a matter of whether to *move to another position or department in the same institution or whether to stay put*. Efficiency measures in institutions and threatened redundancy implicitly affect how secure employees feel in their current position and whether they should negotiate change or not; they act as levers in the social environment, generating internal change in organizations. On the positive side, institutional pressure not only poses threats, but it also opens up opportunities and stimulates an open perception in employees of their personal potentialities that gives some of them enough confidence to accept higher positions or demand higher rewards. More flexible schedules and a negotiating environment with respect to working conditions are aspects that attract internal change. Stressful working conditions is often a reason for looking for another job. It is a key issue that disturbs the balance between the employee's family and their working life. Faced with internal pressure, the employee evaluates his background education and experience with a view to assuming a new position. If the pressures are strong, this may lead to risking taking on an important position even though the person's background is not well suited to performing well in the new position. Others decide to accept a new position, or at least to be open to wait for it, out of concern for what will happen to the institution's on-

going work and future plans, and especially to the people who are benefitting from those activities, if faced with a different scenario. They see themselves as guardians of the right policies for that institution. Elsewhere, the same argument is used as a reason for *not* moving to another department. In some cases, it was personal interest in training that was the reason for deciding to take a certain position in an institution in preference to another one where training tasks were not part of the job, even if it involves moving. This finding supports Evetts's research (Evetts, 2002: 7) and his remark that "many women, and indeed many men, want things other than 'advancement' from career structures. There are teachers who would rather stay in the classroom than accept promotion into managerial (non-classroom) positions. There are nurses who would prefer to stay on the wards where they are in contact with patients than move to an administrative position."

The *locational dilemma* has to do with the choices of whether to *live and work in the provinces or in the capital city*. Powerful contextual pressures, such as the over-centralization of facilities on the capital city, persuade professionals to stay in Lima. Risks to personal safety due to the prevalence of drug-trafficking, and terrorist violence in the provincial cities is an added persuasion not to leave the capital. These were the problems that arose between 1980 and 2000, especially in the Andean areas and some of the jungle provinces. Skirmishes or open fighting between terrorist groups and army forces resulted in the death or disappearance of 69,000 Peruvians (Commission of Truth and Reconciliation, 2004). In 1995, a graduate of the Faculty of Education, who had been training peasants to grow crops other than coca, was killed. Despite these risks, this research has shown that there are appealing factors in working in the provinces: the competition for jobs is less fierce than in the capital and for those with a strong social conscience, there is much to be done in the provinces to help alleviate the diverse social needs there. Another development that fosters moving to the provinces is the emergence of many projects with the support of international agencies. This kind of dilemma is often complicated by family pressure. We have seen from our sample that there may be consensus within the family to move to the provinces for ideological or other reasons (unemployment, beginning a new family cycle). In fact, two of our educators left Lima with their entire family. At the other pole, however, some educators used family concerns (caring for children or an elderly parent) as an argument for not looking for a job in the provinces. There was also evidence of personal viewpoints for opting for locational change, such as concerns about personal health, preferring an urban life-style given as a reason for staying in the capital, or at least in one of the coastal cities. Ideological motivation appeared to be one of the strongest driving forces behind professionals from this group, and their families, in deciding to live and work in the provinces.

The *specialization dilemma* is one of whether to *study for additional qualifications or not*. This dilemma is often made more complex by negative contextual pressures. The educational sector gives very little stimulus to graduates in this respect. In state schools, for example, teachers with postgraduate training only receive an extra 10 dollars a month. In other professions, more value is placed on postgraduate studies and they appear to be better recognized, financially. Of the 277 Peruvian teachers in Rühling and Scheuch's (2003) study, 80 percent had never even begun on a specialist postgraduate study, and of the 20 percent who had, 5 percent of them had dropped out. In a poll of 1,998 teachers conducted by the Ministry of Education (1999), only 10 percent had followed postgraduate studies. To improve on this, institutions of higher education are increasingly offering various kinds of funding with their programs. To encourage educational practitioners to follow these programs too, they are also increasingly introducing the possibility of studying in modules to ease distance problems and the necessity to move for the duration of the course. For some educators, this is stimulus enough, despite the lack of financial recognition by the State for their efforts.

In the workplace, different pressures are evident, depending on the institution's culture. Some institutional cultures give access to higher positions without stipulating the necessity of postgraduate courses such as diplomas, Masters, or PhD. degrees. In fact, four of the people in our sample gained good positions without this requirement. Two other people in our sample benefitted from advantageous conditions offered by their institutions in aspects such as financing a study or negotiating working times. Both of these can help to alleviate dilemmas linked with work–family issues. When the need to care for and fund the family are strong, personal interest in following further studies is postponed unless the training course is short and financed by an institution or a scholarship. Indeed, the only two graduates who concluded their postgraduate studies, were only able to do so because of funding. This kind of dilemma is different for male and female educators. The latter are more confronted with the *ethics of care* (Engster, 2004) and the former with the *ethics of responsibility*. Female educators postpone their specialist studies to care for their children and elderly parents. Male educators postpone their studies because of the difficulty of supporting their families financially while studying and because they perceive that further study will not improve either their current job situation or their prospects.

This is not to say that there is no latent interest among educators in gaining additional formal specializations, but they not only have to face the above pressures but they also need to have a certain internal degree of flexibility in order to select a specialization.

Two of our interviewees reflect this internal pressure. One graduate was able to change her initial specialization subject in order to take advantage of a scholarship, and another decided to keep to his chosen subject, even though it meant studying abroad and rejecting the help (to do another course of study) offered by his institution. Some of these dilemmas are related: in facing one dilemma, one might also have to face another. In the sample studied here, a field dilemma led to a locational dilemma: the graduate decided to change from one non-formal educational workplace to another, but to do this, he had to move to the provinces. In another case, the specialization dilemma implied a locational dilemma as well: by accepting a scholarship, the graduate had to go abroad for several months. Another graduate in our sample, faced with a similar situation, decided against taking a Masters program because it implied living abroad.

Table 6.1 A multilevel approach to career dilemmas

Dilemmas/levels	Contextual	Work settings	Family	Cognitive (Internal)
<p>Vocational</p> <p>(+) <i>Deciding between studying education or another professional subject</i> (-)</p>	<p>(-) Education has a low social & academic status</p> <p>(-) Faculties of Education only offer a limited range of main subjects in their Bachelors degrees</p> <p>(+) The social prestige of studying at a private university in Lima (-)</p>	<p>(+) The willingness of some non-formal educational workplaces to receive students of Faculty of Education as helpers</p>	<p>(-) Opposition to studying education</p> <p>(+) Pressure from the family to become qualified as a professional (-)</p>	<p>(+) Dissatisfaction with another career</p> <p>(+) Motivated to work with people</p> <p>(+) Positive social experiences as a school-child</p>
<p>Field</p> <p>(+) <i>Deciding between working in the educational field or entering another field outside education</i> (-)</p> <hr/> <p>(+) <i>Deciding between working in the non-formal educational subfield or the formal educational subfield</i> (-)</p>	<p>(-) The jobs beyond the educational field are more attractive</p> <p>(+) Jobs beyond the educational field are usually dependent upon an unstable, informal economy</p> <hr/> <p>(+) The growth of NGOs is creating more jobs</p>	<hr/> <p>(+) A growing demand for trainers in the business world</p>	<p>(-) Looking after the family</p> <p>(-) Supporting the family financially</p> <hr/> <p>(+) The family's financial situation can</p>	<p>(-) Personal motivations in business</p> <p>(-) Concern on meet undergraduate requirements</p> <p>(+) Personal concern for educational tasks</p> <hr/> <p>(+) Personal socio-ideological and professional motivations</p>

<hr/> <p>(+) <i>Deciding between working in a certain non-formal educational workplace or moving to another non-formal educational workplace (-).</i></p>	<p>(+) Teachers have a low social status</p> <hr/> <p>(-) Non-formal educational jobs are sensitive to economic crises</p>	<p>(+) Much better incomes in organizations and businesses than in schools</p> <p>(+) Flexible schedules in organizations and businesses</p> <p>(+) Critical incidents in schools</p> <hr/> <p>(-) Internal conflicts</p>	<p>be improved</p>	<hr/> <p>(-) Self-awareness about performance limitations</p> <p>(-) Self-awareness of the advisability of ending a career cycle</p>
<p>Institutional</p> <p>(+) <i>Deciding between moving to another position/department or staying in the same one (-)</i></p>	<p>(+) Efficiency measures in institutions create both risks and opportunities (-)</p>	<p>(+) Positive expectations of the new position</p> <p>(+) Less stressful conditions</p> <p>(+) Flexible and negotiable environment</p> <p>(+) Rewards for higher positions</p>	<p>(-) Family duties (+)</p>	<p>(+) Open perception of personal potentialities</p> <p>(+) Level of concern about an institution's history and development (-)</p> <p>(+) Personal interest in training (-)</p>
<p>Locational</p>	<p>(-) Resources over-centralized on the capital</p>	<p>(+) Many interesting projects in the provinces</p>	<p>(+) The whole family agrees to move</p>	<p>(-) Health problems</p>

<p>(+) <i>Deciding between living-working in the provinces or in the capital city</i> (-)</p>	<p>(-) Terrorist violence, drug-trafficking are serious risks for non-formal educators working on projects in the provinces</p> <p>(+) High competition for jobs in the capital, less in the provinces</p> <p>(+) Strong and diverse social demands in the provinces</p>	<p>(+) Support for these projects from international agencies</p>	<p>(-) Family concerns (children's education, caring for parents, etc.)</p>	<p>(-) Restricted to an urban life style</p> <p>(+) Personal motivations (ideological, concern for others) for living and working in certain provinces</p>
<p>Specialization</p> <p>(+) <i>Deciding between taking further studies or not</i> (-)</p>	<p>(+) Latent wishes of postgraduate professionals in the "society of knowledge".</p> <p>(-) Little financial recognition of postgraduate qualifications in the educational sector.</p> <p>(+) Increasing encouragement from universities to take postgraduate studies in the form of various kinds of funding, and student-friendly course management (modules,</p>	<p>(-) Postgraduate studies of little help in gaining access a higher position in educational organizations</p> <p>(+) Training activities sponsored by the institution</p> <p>(+) Stimulation by the institution to take specialist courses</p>	<p>(-) Implications of caring for the family</p> <p>(-) Consequences for the family's financial situation</p>	<p>(+) Personal interest in gaining formal qualifications</p> <p>(-) Disinterest in academia</p> <p>(+) Flexibility in selecting a specialization</p>

	limited presence requirements to counteract distance)			
--	-------------------------------------------------------	--	--	--

In looking at how our graduates worked through these dilemmas, I would now like to focus more on the influence of the work-life balance and the role of others on the decisional process, and to relate this to the theoretical approach discussed in Chapter 3. Family pressures were mentioned in most of the educators' narrations about these dilemmas.

The educators featured in this research decided to move and remain within non-formal education not just for professional reasons, but also because it enabled them to manage a better balance between work and life. This search for a better balance is a more inherent part of some dilemmas than others. For example, RM's locational dilemma reflects the necessity of moving to get a new balance between work and other aspects of her life. LV's specialization dilemma, and her search for further studies, is put on standby because of the necessity of maintaining a balance between her personal activities and caring for her elderly mother. Family matters enter into RM and RR's field dilemmas — should they continue in paid employment or should they look after their children for a while instead. These sorts of dilemma make motherhood and achieving a work-life balance a much more sensitive issue for the women in our sample, especially as they are often the cost-winners too (*"I'll only do a Masters when my daughter has finished at school"*). What we do not hear about in their narratives is what they gain from this experience. This is also mentioned in Evetts (2002: 8): "the positive implications of a break from paid employment and the subsequent return to paid work, or entry into a new occupation after a child-bearing period, have not been explored".

The relationship between the domain of work and that of the family is not only a matter of how to manage time quantitatively, to take care of the children and elderly parents, but it is also a qualitative issue. How do professionals weave the effective support of their families into their career decisions. In particular, how do they manage the economic consequences of their career decisions and support family needs as well. In our sample, finding time, providing effective physical care and moral support, and meeting financial needs were the three main considerations in balancing family needs with work. So to manage a career dilemma well, there has to be minimal conflict between the two domains of the work-life balance (Clark, 2000). This issue is close to a finding from the research that is nearest in style to this research (Rebollo et al., 2001). In Rebollo et al.'s qualitative study of six educators from non-school settings, they found that: "there are different ways of perceiving the roles and interrelationships of personal, family and professional perspectives in constructing a life project, and this verifies creating divergent models to articulate both the family and the professional perspectives".

Another important issue in this discussion is the relational perspective, because, in many cases, decisions can only be made after listening to someone else's opinion, or asking for advice — see Phillips et al.'s (2003) categories 'action taken by others' — meaning when someone is actively involved in another person's personal reflections — and 'recruitment of others' — meaning when someone seeks the opinion of somebody else about that person's personal reflections. Three of our cases reflect these interactive moments very well. To solve a field dilemma, one of our female educators had to choose from three jobs. She talked about this situation with a close (female) friend who not only gave her opinion, but also recommended contacting someone who was more authoritative in this kind of work. After these two talks, the educator was able to make a decision about which job to select. It turned out to be a significant decision in her career. Another female educator describes a specialization dilemma that she had to face: should she apply for a Masters degree because it offered a scholarship, even though the subject of the degree bore little relation to her initial subjects. She talked with a close (female) friend who made her analyse herself as a person, and compare herself to her mother. This helped her to think more flexibly about applying for this Masters course; it helped her to change her initially rigid attitude, and it turned out to be a good choice, one that changed her professional development. The third case was a

male educator who had to face a field dilemma — of whether to move from one kind of work in the area of non-formal education to another. He asked a (male) friend, a consultant in that area, who helped him to review and rename his experience tactically on his curriculum vitae and in his mind. This up-dated and modernized his vision of his experience, thereby increasing his self-confidence and status, which in turn enhanced employers' impressions of him when applying for jobs. This discussion helped him to see his background with other eyes. It is interesting that, in each of these three cases, educators sought the opinion of a close friend of the same gender.

What role does 'the presence of others' play in these dilemmas. To be able to talk to someone else about these matters, the educator needed to have a great deal of confidence in the person they approached. This probably explains why they chose a close friend of the same gender in each case. They were not only looking for good opinions and ideas, but confidentiality was also an important factor. This confirms the emotional element involved in trying to solve a dilemma, as suggested in Chapter 3. The dialogue with others also has the function of deepening reflection, of 're-sending to others'. It's a process that helps to create a 'mirror effect' so that the person with the dilemma can look at their personality and professional background more objectively. Talking with others helps to create the necessary psychological distance so that new possibilities can be identified in the dilemmatic situation.

Nevertheless, in conducting this research, evidence has also been found to support Phillips et al.'s other (2003) category of 'pushing others away'; of excluding someone from the decision-making process. This occurred in a vocational dilemma when an educator did not follow relatives' advice and by so doing had to face a relationship crisis with their family.

By focusing on professional dilemmas and investigating how professionals faced different dilemmas in the course of their careers, it has given us the opportunity of applying the agency approach to the professional field. A disadvantage of using this approach, however, is that, as far as facing career dilemmas is concerned, it can project an over-individualized image of the professional. I have tried to rectify this imbalance by also looking into the presence of others and the effects of work-life issues on the decision-making process. Even where professionals have more freedom to make decisions, by no means can this be taken to mean that they have reached a decision in isolation. Career dilemmas are usually solved within a relational context. This embraces conversations within the family and the influence of others, such as close friends, whose advice has been sought in confidence. Following Sullivan and MacCarthy's approach (2004), this range of voices adds a dialogic perspective to agency — in that a person's experience is an outcome of many conversations with a multiplicity of people — that can be usefully applied in confronting ambiguity and indecision.

These findings and discussions allow us to complement those longitudinal studies on graduates or professionals that do not pay any attention to experiencing dilemmas. Most of them are mainly concerned with finding out how graduates gain a footing in the labor market. Comparative studies look in quantitative terms at past situations, analyze current market demands, and make prognoses of future trends for certain groups of professionals (Acosta et al., 2004; Rodriguez, 2003; Panaia, 2003; Makrinov et al., 2005). Studies that take a qualitative approach (Ruiz & Bobadilla, 1993; Rebollo et al., 2001), even those that use terms such as 'career dilemma' and 'career decisions' (Palladino, 2003; Santos, 2004; Moore & Birkeland, 2002; Sloan, 1992), do not attempt to classify the critical career decisions faced by professionals in the course of their careers. Those that take a multilevel perspective, such as Black and Haliwell (2000) — in their multilevel analysis of teachers' dilemmas in terms of knowledge, students, the role of the teacher, the local community and society — look at society as being a contextual source of tensions, as in my multilevel approach. In addition, my research reveals other levels not raised by the above authors, such as the professional's own

cognitive pressures and family pressures. It is a multilevel perspective that is closely related to a typology of career dilemmas.

The empirical evidence from my research not only validates this typology, but also raises the suggestion of approaching the task of analyzing career decision-making processes from a broader perspective by using aspects such as agency, the work–life balance, personal relations, and dialogues with family and friends.

CHAPTER 7 - KNOWLEDGE GAINED IN THE WORKPLACE BY EDUCATORS IN NON-FORMAL EDUCATION SETTINGS: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

There are different ways of studying the knowledge amassed by specific professions. Here, we have selected one of the simplest methods to ask and find out about it. We have employed well-known categories used by various authors when referring to workplace learning or professional knowledge: knowledge, skills, and attitudes (Billett, 1999; Tennant, 1999; Weaver, 1999; Jones et al., 2004). To quote from Billett: “in different settings, knowledge is developed which has different propositional, procedural and dispositional characteristics” (p.155). Professional ‘knowledge’ is taken here to mean the main subject matter or content of professional performance; the propositional or declarative knowledge that gets its structure from defined areas of recognized knowledge in a public domain. ‘Skills’ are comprised of a range of actions that convey knowledge of certain procedures; knowing how to do something. ‘Attitude’ is a form of dispositional knowledge whereby certain beliefs support levels of inclination or refusal regarding a certain topic (Kane et al., 2002). These categories were also chosen because it was easier for our educators to understand the interview questions in terms of skills, knowledge, and attitudes.

To answer my main research question in this area: *What knowledge have these educators gained from their workplace experience?*, I analyzed the semi-structured interviews with our educators to find out what were the relevant skills, knowledge and attitudes needed for their work. To gain an understanding of the importance of this knowledge for non-formal educators, I drew on both empirical findings and theoretical perspectives.

In addition to posing this general question about non-formal educators’ knowledge requirements, this chapter also attempts to gain more precise information by asking the following specific questions:

- What are the most relevant skills, knowledge, and attitudes needed by educators in non-formal educational settings?
- Where do educators in non-formal settings mainly gain their professional knowledge?
- What is the typical knowledge mix of educators in non-formal educational settings?

7.1 Findings

7.1.1 Skills

Two clusters of skills emerge from most of the interviewees’ responses. The first cluster is centered on *interactive communication*, and the second on *specific educational abilities*. Both sets of skills are mostly gained through working experience, but also partly through formal education.

All the respondents mentioned one important group of skills — ‘interactive communication’, especially in relation to target groups, training recipients and colleagues.

There are different dimensions to developing interactive communication skills with target groups, and the recipients of training courses whom educators have to address as part of their daily work. At least five aspects can be distinguished: how wide is the range of people in the group?; what is the most appropriate style of language to use?; how is dialogue used in facing problems?; how is the educational content transmitted?; how are discussions conducted with recipients?.

If there is a wide range of people in a group, characterized by different social classes with different cultural backgrounds and levels of education, specific *socio-cultural*

interaction can be developed in different sectors of that population. Four of our interviewees recalled their experiences in interacting with people whose mother tongue is *quechua*, the native Andean language spoken in the poorer districts of Lima and in the provinces by about 18 percent of the Peruvian population (*El Comercio*, 2002). None of them had learned this language, and only one — an educator who lives in one of the Andean provinces — is making any attempt to learn it by having lessons from time to time.

RR feels confident in communicating with people from different social levels, irrespective of whether it is her boss or a stranger:

62

"I can always communicate well, really. I have no trouble starting a conversation with strangers, and, in the end, it's just as though we've always known each another. It's not usually me who does most of the talking. I give them the opportunity instead. I try to build up trust, so that it becomes easier for them to tell me what's on their mind. It's very pleasing when communication begins to flow in this way and it helps me day by day, in an incredible way."

Using *language creatively* is another way of facilitating communication with a target group. Sometimes, it may be necessary to use slang, metaphors or specific jargon if these are readily understood by the people in this group and are a part of their normal language usage. LL expresses this by saying:

63

"Sometimes I'm too metaphoric. Sometimes I use metaphors to make people laugh, or when I can't find another way to make them understand me."

Facing problems by discussing them is a third way of improving communication; approaching a problem by listening to people, getting involved, and by not forcing solutions on either individuals or by sermonizing the whole group. JC mentions this sort of experience:

64

"One pleasant experience in my professional development was when I was working on ethics. When I first joined the institution, one of the first decisions I had to make was: 'should I do a workshop, give a course, to work on the ethics topic'. My first thoughts were: 'let's discuss it with the people concerned'. We didn't want any of those who were responsible for the project, any of those who were interested in going ahead, to get the impression that a priest was talking, telling them to 'behave well', and 'not to do this or that'. We didn't want that. Rather, we wanted to discuss potential problems. And by taking this simple stance, a very interesting thing happened. It motivated me to write the article, the one that received a second award. So this experience could be transferred, as a consultancy, to Chile. The framework was later adopted elsewhere in Latin America as a regional training model on ethics, and that was pleasing. What abilities were needed? Well, the ability to establish a dialogue with people... To say 'I don't know the answer; we'll have to find it together'."

A fourth dimension in establishing interactive communication is having the *ability to create an active atmosphere*, by presenting the educational content in such a way that participants do not become bored. For LV, this is one of her communication strengths:

65

"If I know a topic, then I know how to transmit it and capture people's attention.... It rarely happens that people fall asleep during my presentations. They remain attentive. I believe this is one of the gifts that a professor needs to have. I know how to maintain the attention of the class; how to maintain empathy, and a dialogue with people. I don't like to speak a lot. I like people to participate. I like to feel part of the atmosphere.... I was with some nuns the other day. It was very hot in the afternoon, anything but good, so I said: 'This is the worst hour of the day, but let's try not to fall asleep. Let's do some exercises'. We did some exercises, and it went quite well after that."

Discussing problems in a direct way is another way of encouraging interactive communication. Using a challenging style and daily situations close to their experiences helps participants to enter into the situation. In the words of JM:

66

“Having been there [in poor areas], gives me authority. It allows me to believe that I’m an authority, and that nobody else is.... We’re sometimes tempted to be provocative, because we feel that knowledge gives us authority. We’ve lived, that’s the impact. There are people, thousands of people, who think the same as I do about giving too much assistance to poor people, but they don’t say anything very forcibly. We give ourselves the luxury of saying ‘Damn!’ and when telling about our findings in Huancaraes [rural province], we are very direct.”

Verbal ability is another of the interactive communication abilities of these educators. It is a specific ability, recognized by colleagues as one that allows them to develop leadership qualities and to create a good climate in their workplace relationships. RR remembers how colleagues acknowledged her *verbal ability*:

67

“At Christmas [at company parties], the bosses were always there, the assistants, a former teacher and myself. Including all the promoters, there were around thirty or forty people altogether. We usually stood in a circle ... and they always said: ‘RR should give the speech because she speaks so well’, and they made me speak.”

In reflecting about her abilities, LV acknowledges the strength of her oral ability to transmit educational content during training sessions in contrast to her less well-developed writing ability:

68

“I believe it’s a gift ... it’s not enough to know a topic, it’s also necessary to know how to transmit it. I believe that I can transmit quite well, whatever the content. So, it’s my ability, I’m better at talking than writing. I can write too, but that takes much longer. I can devise a scheme while I’m talking, and manage the situation with that.”

LV is proud of her *open and horizontal way* of communicating. In her job as the director of an institution, it is the key to her communication style. She uses the metaphor of the door to capture this feature:

69

“It’s easy for me to empathize with people. It’s easy. I usually dress as I’m dressed now. I don’t go in for formal dress ... I don’t know if that’s a quality, but people respond to simplicity ... I don’t know if it’s a virtue or if it’s internal. I believe that nobody is afraid of coming to this office. Nobody. This door is always open ... even to tell me that they don’t agree with me. They have the right to tell me ... without me making problems about it. Everyone is treated in the same way — horizontally. They know they can come in at any moment.”

A second family of skills was found to be concentrated on ‘specific educational abilities’. As pedagogic translator, these are associated with particular approaches, while as a pedagogic operator, they come within the domain of educational planning, developing materials, generating participation, and validating the methods used. Our professionals mentioned two ways in which they, as *pedagogic translators*, develop the ability to reformulate technical knowledge into educational knowledge viewed from the learners’ perspective and from that of the learning processes. To do this, *technical knowledge* first has to be *translated from texts*. This process is described by RM and RR in the next two excerpts. A second source of information is to *translate professionals’ technical knowledge*. In the third quotation below, LL recollects a critical incident in which he displays his ability to utilize other peoples’ professional knowledge by reframing it within a pedagogic context. Notice that both RM and LL use the word ‘translation’ in the same metaphoric sense:

70

"I have many facilities for translating things that I have read about. I've learned in a format that can be shared with people, and from which they can learn. What can I do to help people manage those key concepts? They're quite complicated."

71

"To establish Kaufman soap on the market, for instance, you have to investigate and develop acne as a theme. Then I find out what the student's interested in and then read and prepare an outline. Then, I find out what the teacher's interested in, and the Minister of Health's interest in it. In this way, you manage the theme, the lecture, and the class."

72

"With a certain modesty you approach an economist or engineer and say: 'I have to prepare some educational material for the people whom you will be training in the next two hours. I've only got two hours and I've got to write and order all the ideas, and make a scheme.' Of course, on many occasions, they refuse to help me : 'I know what I have to explain!', they retort, 'Are you inviting me, or what? You want this for nothing, I suppose?' 'Are you inviting me to give a presentation? I'll do it, but in my way.' Collecting all this knowledge and translating it into educational materials, with a more acceptable methodology to present it to peasants is another skill again."

As *pedagogic operators*, these professionals refer to different sorts of skills needed in producing educational processes. For example, RM mentions her ability to *design educational activities* by applying a model; RR describes her skills in *developing materials*, and LL talks about instances when he has been able to *lead a process of participation* by encouraging people to attend training workshops and to *validate specific educational methodologies* that he or others have applied. With respect to the latter, LL not only validates the methodology that he himself applied but also checks the methodologies used by the trained peasants to train other peasants. In doing this, he not only needs to pay attention to the experience of others, but also to check and improve the methodologies before applying them to later processes.

The respondents affirm that they learned the different skills needed to foster good relations with different types of people such as target groups, workplace colleagues, and specific individuals, and from formal learning. JM, RM, LV, and LL all emphasized that it was their earlier experiences with poor people in urban and rural areas that had been essential in helping them to communicate with people from different social sectors. RR remembered how the active style of a previous boss had influenced her. LL referred to a teacher who had helped him to be more conscious of the way he communicated with rural people. Both also referred to previous experiences in formal educational settings, as a student or teacher. For RR, her communication abilities had been mainly learned at school, and RM alluded to learning some approaches to communication while studying for her Masters, which later helped her to lead certain educational activities.

However, there were two activities in which these educators did not develop so many skills: organizing and systematizing. In an overt way, LV laments her lack of administrative skills, because it made her dependent on the manager of her institution. JC describes various problems in developing skills to meet his institution's priorities, such that he can fulfill his tasks as leader. He recognized that it was because of these limitations that he had not been promoted, in spite of working for 11 years in that area. LL puts the weakness in developing systematizing skills down to activism and the lack of time to stop and think (*'systematizing is always a problem in what we are doing, because we don't stop to do it.'*). RM stressed their writing problems, and JM complains about a lack of concentration and of the need to reflect more systematically.

7.1.2 Knowledge

The areas of knowledge identifiable from the interviews as being of particular relevance to educators in non-formal settings are concentrated on development, training, and marketing issues. Management is another important area, the basics of which are usually acquired from formal studies, supplemented later by workplace experience and self-study. Evidence was found in this research that formal knowledge is accessed for different reasons in educators' professional practice. These findings will also be described.

With respect to the focus of conceptual knowledge on 'development issues', this can be approached from different geographic perspectives, such as rural–urban, from different levels of concern, such as local–global, and from certain specific perspectives. LL emphasizes that his subject knowledge is mainly associated with *local rural development* learned from professional practice. It is knowledge gained from constant discussion with those involved in the projects on which he was working. RM is engaged on both *global development issues*, involving international cooperation and the use of development models, and on *specific approaches to development* such as gender, conflict, and intercultural matters. Concerning this last issue, she is trying to synthesize Peruvian and American perspectives innovatively in order to get the best out of both individual and collective visions. A combination of academic studies, personal reading and Internet search had given her the idea to adopt this line of activity. Formal education, in the form of lectures, had also helped JM to gain proximity to development subjects and to form opinions about them. For instance, he felt strongly that economic factors should not be allowed to interfere with visions on development. LV also mentioned topics bordering on third-world development problems that she has learned about in discussion with her team. From the following excerpt, we can see how a critical incident was instrumental in stimulating further learning about this topic:

73

"There are two ways to read reality. You read it from below, from the hopes and suffering of the poor, or you read it from the angle of the rich. This is a simplification, but it helps. In the campaign on debt, we had a very heated confrontation with the University of ... because someone said: 'We shouldn't be campaigning about debt. Peru needs to continue paying its debt, because that's the only way forward ... by paying we will demonstrate our capacity to pay, and therefore we will be more likely to...' So I said: 'But this is madness. We'll never be able to achieve that. We're currently paying almost two thousand million dollars.' There's no political will to negotiate, right? Peru — and people like Iguiñiz [a Peruvian economist] say so openly — doesn't negotiate; it simply accepts, doesn't it? There's no dialogue either. There are those who say that we shouldn't join the campaign; that there are other more important topics we should spend our time on, and that this campaign will fail anyway, because there's no solution to this problem."

Another important kind of conceptual knowledge is knowledge about 'training topics'. JC states having gained such knowledge both in practical terms and theoretically — the latter from university courses, in the form of certain formal language and notions. For instance, in the following dialogue, reference is made to both sources of knowledge, but although JC perceives the practical knowledge to be determining, he explicitly acknowledges the importance of declarative knowledge (see line 06), and he could even remember specifically helpful subjects that he had picked up from formal learning settings. *Educational objectives*, for example, was a topic which he encountered as an undergraduate (see line 02), as did RR; and *competence* was a topic included in his postgraduate study (see lines 04&16). JC also mentions *training management* as another important area of knowledge in his professional development, because he had found it generally useful for framing his job, as we can read below:

01 L (interviewer): *"Which are the most important types of knowledge that you have developed in the course of your work?"*

02 JC: *"Probably matters concerning the internal organization of the institution. I often refer to my institution as a company, because, internally, it operates like a company, especially anything to do with human resources. As far as educational matters are concerned, I often have to use information that I picked up at university, such as Bloom's taxonomy. I understand it much better now, than I did then, because we use it constantly in our training activities."*

03 L (interviewer): *"Bloom's taxonomy, could you say that you learned it here [in the Faculty of Education] and that you are now applying it in the area of Human Resources and to aspects of institutional organization? How have you learned to do that?"*

04 JC: *"You learn while you're doing the job. These matters are constant topics of conversation in other areas linked to Human Resources. To understand human resources, and especially the bosses viewpoints, all aspects of the topic are almost always fixed, and little by little you enter into the discussions. An important input from formal learning on this issue was when I studied for the Diploma on the Administration Strategy of Training at the Pacifico [a university] because it began by giving a complete framework for the administration of Human Resources. This taught me how to operate more formally."*

05 L (interviewer): *"Do you also believe that this also influenced your perception and understanding of the organization?"*

06 JC: *"The diploma helped me a lot. It was a turning point in my experience. The diploma gave me the possibility of using categories that, until then, I had only used in a very rudimentary way."*

07 L (interviewer): *"You followed that diploma course for a year, didn't you? or was it less than that?"*

08 JC: *"Less, less, about half a year."*

09 L (interviewer): *"Half a year, from June to December, and what do you recall as being the most outstanding aspects of that course?"*

10 JC: *"Everything that had to do with organizing human resources. Another very useful part of the course was that it gave input on how to administer training, in other words, concepts of how an in-company training should be administered. It included information on how to deal with a recurring problem, that of implementing a very ambitious in-company training curriculum to form a training school..."*

11 L (interviewer): *"And the other courses that you have taken, is there anything you remember that has directly helped you in carrying out your job?"*

12 JC: *"The most important thing that I could mention is a course at the UPC [another university], called..."*

13 L (interviewer): *"Strategies and Processes of Corporate Training? You obtained the highest grade in that, didn't you?"*

14 JC: *"Yes, that's correct."*

15 L (interviewer): *"You did very well!" [looking at the curriculum vitae]*

16 JC: *"Yes, I did very well. That was the course that introduced me to the topic of 'competence'. I'd come across it some time before that, but, as a formal subject, it was a new topic for me. It had been developed at the [Catholic] university after I had left. In my time as an undergraduate, no one had talked about competence."*

The topic of *competence*, taught during his postgraduate course, gave JC the confidence to introduce it in his workplace as a new concept. For him, this had the added value that it was instrumental in legitimating his contribution to the institution as an educator. It helped to project his professional image as being innovative and up-to-date with recent trends (see lines 02, 04, 06). Nevertheless, despite this promising initial introduction, it didn't help him to combat his bosses complexity and inflexibility. The excerpt below reveals details of a brief, but tense, discussion with this boss, who was reluctant to allow JC to implement this new knowledge (see line 08) This also

indicates that although there might be great interest in new knowledge, it is not always possible to apply it linearly:

75

01 L (interviewer): "Were your colleagues already familiar with the language of competences?"

02 JC: "No. I had to introduce it."

03 L (interviewer): "Ah, so you had to introduce it?"

04 JC: "Yes, that's right."

05 L (interviewer): "And did it create tension or cause an incident?"

06 JC: "No, on the contrary, it was received very well, because the topic is very fashionable at the moment. It's easier to accept what everybody is already saying, than something you've never heard about before. If it's already in fashion, then people have a certain expectation about it. 'Competence' is one of the most frequently used terms in our institution at the moment, not only in training but also in human resources. Quality systems force enterprises to be competitive, and to define effort, so it's very much in fashion."

07 L (interviewer): "So it was easy for you to introduce it?"

08 JC: "Yes, relatively easy. In my previous job, my boss was far too prudent to make general changes in any aspect of our way of working, so this was a new experience. Before, when we had already developed a plan for combating competition she told me: 'I don't want to put it into practice yet!' It was very annoying in those days..."

09 L (interviewer): "Why? Just because of her prudent attitude, or because you didn't think that she had very clear ideas?"

10 JC : "Both things, really."

RM indicates another important item of conceptual knowledge learned during her Masters studies — how to devise *learning models*, especially those based on David Colh's ideas of learning through experience. For her, this approach is a summary of other pedagogical approaches, one that makes it easier to understand the different cycles in the process of learning from experience.

As for 'marketing', RR sees this as a line of knowledge gained from her business experience that has been crucial in her professional development. Although she didn't receive any courses on marketing during her university studies, or when she was working as a school teacher, she admitted finding this type of knowledge rather easy to learn. Specific courses given by her enterprise on marketing, merchandizing, and other strategies had helped her to acquire this knowledge. In the critical incident, recounted below, RR recalls having to face a difficult situation by using her conceptual knowledge of illness and marketing to persuade doctors to use the product she was selling:

76

01 RR: "Something difficult that caused me... that made me feel bad, ethically, was when a doctor said: 'I don't think we should spend our money, because in the long term, we'll wash these boys' heads — let's say in Puno or Cusco — then we'll leave again, and a month or so afterwards they'll come back again with lice', [she laughed]. And really he was right, so I agreed with him, but said that it was exactly for that reason, that we wouldn't try just to sell the product, but to launch a comprehensive preventative campaign. I had to manage that moment very carefully; it scared me a bit."

02 L (interviewer): "And what was your answer?"

03 RR: "As I told you, that it was basically educational work and that they had to carry it out through the regional health centres. And that, because it would be a long campaign, we had prepared the educational materials for the Health Centres, as though they had been made ..."

One important aspect to analyze is how these educators have *applied formal knowledge* in the course of their careers. In the following passages, an analyze is carried out of how they used formal knowledge learned during their undergraduate and postgraduate studies. If we take JC's use of Bloom's taxonomy, he had to use it constantly in his job, and by so doing came to understand it better than he had done at

university (*"I understand it much better now, than I did then, because we use it constantly in our training activities."*). Formal knowledge gives the educator a general framework and a proper language in which to articulate aspects of work and nominate them in a standard way (*"The diploma gave me the possibility of using categories that, until then, I had only used in a very rudimentary way"*). RM recognizes the contribution of formal knowledge in framing professional experience and thus in making it more meaningful:

77

"Actually, it was not until I was studying for my Masters that everything I had been doing began to fall into place. Finding the link between the pedagogical model and what I was doing helped me a lot. It resulted from a combination of experiences gained by interacting with a lot of people."

Formal knowledge is not just used in the form in which it was learned in academic settings, but it is also changed at different levels and used as starting points. JC and LL mention this process in the following passages:

78

[In the ethics workshops] *"in the dialogues, we use a method that I had learned at university, but we added some things. We didn't realize that the Americans used a similar method for their workshops."*

79

"Educational planning: I began that at university with the famous class plan. Since then, I've changed it, added more columns, and summarized it. If I could make people understand these moments in the short and medium term, that helped me a lot."

Some formal knowledge learned in academic settings, even when applied in a form very close to the original, is viewed in some workplaces as an innovative contribution, as RM recalls:

80

"It was during the first week, that was the funny thing! The doctors had a very traditional practice. They were giving lectures in those initial weeks, and we were discussing the subject of a healthy environment, and I said: 'Why not do this another way?' I had learned how to do it from a professor [at university]. I don't remember which course it was, but the method was called 'brainstorming'. The professor had cut up little pieces of paper and given them to us. When we had filled them in, she had collected them up again and arranged them on the blackboard into sections that she had created. At that moment, it was very creative and meaningful. So I utilized the same method in working with health promoters to identify the main problems for the environment. At the end of the session, the doctor said to me: 'What a fine result! That was excellent!' It was a novelty for everyone, but I'm talking about the years 1982-83."

Our educators acquired and developed the above kinds of knowledge alongside other content knowledge needed in their professional development. For instance, RR, not only needed a knowledge of marketing but also one of health. She learned about both at the same time, because her job is to market medical products. In the case of JC, his knowledge of training has developed alongside a certain basic level of knowledge about law and accountability. He remembers reading law texts for the first time. He recounts: 'it sounded like Chinese to me', a metaphor which indicates that, in spite of his lack of background in this subject, at a critical moment, he had no option but to try and understand this new language:

81

"When I said that it sounded like Chinese to me, it really did!... they gave me the Code [Laws] — it's a book of 180 pages —and told me make educational material with it, So now, how do I do that? [he laughed]. These laws are not only very complicated, but they are also the most boring things in the world to read. If you think about it, I had majored in Philosophy and Social Sciences and there I was, trying to understand these laws...I

swear to you that, if I had worked anywhere else, I wouldn't have bothered with such things."

Some forms of knowledge are acknowledged to be less well-developed. RM and JM put *researching* into that category, while LL and RR identify topics linked to *management* (such as accounting). JM places topics related to *curriculum and didactics* in this category, while LL acknowledges his shortcomings in relation to *gender and intercultural* subjects. LV feels that, in spite of her background knowledge in *theology*, she has had little opportunity of working on *political* issues in the course of her career.

7.1.3 Attitudes

At this point, the most relevant attitudes held by our interviewees in their responses to our questions will be introduced. These attitudes were mainly directed towards knowledge, lifestyle, and the manner of working undertaken by the educator. These were opinions that had been subjected to family and experiential influences and the collective attitudes of any political and church movements in which the educator participated; molded by the age and maturity of the educator and the content and conditions of their work.

Our educators maintained an *open attitude to knowledge* so as to avoid dogmatism and over-rationality, thus implying theoretical neutrality. In recollecting a critical discussion among colleagues, JM's attitude is *non-dogmatic*:

82

"During a recent workshop at ... Center [an institution] in Cusco, where I'm the pedagogic advisor, an argument arose: 'but Sen [an author] is also accused of being neoliberal!'. We said we weren't proposing Amartesianismo. He didn't interest us, because he has an attitude towards the theory. He might just as well raise his arms, and scream: 'I'm Marxist, I'm a freinetian, I'm a piagetan!' The thing is that we've used a very good idea, for example Goleman's, and transformed it. We've taken out its discourse and united it with the discourse of multiple intelligence. We've constructed a discourse of emotional capacities — the 'intra' and the 'inter'. We've borrowed elements from here and there, but that doesn't mean that we consider Goleman to be an idol, or a mental pattern. When we referred to Sen — and Iguiñiz's reading on Sen was really great!— we meant the concept, not the person himself. If, tomorrow, Sen is accused of leading neoliberalism, then I'm sorry. We're not interested at all in the theory as such, because it's just a trend. We no longer have that attitude."

Other educators, such as LL, also take a more flexible attitude towards theoretical and technological knowledge. In the following critical incident, he remembers the confrontation that arose because of a dogmatic attitude in applying a planning technique:

83

01 L (interviewer): *"Do you remember some incident in which you had to discuss your concept for rural development?"*
02 LL: *"Yes, I'll never forget the FF [an institution] project that we did in Huaral [a rural zone] where an economist and a lawyer worked. The economist had just done a course at ESAN [a prestigious higher-education institute in Lima] on 'total quality and strategic planning' and he wanted to try out some of the things he had learned there on the peasants. There were discussions about this and he managed to convince people. But because we were committed to covering a lot of material with these peasants, I disagreed with his proposal because if we included his plan, there would be no time to train the peasants efficiently. The discussion revolved around this point."*
03 L (interviewer): *"Did the economist react strongly when you opposed his plans?"*
04 LL: *"Yes, yes, imagine the project being undertaken according to the principles of total quality: 'Lizard, you can't allow even a 2 percent margin of error. In total quality*

there's no margin of error, and if we say we guarantee a 100% success rate, then we'll be held to 120 percent! [he laughed]. *It would have been very content-intensive, and this is not what the peasants wanted."*

05 L (interviewer): *"What happened in the end?"*

06 LL: *"Well, in the end, I resorted to picking out the section of the contract that stated the necessity of planning participative with the peasants. It was no more than two lines in the entire contract for the project. I concentrated on these lines and, when in the first trimester of the project we were required to evaluate progress with regard to participation, I checked the extent to which we had met this requirement. There were responses such as: 'Yes, but you want us to come four nights per week. I can't come four times per week to the training, nor on Sundays, and I don't have time to read..' Many of the peasants used 'I can't' in their responses. So, it was accepted that this project was too much. The great thing was that we were not held to achieving 120%. No total quality! The excellence of the project was considered an additional factor."*

Elsewhere in the interview, LL's responses reinforce the open attitude to knowledge held by these educators, and their attempts to *integrate the rational with emotional aspects* when incorporating knowledge into teamwork. This attitude is reflected in how knowledge is ranked when it is included in meetings. One pole is clearly constrained to issues concerning the projects, while the other concerns itself with the people who are responsible for the project:

84

"As teachers, we don't like the team meetings that we had at the AA [institution], because 'objectives' was the only topic: 'How much have you achieved?; You need to do more ...' nothing else was important. There was no: 'How are you?; Are you satisfied with your work and the conditions here?'

There are two parts to our meetings [at his current place of work]. We review our project indicators to gauge progress and the gut feelings about a project, physically and mentally, of those who are actually carrying it out. Why? Because I believe more in teamwork, in working with people, in feeling the project ..."

However, this open attitude towards knowledge has a problematic side in that tension can arise between the specialized protagonist and the suspicion aroused by someone adopting this role. This precludes a horizontal attitude towards the non-experts and stops the process of learning. It creates a professional identity without social commitment. *Suspicion of experts*, is an attitude that RM can relate to, as we see from the following excerpt:

85

"The other thing I don't like about the word 'expert' is that it implies power. If you say 'I'm an expert, it means: I know, but because you're not an expert, you don't know'. It places you in a position of power."

JM's attitude towards professional knowledge is more political. In the following excerpt, he claims that, as a professional in education, he is subordinated to the levels of citizenship in which he has to operate, but by so doing he acts as a catalyst to improve existing levels:

86

"I'm not going to Apurimac [a poor Andean province] as a poor person, but more as an actor. I'll be a citizen of Apurimac who wants to improve the education of the Apurimacians. I'll not be there as an advisor who goes to visit or support an external process. I don't see myself as a professional helping processes that don't belong to us. We are subject to the processes in which we find ourselves, and its within that framework that we operate as professionals."

The second group of attitudes has to do with *lifestyle*, in particular with aspects of lifestyle that have important consequences for professional development. Our educators demonstrate *different levels of detachment from conventional lifestyles* and some of them also appear to be searching for an alternative style. Two important signs

of this detachment are their attitudes towards income and place of residence. JM describes the crisis for himself and his family brought about by the sudden increase in his income, which forced them to review their values and make important decisions:

87

“Our search was not economic. In fact, in a way, earning 3 and 5,000 dollars monthly was one of the reasons why we wanted to leave Lima. We had been doing so well that my wife and I looked at ourselves — in these sorts of matters, we understand each other very well — and realized that everything was beginning to bother us ... that’s happened more often in our marriage In other words, we were not searching for economic well-being. It was the other way round, we were almost trying to escape from economic well-being, and the fact that we were already living in Tablada [one of the poor districts of Lima].”

RM also explains her detachment from income, but, in her case, on the basis of socialistic conviction and her commitment to development.

88

“I could earn more if I had more consultancies and if I also changed my workplace. It’s my own decision not to want to earn more. I like what I’m doing, and what I earn is enough for the type of life that I have...It has to do with my deep socialistic conviction.”

In the case of RM and LV, the attitude towards income is not simply a personal matter, but an institutional issue that implies their agreement with the policy of these institutions regarding income. In both cases, these policies did not permit great differences between lower and higher incomes.

Evidence of a more conventional attitude towards life style was also found; that of seeking higher income and better conditions. JC described his family conditions and the debts that had accrued by building a new house in a middle-class area of Lima. Although he considered his income to be above average, he wanted to earn more to finance his current needs.

The third group of attitudes has more to do with *work style*. It includes attitudes favoring either corporatism or autonomy, trust, helpfulness, tolerance, good humor, transparency and affirmation. Some of these attitudes will be illustrated from our interviewees’ responses.

Those favoring corporatism like to feel that they are part of a strong institution; that they represent this institution, but that it supports them at the same time. RR summarizes this feeling by using a metaphor about soldiers going to war:

89

“A big company gives you those advantages, those tools; that very important permanent support. You’re fully supported. It’s work worthy of being repeated in any institution, because by sending somebody ... it’s like going to war, isn’t it? Unfortunately, the business world has been compared with that. You have to provide your soldiers with good weapons. They have to be very well equipped; you even dress them in uniforms [she laughed]. We always looked very well-dressed in our uniforms.”

In talking about her way of working, RR also stresses the importance of *operating autonomously* and of *generating trust* (and this is substantiated by RM):

90

“When I joined the Corporation, nobody supervised me. Although I had several managers around me, they did not stand behind me. That’s to say, I could organize my work, plan it, develop strategies, develop my materials, and, well ... it was validated by the numbers They had such trust in me. I left at nine in the morning with all my baggage, my things, my projector ... and they didn’t hear anything more from me until five or six in the afternoon. Their trust was total.”

Other examples of *building trust* can be found in LL’s first, and JC’s second excerpt. These describe interactions with workshop participants at critical moments during which the educator’s attitude was vital for generating a supportive climate. The first is a

critical incident that took place during a very difficult period of violence in Peru. The context in which the second incident occurred was a public institution that was facing credibility problems:

91

“It was a very violent period and I had to undertake an educational activity for peasants in Huancayo [an Andean province]. They were grouped under their Union. Our task was to prepare the subjects that we would present and they would organize the event. And because we needed help with some of the presentations, I also had to look up some friends in Huancayo.

I arrived at the place where the event was to be held to find that the local authorities had refused authorization for the meeting because it was situated in an area that had been declared an emergency zone. I couldn't understand why they had closed the curtains, with the people inside. We had always left the organization of the event to the local peasant leaders.

On the second day, one of the female leaders failed to turn up for the meeting. We soon discovered why — she'd been killed by terrorists. The peasants were very nervous because military patrols had passed close to our place during the night. We were very afraid, but as I was at the centre of the event, at that moment I had to try to give people confidence. I was like an animator getting an activity going, singing a song with them — anything to keep their spirits up. The night when she didn't arrive was terrible. They cried for her, we couldn't continue with the course, nor go on a march. We dedicated the event to her. Her husband had also been killed by the Sendero [a terrorist group]. The next day, we continued with the themes and began to work again. I was impressed by the faith they put in me, the confidence: 'Teacher, what shall we do, what shall we do now?'...I left the security of the group I had been able to support and walked to my hotel. I knocked on the door in the terrible darkness and felt very afraid. My position as a teacher weighed heavily on me during that event. I had to support the group, and live through it emotionally when the people dedicated the event to their assassinated partner.”

92

“I remember a workshop in Trujillo [a city in one of the coastal provinces]. The people who attended it were mostly older people, who came from an institution where there was corruption. They had practical and ambiguous thoughts about the institution so I didn't resign. Instead, I began to ask questions to create a questioning environment. Suddenly, it was not so certain what they saw as evident. In the end they began to talk. Each intervention touched me so deeply, I had difficulty not crying in front of them. It was because, in arguing about what could be achieved in that institution, the people were opening their hearts and talking about what they really believed. What a workshop! That workshop was my prototype. There was applause at the end of it, applause because they felt alleviated One of the agreements with people in the workshops is that whatever they said, would not be repeated outside the workshop. There was a guarantee of privacy, and that also gave us moral support.”

Taking an *egalitarian* or *horizontal* attitude when interacting with people is an especially important feature of RM's and JM's management style. Both of these educators had adopted a positive attitude to service, avoiding giving too much assistance or behaving paternalistically towards the poor people with whom they worked. For RM, it was her work in a political movement that had led her to view others in equal terms, and had prompted her, later in her career, to maintain this attitude. In the course of his work, JM had seen that doing too much for people stifled any initiative that they would otherwise have taken and so it was counter-productive for sustainable development. Aid should be restricted to facilitating people to help themselves. He had fought against the old ideas of giving aid and so was very explicit about treating everyone equally:

93

“This has been the core of my argumentation for many years already, but in reality, in building shortcuts in communities ... we usually try to reject, or make fun of attitudes that lead to giving too much help. It is one of the things that always has a lot of impact. For example, if it has to do with development aid, then we kind of make fun, covertly, of the 'dad' and the 'engineer' attitudes and of the 'begging' attitude that's so widespread.

From our side, we try to avoid the attitude of feeling superior and looking down on others ...”

In the above excerpt, JM talks about ‘making fun’. This is another attitude that can be put to good advantage training sessions. *Good humor* creates a pleasant atmosphere that helps participants to relax and interact better. By so doing, they become more receptive to receiving the educator’s message, as LL explains below:

94

“The people with whom I work also enjoy themselves. They need to be happy in order to learn. They are people who rarely have the time to sit down and participate in a workshop. So it’s very difficult for them. This is why we have to resort to humor and dynamics. This is why we have to laugh with them ... we conjugate humor even though it sometimes wears out with time. People stay till six in the afternoon because they have to return to their places later. So when we stay together, the humor continues into dinner. We share this humor communally, so that participants leave with the feeling that they’ve had ‘a really good time’. Humor develops trust, and if there’s trust then participants will always be enthusiastic and evaluate it positively.”

JC mentions *transparency* as a problematic attitude, one that brought him a negative experience. He received tough treatment from his new boss because of his transparent attitude. His tactical error was to admit that he was friendly with his former boss, and this annoyed his new boss. It is clear from his use of the conflict metaphor ‘he made war with me’, that JC experienced this as a disturbing confrontation:

95

“Many different managers have passed through institutions like this ... and one of them made war with me. He was an educator too ... and he made war with me because I was a friend of the former manager. I didn’t want hide my friendship, but I believe that the new manager made war with me because of it.”

A difficult period in JC’s working experience is characterized by his *affirmative attitude*. In the critical incident described below, he had to try and oppose pessimism brought about by corrupt practices in his workplace.

96

“I remember making a trip to Arequipa [a provincial city]. It took three or four days at that time. As I walked, I thought about the corruption in my institution, and said to myself: ‘Why should I resign just because some people have become corrupt?’. We had never discussed this critical point very much, finding it safer to cope with an internal crisis within ourselves. Then a new adviser joined the institution and at a certain moment she instructed us that we had all been ‘living with corruption’. I replied: ‘Just a moment; one moment, please!. You can’t ask Jesus Christ at every corner! The situation was unclear, and it was difficult to lay the blame. Technical reasons were always given to disguise the corruption. Very few people knew the internal aspects, and those people have left.’ When I think about this critical period, I’m very annoyed about what happened in my institution. But this was not a reason to leave the institution, but rather to learn from it.”

Some educators — JM, for example, who acknowledges his hasty style — stress the importance of developing a *listening attitude*, especially in dealing with colleagues, and when working with female colleagues, LL indicates the need to review his attitude to *sexism*. RR is introspective about *proactivity*, and her lack of it. She recognizes that she needs to propose more qualitative topics on her workplace agenda for internal training sessions and evaluations, not just quantitative ones. For JC, however, there are problems in developing this proactive attitude, because this would lessen his chances of becoming a regional leader.

7.2 Conclusion and discussion

From the above excerpts, we can depict the most relevant aspects of our educators' professional knowledge. The key elements in their professional practice are skills, knowledge and their attitudes in applying them. In addition to their educational skills as pedagogic translators and operators, it is evident that educators need to be able to communicate and interact with different target audiences and co-workers.

Conceptually, however, their knowledge is closely focused on content and on topics related to development, training, and the marketing of that content knowledge. The attitudes that these educators describe are related to this knowledge, to how they work and the lifestyle that results from this work. In some cases, negative attitudes emerge, for example towards those who claim to be experts, and sometimes there is a rejection of conventional lifestyles.

The skills, areas of knowledge and attitudes described above have been influenced by, and acquired, from different sources of learning. Indeed, one important *context is that of practice*, through permanently interacting with the target audience and co-workers close to the educators who generated informal learning at these places of work.

Another source of learning is through the *organizational context*, which results in on-site training courses, and other events aligned to the culture of the different organizations. This is not to underestimate the importance of the *academic context* and the formal knowledge gained from undergraduate and postgraduate courses at higher educational organizations. Those who have had previous experience as teachers or university professors are usually responsive to the *teaching context*, others have to rely more on the personal context, on self-study, on devising their own reading programs and surfing on the Internet. These sources of learning are very similar to those mentioned by Eraut (1994), except for the last one, which is not included in his classification of the contexts in which professional knowledge is gained.

Taking into consideration the literature mentioned in my theoretical approach (Chapter 3), I combined different categories to make it possible to propose other relevant types of knowledge that emerge from the data, such as: participant-oriented knowledge; how to transfer knowledge; intercultural knowledge; a knowledge of social networks; and knowledge from reflective feedback. In so doing, the aim was to find an answer to at least one of our research questions. However, analyzing the types of knowledge amassed from workplace settings does not deepen the research on educators, trainers, and promoters in non-school settings (Ruiz & Bobadilla, 1993; Navarro, 2000; Rebollo, 2001).

What was found was *participant-oriented knowledge* behind the 'pedagogic translator' skills of the educator in non-formal educational settings, and some specific knowledge on training and development. However, it is also possible to frame such knowledge, to a certain extent, by combining categories provided by different authors, such as 'interpersonal knowledge' (Nestor-Baker & Hoy 2001), 'subject knowledge' (Calderhead, 1996), and the 'knowledge of educational practice' (Eraut, 1994). This knowledge is directed towards gathering information on a certain theme to satisfy the interests of course participants or target audiences. This information was then applied to educational practice. These educators are thus in the middle of a chain that articulated sources of information, the interests of others, and the educational context ("*I have many facilities for translating things that I've read about. I've learned in a format that can be shared with people, and from which they can learn. What can I do to help people manage those key concepts?*").

Their task is not to deepen the confrontation among these sources, as in the academic world, but to demonstrate the usefulness of many sources in relation to others.

Educators' participant-oriented knowledge gives them the ability to translate information so that it can be shared with others through educational processes. How they translate this information depends on the recipients, because they act as an axis for selecting 'subject knowledge' using the repertoire provided by knowledge gained

from 'educational practice'. The belief that supports participant-oriented knowledge is 'shared knowledge' — the belief that knowledge should be shared with others. These educators feel themselves to be part of a chain of activities that result in a social redistribution of knowledge so that it is no longer the monopoly of an elite. It reaffirms their skills in acting as a pedagogic translator, and at the same time, perhaps explains why educators are suspicious of experts. This lack of confidence in experts may also be part of the technical rationality crisis that is causing professionals to search for another role in society. Schön (1983: 341) describes such people as "counter-professionals, who can fight the experts on their own ground". Translating technical knowledge from texts and professionals in such a way that it can be understood by course participants means that these educators become redistributors of knowledge in an unequal society. The different types of skills, knowledge, and attitudes that these educators use in the course of their work also need to be situated in the struggle for knowledge and power in society (Fuentes, 2000; Cervero & Wilson, 2001). Sharing knowledge with people is a way of empowering them in society, of helping them to be self-supporting.

As pedagogic operators, our educators make good use of their ability to *transfer knowledge* — access or retrieve knowledge; take knowledge practiced in one context and adapt it for use in another. This is variously referred to in the literature as: 'process knowledge' (Eraut, 1994); 'situational knowledge' (Eraut, 1994), and 'subject knowledge' (Calderhead, 1996), although the preferred term here is 'knowledge transfer'. While 'participant-oriented knowledge' focuses on people's interests, here I'm talking about knowing how to transfer a process, such as a campaign, or a training methodology from one context to another.

Transferring a process, such as a campaign, is a skill that RR and LV had to put into practice. At a certain point in their careers, both of them needed to transfer know-how learned in one organization, and apply it, in multiple contexts, in another. If RR's difficult situation in presenting her health campaign to physicians is deconstructed, this type of knowledge can be seen to have three components. Firstly, there is a *rhetorical component* needed to persuade the members of an institution to value the advantages of this know-how, and reduce any doubts about its efficacy. One of the difficulties of the situation in which RR found herself was that she had to respond to a doctor's doubt and argue in favor of her proposal, almost simultaneously. The second component is that, in order to create trust and confidence, it is necessary to have background *subject knowledge* to demonstrate an in-depth understanding of the specific issue. In this particular case, the specific issue was the head-lice problem among school children, so it was important for her to be able to manage information on this topic. The third component is specific knowledge of how to apply the *process*. In this particular case, it was important that she knew how to sequence the tasks that had to be carried out to develop the campaign. Although this input came from RR, as an individual, it would be applied by her organization and was potentially adaptable for general use. To quote Syed-Ikhsan and Rowland (2004: 96): "knowledge transfer requires the willingness of a group or an individual to work with others and share knowledge to their mutual benefit". Nevertheless, there are contradictory aspects to sharing information and different levels of willingness. The rhetorical component reveals that this knowledge transfer often takes place within the context of tension, where there are doubts and other feelings that demand persuasive communication skills, and 'situational' knowledge to help 'read' these feelings accurately. To respond to Szulanski (2000), this may be why so little systematic attention has been given so far to understanding how process knowledge is transferred.

As mentioned above, knowledge transfer in the context of these educators also includes the transference of methodologies. Firstly, the educator trains participants to apply methodologies to other people, in different contexts and at different moments, and discuss the outcomes with the educator afterwards. As a pedagogic operator, LL, for example, has to validate specific educational methodologies. To do this, he has to

be able to train people and build up a mental database of methodologies that are potentially easier to transfer to different contexts.

A second aspect of this type of transference is when the educator directly transfers methodology previously learned in another context. In the critical incident described by RM (see excerpt 80), in which she proposed a new method for planning a workshop, she used situational knowledge to guide her. So, instead of taking the *status quo* for granted, she perceived it as an open situation that could be changed, suggesting a new technique — brainstorming — as a training tool. There was knowledge transfer in this incident because she had been on the receiving end of a brainstorming experience during a course at university and now she was applying it to a new situation, to train promoters. In other words, she was transferring a technique that had been used on her as a student, to non-students operating in a totally different context, and in general terms, she was transferring a technique learned in a formal educational setting to a non-formal educational setting. She perceived this as successful, because her colleagues congratulated her. Szulanski's (2000) work on this topic identifies *source*, *channel*, *message*, *recipient*, and *context* as the main facets of this type of knowledge transfer. From our current research, we found evidence of three more:

- *Status*: What was the person's status when they learned this knowledge and what was their status when it was applied? [i.e. learned as a student; applied as a trainer]
- *Setting*: In what type of field or setting was this kind of knowledge acquired and to what type of field or setting is it being transferred? [i.e. learned in formal education; applied in a non-formal educational setting]
- *Achievement*: What level of success did the practitioner perceive to have achieved in transferring the knowledge? [i.e. was the attempt to transfer knowledge perceived as being successful or not?]

To transfer knowledge in this way, the educator is challenged to 'read' contexts accurately and tailor methodologies or processes. Knowledge transfer takes place either intentionally, as a planned strategy, as in transferring knowledge about campaign processes or training methods, as described above. Alternatively, it can emerge as an insight when facing a methodological problem in training activities, as in the last illustration.

From the accounts of some of these educators, *intercultural / transcultural knowledge* has been nurtured by their interactive-communication skills with people from different sectors and levels of society, their open attitude to knowledge, and their work on development projects and training. Other authors have used a variety of terms to define, to some extent, this sort of knowledge: 'personal philosophy' (Carr & Kemmis, 1988); 'knowledge of people' (Eraut, 1994); and 'intrapersonal knowledge' (Grossman as cited in Montero, 2001). These educators have interacted directly with people from the lower social classes, including those whose main language is Quechua rather than Spanish — approximately four million people speak this language in Peru (Chirinos, 2003). Some of our educators' target groups were comprised of these types of people, and in some cases, close emotional ties were developed with them. In addition, these educators had a 'personal philosophy' based on solidarity, justice and equity. All these are values that emphasize participation and a subjective reduction of the gap created by social structures. But at the same time, their 'intrapersonal knowledge' makes them conscious of the fact that they are not part of these poor sectors and that, as they cannot speak Quechua, they are separated by language, even though, in interacting and 'communicating' with these sectors, their socio-cultural skills are evident. This type of knowledge is important in that it fosters a balanced approach to the educator's culture and to the culture of others. Educators with this knowledge tend to avoid emphasizing one culture more than another. They have a positive attitude to life and believe in the power of the individual to shape their own destiny. They view people not as victims, but more as actors with space to maneuver. This comes to the fore in their attitude to aid policies that offer 'too much' assistance. They hold an active and

open belief that different cultures naturally seek ways of respecting and learning from each another. The educators in our sample adopted a neutral stance, which neither advocated 'returning to the Incas' nor that they should forget their past completely. As a cultural stance, it offered an alternative somewhere between the two extremes, one that was neither centred entirely on the past nor on themselves as victims, for to follow the first would encourage autochthonism (and so far in Andean countries, it has just fed radical ideologies), and to follow the second would lead to occidental paternalism. Despite these attempts to steer a neutral path, tensions have arisen between the socio-cultural framework of these educators and the target groups with whom they have interacted. Peru is a country where different socio-cultural histories and patterns create large gaps between different social sectors (Commission of Truth, 2004). The interaction that has taken place has resulted in one socio-cultural framework gaining precedence. For those who have been trying to building up more mixed/neutral possibilities, this has led to many frustrations and tension. In past decades, 'popular education' (Sime, 1990, 1991) offered the possibility of creating new educational places geared to promoting horizontal and participatory interchange among the different cultural and social sectors. However, this has been hampered by radical responses to modernity that have taken refuge in native culture. So far, it is these that have prevailed.

The intercultural knowledge of our educators is weakened by the fact that it is not bilingual, so the linguistic relationship is unbalanced. They are training people from other sectors of society, who have different levels of understanding and speaking Spanish because it is not their main language, while they themselves cannot speak or understand Quechua, the native language of the trainees. The intercultural knowledge built up by these educators is thus only superficial to some extent. In fact, it reflects the socio-cultural asymmetry of Peruvian history.

To find out more about how this competence helps the professional to work effectively in cross-cultural situations, the discussion about intercultural knowledge can be aligned with studies on cultural sensitivity and competence service providers (Weaver, 1999; Jones et al., 2004; Leishman, 2004). These studies revealed weaknesses in the transcultural competences of nurses, and confirmed the importance of open-minded, non-ethnocentric, and non-judgmental attitudes. There are no qualitative empirical findings that reveal more active attitudes on the part of professionals towards other cultures in a multicultural environment. This was noted briefly in Ruiz and Bobadilla's work (1993) on Peruvian promoters. They were found to feel guilty sometimes, or to be afraid of expressing a critical opinion, especially if it conflicted with the opinion of the social leader. In that study it was thought maybe to be a subordinate way of gaining people's confidence.

In this research, there was only one example, in a multicultural context, where a critical opinion was given more assertively. JM ascribes his ease of communication with rural people to the fact that he has lived in these poor areas, that he is known to support the improvement of neglected aspects the culture there, and that he is dedicated to helping the people of these areas overcome the negative image they have of themselves as victims (*"We're sometimes tempted to be provocative, because we feel that knowledge gives us authority. We've lived, that's the impact..."*). In working with people from this social sector, he ascribes his success to this 'provocative' style.

By *knowledge of social networks* we mean skills such as being able to communicate and interact with people from different sectors, conceiving development projects and having an attitude that generates trust and service. To some extent, this kind of knowledge mix is a dynamic synthesis of Carr & Kemmis's (1988) 'personal philosophy' and Nestor-Baker & Hoy's (2001) 'organizational-context knowledge' and 'interpersonal knowledge'. This combination of knowledge is directly linked to communal organizations or to an awareness of how their work affects the growth of a communal network.

This knowledge is formulated by spending time interacting with these social organizations and building up trust with them. The logic of doing this is very relevant in societies such as that in Peru, where the conflicting trends of fragmentation–integration, corruption–transparency, mistrust and trust have become sharper in recent decades (Sime, 2003). The critical incidents described by LL and JC (see excerpt 91 and 92) illustrate this point. In spite of all the violence around them, the first educator had to build up trust among peasants from different places in Peru before they could develop a workshop together, while the second educator inspired his participants to reflect deeply about ethical values in their public work. These educators were thus required to play a crucial role in generating trustworthy relationships in the midst of tension. Generating trust and other positive feelings can be likened to the social workers in Amnon and Staples' (2004) study and the empowerment they felt in consumer education: "Their activity in these organizational structures gave them [the social workers] a feeling of 'involvement', 'identity', 'optimism', and 'hope' (p.4). Knowledge acquired in this way points to the importance of social networks for individuals, communities, enterprises, the State apparatus, and the nation as a whole. They link rationality socially, empowering individuals and organizations with levels of trust and commitment. Researchers (e.g., Yáñez, 1999; Lechner, 2000; Lesser, 2000; Kliksberg, 2001; Vargas, 2002) in the area of 'social capital' theory have studied this type of knowledge from different angles. This is an emerging theory, focusing on social networks, that requires further definition. Knowledge of social networks is generated by actions, varying in quality and quantity, and on many different levels. These actions connect people from different settings and levels — from micro to macro; local to more distanced — and empower them as *multi-level performers*, thus increasing their contribution to social capital.

From this research, it appears that the social knowledge of our educators is built up particularly during tense situations when attempts are made to link certain sectors of the population with a larger network. LL recalled the permanent gender bias among rural people which resulted in fewer females participating in the workshops that he was promoting in a social network between his non-governmental organization and these peasants. RR mentioned a critical incident in which a doctor expressed mistrust in the efficacy of a health campaign for young people that she was organizing through a network stretching from her firm, via the public-health center, to schools. RM explained a critical moment in her working experience when she was building a network between her non-governmental organization, and poor mothers, to help them face family issues. When one of the mothers committed suicide, RM herself had to face a crisis situation and review the ethics of the work she was doing. In their efforts to bridge different social sectors, educators encountered tenacious attitudes and situations, such as bias, mistrust and personal problems that weakened the networks they were trying to build. To support the network, and prevent members from dropping out, or from withdrawing their active participation, our educators had to draw on their skills and knowledge to employ counteractive measures. As has been mentioned by Mohan and Stokke (2000), the danger in this is that it reduces a broader vision and weakens links beyond the local community.

The last type of knowledge I would like to propose is *reflective feedback*. This can be described as maintaining an open attitude to knowledge by integrating rationality and feeling by employing a style of working based on trust. Other researchers working in this area have talked about 'control or self-knowledge' (Eraut, 1994) and 'organizational knowledge' (Nestor-Backer & Hoy, 2001).

This knowledge is built up within contexts during which organizations are being challenged. One such context is when educators recognize failings in their organizations that detract from making effective quality assessments and follow-ups. These are educators who use assessment processes to enhance their 'self-knowledge'. An over-objective assessment of performance makes no allowance for a more reflective feedback, from which both individuals and the organization can benefit.

To enable 'reflective feedback' to take place, there has to be time to reflect, personal motivation and an existing strategy on the part of the institution to encourage those involved to reflect on the successes and failures of completed projects. That frustrations arise when no allowance is made for reflection is clear from RR's complaints about lack of time. Her situation reveals an organizational culture that, far from valuing reflection, openly discourages it. 'Reflective feedback' implies reflecting about practices in a comprehensive way rather than evaluating output numerically. Reflection raises questions from different angles about how the practices were carried out. RR's rhetorical questions illustrate this rather well: "Was the campaign helpful or not? How many people ...? What was the feedback like on me? Were people happy? Were people satisfied with the material that was developed?" The value of reflection is one of the key points made by Schön and Dewey, and the importance of this aspect is exactly what RR, and other educators like her, are emphasizing. 'Reflective feedback' is a form of knowledge that goes beyond traditional evaluation, because it demands subjective questioning and taking measures to improve past practices in future performances. It is feedback that is not be restricted just to the impact of the work, but also to the impact on everyone involved. For example, in asking "What does your heart tell you and what do the objectives say?" LL tries to extend the feedback to include the subjective feelings of the professionals involved. For long-term planning, RM also stressed the necessity of gaining feedback on past participants of their training programs: "in their work and personal development, where were these people two years further on?" Her organization had given no thought to this. In stressing the importance of 'reflective feedback', these educators are challenging two powerful trends: the use of technocratic assessment models, and the pragmatic working styles referred to as 'activism' in Ruiz & Bobadilla's (1993) study of Peruvian promoters—professionals who had no time and insufficient support to be reflective. In contrast to these trends, the literature within the non-formal educational sphere (Parlett & Hamilton, 1977; Howard, 1983; Easton, 1997), and also on formal education (Santos, 1993; Sime, 1998; Eberhardt et al., 2004) is increasingly stressing the necessity for 'reflective feedback'. These approaches understand evaluation to be an objective–subjective process that entails dialogical–reflexive attitudes and illuminative–hermeneutic–holistic skills.

A general discussion on the different sorts of knowledge analyzed above can now be carried out in the light of empowerment theories. Empowerment is a process of helping people to assert control over the factors that affect their lives (Gibson, 1991). It is a combination of mutual decision-making, freedom to make choices, accepting responsibility, and participation in organizations (Rodwell, 1996; Edwards et al., 2002), and it can be operated on both personal and collective levels (Amnon & Staples, 2004). We argue that participant-oriented knowledge, knowledge transfer, intercultural knowledge, knowledge of social networks are all parts of educators' knowledge mix that reflect attitudes, knowledge, and skills that help to empower people. Unlike the findings in American studies of social workers (e.g., Ackerson & Harrison, 2000; Amnon & Staples, 2004), our educators appeared to be less concerned with the personal level and more with collective and contextual levels.

The lack of opportunity for 'reflective feedback' doesn't seem to make our interviewees more conscious of the contradictions and limitations of their own empowerment as educators. This weakness is even greater, if it is combined with the limitations they do recognize, such as the lack of systematization ("*systematizing is a problem we're always working on; we never stop doing that!*"), problems in listening to others, and not go so fast.

Different studies (e.g. Pease, 2002; Vaughn & Stamp, 2003; Amnon & Staples, 2004; Kam-shing, 2004) have highlighted the problems that can emerge when professionals' visions of empowerment do not coincide with those of target groups. If we agree with Cruikshank's assumption (cited in Pease, 2002: 138) that "the relations of empowerment are themselves relations of power", then much more attention needs to

be given to intercultural knowledge and reflective feedback. They need to be recognized as crucial forms of knowledge in developing a more critical empowerment process. According to Ackerson and Harrison (2000: 239) “numerous authors have argued that empowerment-based practice requires a significant rethinking of client–worker relationships and professional roles in both mental health and social work” because, if self-criticism is lacking, then contradictions in the empowerment perspective will remain hidden”.

The figure below is a synthesis of my conclusion, which is that the main skills, knowledge, and attitudes of this type of educator are the outcomes of diverse influences from a wide range of contexts. The interaction of these skills, knowledge, and attitudes has produced a broad knowledge mix, one which has supported the development of educational empowerment processes in non-formal educational settings.

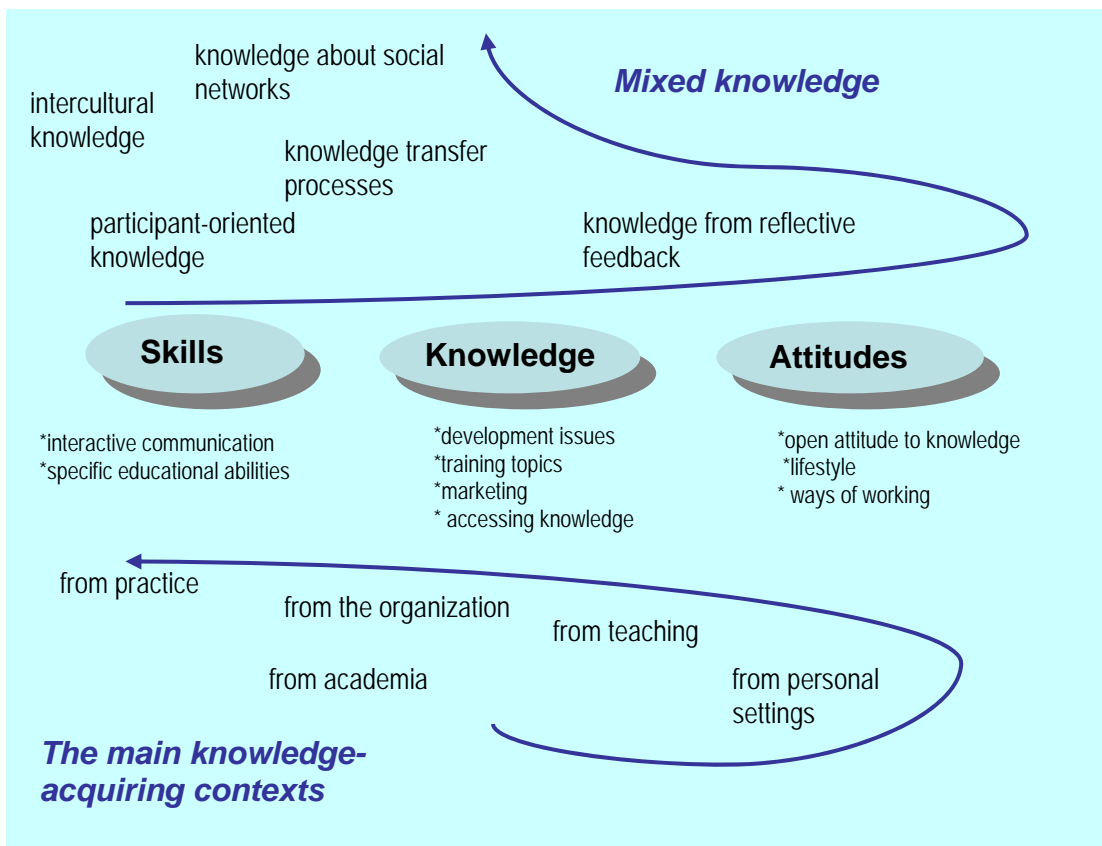


Figure 7.1 The professional knowledge of educators in non-formal educational settings

CHAPTER 8 - CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

8.1 Conclusions and discussion

This case study highlights the complexity and contributions of the non-formal educational field. For developing countries, such as Peru, non-formal education offers the working population opportunities for furthering their education, particularly in work-related areas, without having to face the financial consequences of re-entering formal education. The right to education does not start and finish at school, it extends into other settings too. In these settings, we encounter different kinds of organization where educators are employed. Here the accent is on target groups, work-related subjects, and training strategies, rather than on the theoretical disciplines, examinations and paper qualifications characteristic of formal education. These educators exist because there is a demand for them within Peruvian organizations. However, studies on non-formal educational settings have tended to focus on the settings rather than on the educators who lead these processes, hence the focus of this research.

One point that should be stressed at the beginning of this chapter is that the reason why it was important to study these educators in relation to their academic background was because the non-formal educational settings in which large groups of these professionals, work are so diverse, although to some extent, their experiences and career paths are similar to those of other professionals. By organizing the research in this way, four types of educator could be distinguished, according to their academic background: those with an academic background in school pedagogy; those with an academic background in social pedagogy; those with an academic background but not in pedagogy; those no academic background at all. This research has focused on the first-mentioned type of educator, by taking a sample of graduates from the Catholic University of Peru, all of whom had studied school pedagogy for their first degree, and all of whom are now working outside the school system. In studies similar to ours (such as Ruiz & Bobadilla, 1993, and Rebollo et al., 2001), educators with different academic backgrounds were used in the samples, without reflecting on these differences. I used the above classification because it helps to show the diversity of educators within non-formal education.

Educators who operate in non-formal educational settings are professionals who take unorthodox routes and approaches borrowed from undervalued professions, and because of this, their social status within the professional world is also lower. This being so, another typology for professionals can be proposed. Firstly, there are those who practice highly valued professions by taking the mainstream career route and the generally accepted approaches, such as, for instance, doctors who use an allopathic approach. Secondly, there are members of undervalued professions who also follow the mainstream route, such as mainstream school teachers. Thirdly, there are members of professions more valued by society who nevertheless follow unorthodox routes and approaches, such as physicians who prefer to use holistic approaches. Fourthly, there are professionals, undervalued by society, who also follow unorthodox routes and approaches, such as educators who work outside the school system. This typology links two poles: the conventional–unorthodox career routes and approaches, and the valued–undervalued professions. Becher (1999) recommended that there should be inquiry beyond the mainstream of educators. This study has tried to raise research questions concerning the unorthodox routes and approaches used within a profession that is both under-valued by society and poorly documented within the academic community.

These last-mentioned typologies can be used as starting points for proposing ways for situating these educators within the professional world rather than viewing them as an isolated phenomenon. Although the focus here is on a specific subject, I consider it necessary to situate it in relation to other people's experience, because it is one of a

number of similar social processes. By mapping how it compares with other subjects, the specification of this particular subject, and our knowledge about it, can be improved.

In the following pages, a summary of the findings, and the conclusions with respect to the regarding main research questions, will be given. The first research question — *What are the characteristics of educators' careers in non-formal educational settings* — was approached in Chapter 5. The evidence gathered clearly shows that these educators are engaged in a flexible range of career paths. Specifically, data analysis of 28 excerpts from the interviews, and an analysis of 6 *curricula vitae* confirm my initial typology which consisted of three main career paths: (a) beginning a professional career within formal education and then moving permanently to non-formal education; (b) building a career mostly within non-formal education, interspersed with brief periods in formal education; (c) building a career in the non-formal educational field, without getting involved in formal education. This typology is indicative of the fact that, in non-formal educational fields, professionals' career itineraries are non-linear, especially those of the female educators. The construction of career-path typologies reinforces the importance of case studies and the dynamic vision of individual careers over time. Research on career mobility should encompass careers, not only in macro terms, but also in terms of individual career paths (Cochran et al., 2003).

The range of employment of this group of graduates shows that they do not have problems in getting jobs. Some of them were even working on educational tasks before obtaining their degree. If income ranges, and the kinds of position assumed are added to this, then it appears that very successful careers can be made in non-formal educational areas. If the range of tasks developed in the course of these educators' careers is examined, then predominant among them would be tasks such as training, producing educational materials, and making project plans. So they are still performing educational activities, but in different settings, outside the school system. By analyzing these educators' career paths, we not only gain information about what it means to move into the non-formal educational area, but also about the development successes within this area. Gender or the grades achieved at university are no indicators of success in the non-formal educational area. In line with management theory, critical labor trends in Peru indicate that successful career paths in this field have an entrepreneurial profile.

There are different sources of motivation for entering and remaining in non-formal education such as: past social experiences; attractive labor conditions; the presence of support and friendship networks in non-formal education; a special bond with, and the opportunity to impact, specific social sectors. It only took 19 excerpts from the semi-structured interviews to analyze and document each one of them. However, there was also evidence that some educators were negatively motivated by restrictive and ambiguous perceptions about their past workplaces. To cover this, I prefer to use the more flexible category 'restrictive and ambiguous perceptions' rather than the 'closed perception' category proposed by Collin (1990) who, in his analysis of professionals who had changed their original place of work in mid-career, found that, in making this move, such professionals combine a closed perception of their past workplaces with an open optimistic perception of new places of work.

One important category that has arisen from this research is that of *career perspectives*. This describes how different jobs subjectively link the past–present–future of their career. We find lines of continuity, discontinuity, and ambiguity in relation to axes of perspectives such as workplaces, topics, target groups, and tasks. Close to some of these axes of perspective there is a strong line of continuity in the form of social concerns nurtured since the time when these educators were students, which to some extent was reflected in the main study discipline (Social Sciences) chosen by most of them. In two of our educators, this social concern was influenced by previous experiences in the political arena, and in another three, by previous experiences in church movements.

The information to provide answers to the second research question — *What typical dilemmas do non-formal educators have to face during their careers?* — is gathered in Chapter 6. To draw the following conclusions, I developed a different way of exploring the career paths of these educators. The main problematic and significant kinds of tensions that educators encounter during their careers, which force them to choose one out of several courses of action, have been found to be field, specialization, locational, and institutional dilemmas. Although the analysis of 33 interview excerpts confirms this typology, I have added the vocational dilemma that most of these educators experienced at the beginning of their undergraduate studies, when they were deciding whether or not to study for a career in education. Although my approach to the locational dilemma was to focus on moving from the capital to the provinces, the data also provides information about potential moves abroad. I have described the significance of each dilemma in relation to the specific questions posed in this research, and consider these findings to be an important contribution to those approaches that see the profession as a narrative and a “dilemmatic construction of career” (Pittman, 2000). However, these approaches fail to provide empirical findings for classifying those moments of uncertainty for professionals, when making decisions about their careers. This contribution to the topic of career dilemmas adds information to another line of concern that focuses on dilemmas in working practice. Both career dilemmas and dilemmas in working practice are relevant constructs for understanding professional dilemmas.

Another useful contribution is the construction of a *multilevel approach* to dilemmas. This enables the researcher to identify the most relevant pressures on different levels, such as the context, the work setting, the family and internally, within the educator’s mind. Even at both poles of each of the above dilemmas, pressures on all these levels could be identified. To make a decision, the educator blends together his reading of the pressures from the different levels. The decisions made about some dilemmas — such as whether or not to take a higher degree — are often different for men and women, because they are motivated by different sets of ethics. In making a decision, female educators are more influenced by *care ethics* (Engster, 2004) and male educators by *responsibility*. For example, female educators often postpone their specialized study to care for their children and elderly parents, while male educators postpone their studies because of the financial strain on their families or because they perceive it to be unnecessary for their work.

However, differentiating dilemmas in this way, does not mean that there are no links among them. Facing one dilemma may mean that another one has to be faced. For instance, there is a link between field and locational dilemmas. One of our graduates decided to change his job from one non-formal educational workplace to another, but this entailed moving to the provinces. In another case, the specialization dilemma was associated with a locational dilemma, as in the case of the graduate who had to go abroad for several months if he accepted a scholarship, or another graduate who decided not to take a Masters course because he and his family would have had to go and live abroad.

In Chapter 7, the necessary data is shaped in order to provide information to answer the third general question posed by this research: *What knowledge have these educators gained from their workplace experience?* To approach this, I considered three specific questions. The first of these was: *What are the most relevant skills, knowledge, and attitudes needed by educators in non-formal educational settings?* From the data, we learn that these educators are particularly skilled in communication and interaction with their different target groups and with their co-workers, combined with their educational abilities as pedagogic translators and operators. Their knowledge has focused on topics linked to other content knowledge, such as development, training and marketing, which are the main attitudes expressing a critical disposition towards knowledge, lifestyle, and working style. In some cases, this was complicated

by their attitudes towards expert knowledge and their refusal to adopt a conventional lifestyle.

The second specific question was: *Where do educators in non-formal educational settings mainly gain their professional knowledge?* In this research, the different learning contexts were found to have been influenced by skills, knowledge and attitudes rather close to Eraut's (1994) proposals, namely: learning from *practice*, by working on different jobs (in our case, in non-formal educational settings), learning from *organizational settings*, from *academic courses*, and for those with previous or current experience as a teacher or professor, from the *teaching context*, and finally from *personal activities*. This last-mentioned context was not included in Eraut's scheme, but we can anticipate that the easier modern technology makes it to access information from the WEB, and elsewhere, the more significant these sources of learning will become. Professional organizations, as in other professions such as the Physicians' or the Lawyers' Association, are not included in the data as a source of professional knowledge. This reveals the fragmentation of this sector of educators as a professional body, and their limitations in producing and publicly legitimatizing the professional knowledge embedded in their practices.

The third specific question was: *What is the typical knowledge mix of educators in non-formal educational settings.* Taking the above descriptions from this analysis and the categories used by different authors, as shown in Table 3.1 of the theoretical framework, a qualitative documented map of educators' knowledge mix can be compiled. This map consists of participant-oriented knowledge; knowing how to transfer knowledge; intercultural knowledge; knowledge of social networks; and knowledge from reflective feedback. This knowledge mix can be understood as representing ways of operationalizing empowerment theories geared at developing more awareness, responsibility and participation in people at different levels.

As the last three Chapters end with a discussion of the findings, I would like to use the following pages to add my own contribution to the career theories used as the theoretical framework for this research.

I will use the images and metaphors emphasized in the methodological section of this report (see Chapter 4), to try and gain an understanding of this kind of professional. By reconstructing the career paths and by looking at the professional dilemmas faced by these educators, we can depict them as successful *border-crossers*. This powerful metaphor is indicative of the social fluency and determination of a group of people whose horizon is not restricted to physical, social, and symbolic territories. Different authors from a range of disciplines (Giroux, 1994; Neuenfeldt, 1998; Trías, 1999; Clark, 2000) have used the same metaphor to capture this image.

These educators have experienced crossing from one vocation to another, and from different professional fields and settings, social classes, and cultural groups to other ones. In the beginning, when planning their careers, many of them crossed from one vocational study to another before realizing that a career in education would be their best option with respect to their capacities and personal situation, irrespective of the poor conditions — income and status — that formal education, at least, would bring. Some of them crossed from the professional territory of giving formal education in schools to working in areas never previously considered, new areas where they learned to work with other groups of professionals. Other educators, who had never taught in schools, crossed different settings by learning new subjects. Some of them also crossed locational boundaries by accepting work beyond Lima, and their own socio-cultural frontier by interacting with different social classes.

The levels of flexibility and growth shown by these educators can best be described by Van der Heiden's (1996: 61) term 'fleperts': "people who are capable of acquiring more than one area of expertise within adjacent or radically different fields, or who are capable of acquiring a strategy for mastering a new area of expertise or for carrying out work in another territory". With this in mind, I will now discuss career mobility, an approach to career paths that emphasizes how individuals move around institutions in

the course of their careers (Cochran et al., 2003). To link the professional's movements not only with institutions, but also with professional fields, I employ the general classification used in Figure 5.1, namely: 'professional fields', 'professional subfields' (e.g. formal education/non-formal education), and 'non-professional fields'. This last category allows more scope for describing how professionals cross fields in which specific institutions are situated. The more individuals, institutions, fields and societies are confronted with the "changing nature of careers" (Sullivan, 1999), and current market forces, the more significant this sort of movement becomes. Career dilemmas caused by moves from one institution to another within the same professional field are different from those entailing a move to another professional field. This mobility also has different implications in developed societies from those that are still developing. In the future, market flexibility can be expected to operate more in terms of fields and subfields.

This last idea leads us to discuss the Blau's work (as cited in Cherniss, 1991) that has been carried out on career commitment which found that people who were less committed to their careers were significantly more likely to be thinking about leaving their profession than those with a strong commitment. From the findings here, I would argue that where there is a high commitment, it is to education in general and not to the formal educational subfield or to the role of school teacher. It is their commitment to education that pushes these educators to seek and maintain education in the non-formal educational subfield. In contrast to Cherniss' (1991) claim that career changes among professionals bring about a substantial loss to society of investment in training and experience, I would argue that it depends on the extent to which the career changes. This loss is not so great if the change of occupation occurs within a field or between fields that are closely aligned. Moreover, this loss also depends on the tasks included in the new job. Provided the tasks are aligned with education — this being the profession we are discussing — so that there is a minimal mismatch between an educational mind-set and the tasks that the educator is required to perform, then one cannot claim that there has been a loss to that profession in general. It is more that the concepts and skills of the discipline are being applied differently in association with a set of non-classroom skills, specific to that new job. Take the move from classroom teacher to educational publisher, or in-company trainer, for example. In the case of educators moving into non-formal educational settings, the main loss is to formal state education, but the solution to that rests with national policies to improve the working and financial conditions of classroom teachers and the management of their places of work.

Agency theory gives us the interpretative space to understand how, despite constraints, the educators in our study were able to develop successfully in non-formal educational settings; how they were able to cross multiple boundaries, and to act as pathfinders on various micro-macro/local-distant levels. Evetts' (2000) contributions also help us to understand what underlies these border-crossers.

In actively crossing borders, these educators challenge us not to reify 'the career'. In studies on interaction, Evetts criticizes this vision. He refuses objectivized and reified structural constraints associated with developing a career so that individuals' career histories can be interpreted as adaptation and adjustment strategies in response to career demands and requirements. Another aspect of Evetts' conception that he views as a weakness, is the individualistic approach in sketching professionals as apolitical individuals, who construct their career strategies within the external constraints of career structures and systems. Evetts (2001: 13) proposes the necessity of analyzing the career structure and then of weaving it in with the action taken, so that the analysis is not just limited to reifying the career: "The move from a concept of normative order (structure and system determination) to a concept of cognitive order (how things are understood), where career builders are themselves creating and recreating career structures and systems through their actions, experiences and understandings, offers a solution to the problems of reification and determinism". In this way, "career

experiences and career structures have an internal dynamic and a mutual interdependence” (p.16). Using Knöbl’s (1999) synthesis of Touraine’s perspective, we can reinforce the importance of this interplay between the fluidity of social relationships arising from creativity of action, and the recurring stability of structures and norms. A dynamic tension between career structure and the actions taken in response to it can be seen in the career paths of these educators. Normatively, this profession is not legitimated to the extent that other professions are. For instance, almost any Peruvian higher institution offers formal studies to become an educator in non-formal educational settings, but only under certain circumstances, are these sorts of educators perceived as having professional status.

Evetts also mentions the importance of having a more collective, integral, vision of the career-builder’s strategy. Panaia (2003) suggested extending this vision to include ‘generation’ differences. For example, he looked at how different generations reached the labor market and whether they followed or transformed existing occupational patterns with the strategies they used. Our educators represent a generation of former students who were able to take advantage of their personal resources to learn. They then used their networks, their social concerns, and to some extent the prestige of their university to create space for their professional development. I suggest that the concern of this generation about social aspects, the ‘career locus’ (O’Neil, 2004), has been projected into their working experience and has given it direction.

The work-balance theories included in previous chapters of this research report, and Evetts’s (2000) claim, raises the question of to what extent the success of these educators in crossing borders individually and as a generation is due to them managing the balance between work and family, rather than just managing their careers. This topic, explored in a limited way in this study, is an important line of future enquiry within a broader concept of career development that encompasses the educator’s entire life, and not just their occupation (Haines et al., 2003).

Another perspective for discussing these border-crossers is to link some of the categories constructed from this research, such as chronological career path, career dilemmas, and career perspective. The best modern icon of the career path — presented as a chronological line — commonly used for individuals in the professional world is the curriculum vitae. This artifact documents the person’s career path as linear sequences of positions and workplaces. However, this basic “reflexive project of the self” (Giddens, 1991), legitimated by the modernity, has little to say about the subjective density behind the restricted summaries of a CV.

To show the subjective density of a career path, we need to know more about any dilemmas the person has had to face and their career perspectives. With such knowledge, we are in a better position to form an opinion about what kinds of subjective processes might have underlain any dilemmas experienced with respect to career. In this sense, I support the idea that when individuals face a career dilemma, the implication is that they are constructing a career perspective at the same time. Depending on their background in organizations, workplaces, topics, social sectors, and tasks, they experience levels of continuity, discontinuity or ambiguity in unravelling that dilemma. When an educator faces a field dilemma, such as a move from a school to a non-formal educational workplace, specific workplace experience is discontinued and replaced, although the educational tasks (e.g., planning courses, producing materials, assessment) in the non-formal educational setting may be similar. Therefore, the line of discontinuity rests only with the specific kind of workplace. In crossing borders, these educators have to deal with career dilemmas and mobilizing their career perspective. The next figure integrates these various lines of understanding concerning ‘the career’.

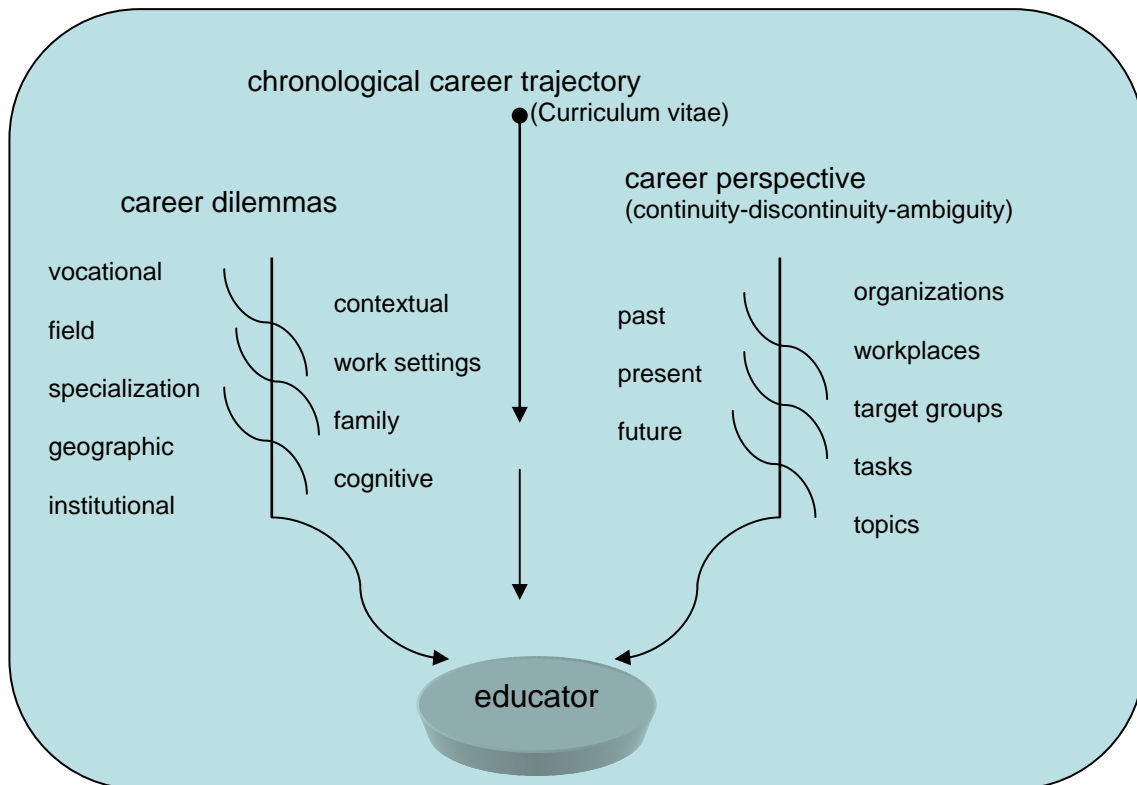


Figure 8.1 Tracing career significance

The aim of the above explanation is to gain insight into the subjective processes involved in solving career dilemmas, but we also need to know why people go through career dilemmas. I would like to suggest some insights into the career dilemma as an ontological, historical and cognitive phenomenon. First, modernity and the post-industrial era have accelerated the range of choices pertaining to the world of work (Haveman & Cohen, 1994; Collin & Young, 2000). Currently, an individual's career can pass through many types of job, workplace and position in the course of a lifespan, compared with the rather restrictive possibilities available to societies in the past. There are more career choices nowadays. A second factor is that our current socio-historical processes have sharpened the complexity of the work-life balance by segmenting different domains of life into different times and places (Kallinikos, 2003). In past societies, people lived in the same place, and in the same communities, for most of their lives, but nowadays people are on the move all the time. This has added complexity to the work-life balance, causing different levels of tension which from time to time generate dilemmas in connection with a person's career. A third factor is that because the individual's expectation is geared to the environment in which they are active, or, in other words, because people interpret their present roles and situations within the existing social context, they use this as a base on which to construct narratives for their future career plans. "Social and political environment is sometimes beyond the individuals' expectation and control. This causes dilemmas in coping strategies" (Chen, 1997: 316). A fourth factor, highlighted by different philosophers (Magee, 2000), is that the human being is a creature of liberty who needs to be able to implement liberty in order to live. However, although liberty encompasses possibilities, choices, and decisions, these are also features that yield uncertainty. Career dilemmas arise because human beings experience both liberty and uncertainty. In this epoch, this type of dilemma has become one of the most pervasive phenomena in people's lives, and it will become more acute in the future. Chance happenings are a fifth factor. Uncertainty coupled with the unpredictability of chance happenings in working life (Chen, 2002) generate adjustment strategies. As Bandura mentions (as cited in Chen,

2002), unforeseeable events can have an impact on individuals by generating a chance response in people's cognitive functioning and social learning. In extreme cases, they can cause a trauma.

The lines of discussion between the career dilemma and the perspectives on the career can also be accessed through professional knowledge, by asking: What kind of knowledge can emerge from career dilemmas and career perspectives?

This kind of knowledge, I would suggest, is *socio-biographical knowledge about career management*. This type of knowledge helps the person to synthesize previous experiences and maximize possibilities for managing their career in a chosen direction by maneuvering dynamically within a range of contextual factors. With this knowledge, the person can make comparisons on various levels and thereby make better judgments about whether or not to accept or refuse new possibilities that may affect their career. In the research material, I found evidence to suggest that they compare their present health, financial, family and personal situation with the new possibilities, to judge whether they will improve, worsen or be maintained. If the locational dilemma implies some risks to the educator's health or to that of his family, then the offer will be refused or a lot of rethinking will take place. If the institutional dilemma was about assuming new, but daunting, responsibility with a higher income, the tendency would be to refuse the offer. On the basis of these reactions, I would agree with those researchers, (e.g. Wildemeersch, 2000), who claim that, in formulating what course of action to take, the educators' biographical background is as important an influence as instrumental and social knowledge, intrapersonal knowledge (summarized in Chapter 3, Table 3.1), and knowledge about managing a career. Like other researchers, I would also highlight the term '*socio-biographical*' "to capture the consciousness and subjectivity, as well as the objective constraints that shape individual lives" (Chamberlayne et al. cited in Zinn, 2004: 14). I would even go as far as claiming that there is a direct relation between career management and socio-biographical knowledge. The more the individual develops this comprehensive knowledge, the easier it is for that person to manage their career resourcefully.

Indeed, all the research findings referred to above looked at career studies and career development from an overarching framework that stresses the interconnection of different aspects of professionals with the contexts in which they are active. The Systems Theory Framework of career development (McMahon et al., 2004, 2005) is also part of this trend of career theories. These theories are focused on individuals' systems of influence, and their relational acquisition of knowledge. Authors of these theories believe that, at a given point in time, individuals are able to visualize the constellation of influences pertaining to their career situation. For example, Super's Segmental Model of Career Development (as cited in McMahon & Tatham, 2003) identifies a range of personal and situational determinants that influence career development. A contribution from this research is the *multilevel approach* to career dilemmas — portrayed in the Table 6.1 — although the focus there is on dilemmas. The problem with the above models, however, is that, unless they also stress the importance of emotions, they tend to over-rationalize the individual being studied. In the theoretical framework used here, I have assumed the necessity of complementing the Agency Approach with perspectives that include emotion as a variable.

Explicit verbal expressions of emotion in response to critical events in the training sessions, and problems regarding tasks and educators' institutions, are clearly present in nine excerpts from our interviews with this group of educators (see Appendix B). For example, *fear* because of physical violence in the region where a training was taking place, *apprehension* before a demanding training session, tears of *happiness* at positive moments in training sessions, and where there were levels of anger, *psychological stress*. Other emotions expressed in these excerpts are *nostalgia* for an old workplace, deep *disappointment* in an institution. All of them reveal the emotional state underlying the career development of the educators who made these remarks. Although my contribution to studies of emotion connects more with education

professionals who work as teachers in schools (Lighthall & Lighthall, 1998; Sutton & Wheatley, 2003; van Veen, 2003), it is also a confirmation of the emotional dimension in educators who work outside the school system. I encountered a range of emotions, mainly centered in three areas of the educators' work: training sessions, tasks, and institutions. My assumption is that these emotions (pessimism, optimism, ambiguity) feed into educators' attitudes to training sessions, tasks and, during specific periods, their institutions. Viewed in a broader context, it means that behind career dilemmas there is not only a rational factor but also an accumulation of emotions, that turn into moods. I would argue that the emotions behind career dilemmas also help to cause them, so how the individual faces the dilemma can be seen as a response to these emotions. Educators choose courses of action, not only for materialistic reasons, but also for emotional, moral, or social reasons, sometimes intuitively.

8.2 Some limitations

In the light of the problems encountered in carrying out research on a specific type of professional characterized by individuals who have taken diverse, poorly documented, routes to reach that profession, which in itself is highly fragmented, especially in Latin America, then we need to reflect about some limitations of this study. Exploratory and descriptive studies are helpful in increasing our access to this subject.

As far as the design of the methodology is concerned, a general limitation is that gathering qualitative information was a core feature of this investigation; information that was not crossed with quantitative data. Nevertheless, the emphasis on a qualitative approach gives relevant information about these educators' perceptions and subjective responses to their careers.

The validity of crossing information to rebuild professionals' career trajectories was confirmed, however, by analyzing their *curricula vitae* and their responses to the questions posed during the semi-structured interviews. *Curricula vitae* are rarely used in studying career histories. Nevertheless, I found it to be a useful tool for overviewing professional career paths. The limitation of using them, though, was the implication that special motivations and timing had determined the movements of these 35 graduates. That was not always the case. I tried to get more detailed information, but our graduates could not always remember the exact facts after so many years, and others were too busy to compile a more detailed document for me. For this reason, I was unable to work on standard documents. Indeed, five *curricula vitae* were too short to be of any use at all. If I had doubts about objective data in the *curricula vitae*, such as the person's major subject or the year in which they completed a course of study, then I checked the Catholic University's Intranet. For me, the main value of the tool 'curriculum vitae' was that it helped in drawing up preliminary time-lines and in outlining a typology of career paths and professional dilemmas so that these could then be confirmed and substantiated later, during the interviews.

The semi-structured interviews revealed details that were not visible in the *curricula vitae*. They also gave me the opportunity to check my initial outline of the educators' career paths, drawn as time-lines, on paper. Where these paths were non-linear, they were not always so easy to draw. By discussing their time-line and openly reconstructing their career path, some interviewees gained insights into their narratives which helped them to be more precise about the main points. Other interviewees reacted in exactly the opposite way in that they reconstructed their careers very excitedly, but became much less concentrated when checking their time-lines on paper. They gave the impression of just wanting to talk. Therefore, there was no standard, as far as 'respondents' attitude' was concerned, at that stage in the investigation when subjective information — from the interviewee's verbal reconstruction of their background — was matched with objective information that they

were asked to check — from the time-line reconstructed on paper from their curriculum vitae.

To obtain information, the critical incident technique was introduced during the interviews. Two tendencies emerged from this. Some interviewees found it easy to recall critical incidents in sufficient detail and with emotional content, while others found it more difficult. The second interview was used partly to review some of these critical incidents in more depth. There was no relation between the degree of freedom to talk about these sensitive incidents and the place where the interviews were held. Some interviewees felt free to talk openly about these incidents, even when interviewed in their offices.

The reason for these interviews was explained and reassurances were given that the identity of participants and workplaces would be kept confidential. This was sufficient for all the interviewees except for one, who remained anxious enough about this point to stress at the end of the interview that certain names and personal issues must not be publicized. Some of the interviewees became so immersed in the conversation, that it continued after the recording was stopped. One person asked for a copy of the transcription.

Even though in qualitative case studies such as these, it is possible to pursue in-depth descriptions rather than just generalizing results, the size of the sample, and the fact that after analyzing the 35 curricula vitae it was confined to six graduates, was nevertheless a limitation. I had one pilot interviewee, and six formal interviewees, and I was able to talk informally with three other interviewees, under similar conditions. The additional contacts helped to enhance the field notes. However, in order to deepen the validation of new contributions to the literature resulting from this research, such as the typology of career trajectories, analyzing career dilemmas using a multilevel approach, and my proposed classification of professional knowledge, access to empirical evidence from a larger sample is required.

Another point of observation is the type of sample used in this research. Although, after analyzing their career paths and professional characteristics, the conclusion could be drawn that the educators in this sample have built up successful careers by working in non-formal educational settings, this should be done with caution. It was not my intention to use only successful educators in the sample. In other words, I did not introduce 'successfulness' into the sample, as a criterion. I know other educators whose career paths have not been quite so successful as those included here. Although I included both male and female educators in the sample, I didn't carry out an in-depth analysis from the point of view of gender, because, for this, I would have had to set up a special framework to support my questions and procedures.

In carrying out this kind of research, three questions arise that have personal, social and procedural dimensions. Firstly, as someone who has also worked as an educator outside the school system, conducting this enquiry has also been an emotional experience for me. On the one hand, the fact that I have a similar background has enabled me to be more sensitive to these graduates' experiences, but on the other, it has meant that I have had to be very careful not to let my own perception of their experiences interfere with their perception of it. The dichotomy of being personally close to the research topic and the necessity to maintain distance was challenging. I tackled this problem by analyzing these perceptions systematically and discussing the progress I had made with others (supervisors, peer-helpers, close colleagues, and by presenting my research findings at academic events). This helped to insert cognitive distance into the reasoning process, to act as a control against over-subjectivity. Secondly, the researcher's role in this type of study has been borrowed from the academic world to empower, by documenting it, a sector that is not recognized enough by society. Nevertheless, it is important not to view this sector as a victim. Contextualist and biographical approaches make it possible to position the educator's life within the dynamism of the context and thereby portray a more complex image of that person, instead of reducing it through over-simplification.

Thirdly, the process of analyzing data made it increasingly easier to manage the criteria for selecting the best excerpts and for identifying the most appropriate categories. Integrating these criteria to make sound decisions about which excerpt or category to choose, while taking care not to react to the individual's perceptions as though they were a monolithic narrative, is a learning process. The matrices included in Appendices B and C proved helpful tools for managing this process more objectively.

8.3 Utilizing this study: suggestions for interest groups

The utility of this study for researchers, academic faculties, trainers, counselors, policy-makers and non-formal education communities will be different for each interest group. First, as far as the research community is concerned, for studies focusing on educators who work outside the school system, I would suggest studying educators who work in specific areas such as improving the environment, gender problems, consumer goods, human rights, and so on. Research of this kind would deepen educators' professional knowledge in a specific area of non-formal education, and provide information that could be compared with other specific areas of non-formal education. The more educators are documented in such concrete areas, the easier it will become to analyze educators in non-formal educational settings.

It would also be interesting to include in this line of study other professionals, for instance, engineers, lawyers, and nurses, who do not have a pedagogic background from their undergraduate studies, but who are also working as educators in non-formal educational areas. Other professionals' studies of this type of educator broaden the samples, and to obtain a more theoretical synthesis, raise other questions about career paths.

Developing a theoretical debate about non-formal education in societies as unstable and informal as that in Peru and other developing countries is also relevant for our research community. This debate needs to raise questions about the typical orientations of these educational activities, and how they can produce social capital in support of democratic cultures.

In addition, by researching topics to do with teaching, and finding out why some educators prefer not to work in schools, as I do in this research, exposes the main constraining factors to teaching in schools, which is the first step towards eliminating them.

Second, as far as university communities are concerned, the Faculties of Education should recognize the tensions brought about by the over-individualistic trends in society and review their curriculum plans and institutional climate to generate *social concern* in their students and teaching staff. Social concern involves sensitivity to the problems of others; connecting with processes to improve societies. It is also important that these faculties review their undergraduate and postgraduate curricula to acknowledge the importance of non-formal education, and combat the view that formal education is the only legitimate form of education.

The academic community could also extend this open mindedness to offering a wider range of main subjects in their undergraduate and graduate courses, such as social education, adult education, and education for development. Such a move would satisfy the requirements of educators in non-formal educational settings, and help to alleviate the surplus of school teachers. It is also a good recommendation for the faculties if they follow up former students by updating their databases. By keeping in contact with them in this way, they can find out about their experiences in different kinds of workplace.

Third, to enhance the career development of educators in non-formal and formal education, those who train this group of professionals need to reflect more about professional knowledge, and the career paths and dilemmas encountered by these educators/trainers. To set them apart and legitimate them, it is important that the training world creates its own professional jargon and metaphors using the educators'

own history and their dialogue with formal knowledge. The challenge is how to generate training opportunities that are not restricted merely to acquiring instrumental skills but ones which help trainers to review their professional knowledge, relativize their professional dilemmas and re-align their career paths. A process of reinterpretation is needed to change and re-shape the professional identities of these educators. In this context, training sessions can be redefined as opportunities for enhancing identity by acknowledging these educators' career paths.

Fourth, with respect to the counseling and human-resources community, in my opinion, to retain flexibility it is important to keep an open mind about initial career choices. This has also been noted by Cochran et al. (2003). One of the tasks of career counseling should be to help the individual "become friends with uncertainty" (Chen, 1997: 319), because career dilemmas occur throughout life, and each time they do, decisions have to be made. Thus, it is necessary to develop frameworks and types of interventions that are more comprehensive and multileveled for those professionals who want to improve their level of awareness of the range of influence and choice around them. My *multilevel approach* to career dilemmas can be used as a qualitative tool for this purpose. This kind of intervention will improve the *socio-biographical knowledge behind career management* in that it attempts to make a visual representation of the map of influences and link them with their career situations.

The emotional factors behind each individual's career dilemmas are important in that they help broaden the individual's understanding of themselves, so that they can connect as positively as possible with their emotional background. Reflecting with the individual about the metaphors they use to express highly charged conflict situations is a useful intervention in this respect. However, these approaches can be more helpful for those who wish to assume a proactive (*agency*) attitude towards career-enhancing skills, in order to manage the turning points in their career more effectively.

Professional coaches might find our contributions to the topic of professional knowledge a useful approach, especially when working with mid-career educators. Furthermore, to assess educators' professional knowledge, and their own evaluation of it, the *curricula vitae* provided by the professionals should be read from different angles. Different tools, such as the critical incident technique, can also be applied when deliberating about career development. Professional knowledge, career paths and dilemmas arising from employment situations can be entered in professional portfolios to document the career professional and promote new learning circles.

Fifth, with respect to policy-making, in developing countries it is relevant to improve human development, not just by formal education, but also in the non-formal educational field. For this, the vision of educational policy needs to change, and this will have consequences for investment plans. Policy-makers need to recognize that investing in non-formal education is a way of supporting the social capital of a society. In societies where social identities are becoming weaker, the need is even more acute. The introduction of norms into education should help to encourage specific regulations in the non-formal educational area that have an in-built respect for its diversity. Associations for educators who work in this field should also be encouraged and supported.

Sixth, for non-formal educational organizations, it is necessary to up-grade educators' functions, and develop more integral approaches for these professionals by creating physical and on-line networks and by allowing them to broaden their professional development by sharing, reflecting on, and improving their professional knowledge. New training approaches are needed to improve these educators' instrumental, biographical, and social competences. This will make them more resilient in facing the fragmentation of their professional sector, and the lack of overall opportunities. These organizations need to support educators' proposals to follow postgraduate courses, because they will not only be of benefit to the educators themselves, but also to the organizations that sponsor them.

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES:

Table 2.1	Laws supporting non-formal education in some Latin American countries
Table 3.1	Types of knowledge of teachers, educational managers, managers and others
Table 4.1	Criteria for selecting the sample
Table 4.2	Criteria used in validating the questions
Table 4.3	Framework of the semi-structured interview
Table 4.4	Research questions and the procedures adopted
Table 5.1	Ranges of relevant tasks developed by graduates in the course of their careers
Table 5.2	The academic backgrounds of the six educators who were interviewed
Table 6.1	A multilevel approach to career dilemmas

FIGURES:

Figure 2.1	The varying backgrounds of educators who enter non-formal educational settings
Figure 3.1	The theoretical framework
Figure 4.1	The empirical processes in this research
Figure 5.1	The various career paths of the six educators who were interviewed
Figure 5.2	Perceptions of mobility in moving from formal to non-formal education
Figure 7.1	The professional knowledge of educators in non-formal educational settings
Figure 8.1	Tracing career significance

REFERENCES

- Ackerson, B., & Harrison, D. (2000). Practitioners' perceptions of empowerment. *Families in society, May-June*. Retrieved October 13, 2004, from http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3625/is_200005/ai_n8897534
- Acosta, E., Cortés, M.T., Vélez, B.I., & Herrera, B. R. (2004). Seguimiento de egresados de la Facultad de Medicina de la UNAM [A follow-up of former students of the Faculty of Medicine at UNAM]. *Revista de la Educación Superior, 130*, 7-20.
- Amnon, B., & Staples, L. (2004). Empowerment: the point of view of consumers. *Families in society, April-June*. Retrieved May 13, 2005, from http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3625/is_200404/ai_n9387979
- Amuchástegui, A. (1996). El significado de la virginidad y la iniciación sexual. Un relato de investigación [The significance of virginity and sexual initiation]. In I. Szasz & S. Lerner (Eds.), *Para comprender la subjetividad. Investigación cualitativa en salud reproductiva y sexualidad* (pp. 137-172). [Understanding subjectivity. A qualitative investigation into reproductive health and sexuality]. México: El Colegio de México.
- ANC Asociación Nacional de Centros (1995). *Directorio de Organizaciones No Gubernamentales de Desarrollo* [Directory of Non Governmental Organizations for Development]. Lima: ANC.
- Angelides, P. (2001). The development of an efficient technique for collecting and analyzing data: the analysis of critical incidents. *Qualitative research in Education, 14* (3), 429-442.
- Apoyo, Opinión y Mercado (2003). *Informe de Opinión, Mayo* [A report on Opinions, May]. Lima: Apoyo.
- Apoyo, Opinión y Mercado (2004). *Perfil del mercado educativo* [A profile of the educational market]. Lima: Apoyo.
- Arksey, A., & Knight, P. (1999). *Interviewing for social scientists*. UK: Sage.
- Arthur, M.B., Hall, D.T., & Lawrence, B.S. (1989). *Handbook of career theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bakke-Seeck, S. (1998). Competencias y adquisición de competencias en el sector informal [Competences and the acquisition of competences in the informal sector]. *Educación, 57/58*, 120-138.
- Banks, M., Bates, I., Breakwell, G., Bynner, J., Emler, N., Jamieson, L., & Roberts, K. (1992). *Careers and identities*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Baruch, Y. (2004). Transforming careers: from linear to multidirectional career paths. Organizational and individual perspectives. *Career Development International, 9* (1), 58-73.
- Becher, T. (1999). *Professional Practices. Commitment & capability in a changing environment*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Bennett, N., Dunne, E., & Carre, C. (2000). *Skills Development in Higher Education and Employment*. Buckingham: SRHE & Open University Press.
- Bevir, M. (1999). Foucault and critique. Deploying agency against autonomy. *Political Theory, 27* (1), 65-84.
- Billet, S. (1999). Guided learning at work. In D. Boud & J. Garrick (Eds.), *Understanding Learning at Work* (pp. 151-164). London: Routledge.
- Black, A., & Halliwell, G. (2000). Accessing practical knowledge: how? why? *Teaching and Teacher Education, 16*, 103-115.
- Bloor, G., & Dawson, P. (1994). Understanding professional culture in organizational Context. *Organization Studies, 15* (2), 275-292. Retrieved October 13, 2004, from http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m4339/is_n2_v15/ai_16043940
- Blustein, D., Kenna, A., Murphy, K., Devoy, J., & Dewine, D. (2005). Qualitative research in career development: exploring the center and margins of discourse about careers and working. *Journal of Career Assessment, 13* (4), 351-370.
- Borgen, W., & Amundson, N. (1990) New challenges for career development. Methodological implications. In R. Young & W. Borgen, *Methodological Approaches*

- to the Study of Career. New York: Praeger.
- Bosch, A. (1998). Popular education, work training, and the path to women's empowerment in Chile. *Comparative Education Review*, 42(2), 163-182.
- Boshier, R. (1998). Edgar Faure after 25 years: down but not out'. In J. Holford, P. Jarvis & C. Griffin (Eds.), *International Perspectives on Lifelong Learning* (pp. 3-20). London: Kegan Page.
- Boud, D., & Garrick J. (Eds.). (1999). *Understanding Learning at Work*. London: Routledge.
- Bray, M. (1985). The nature and role of non-formal education: some third world - first world lessons and contrasts. *Education Journal*, 13(1), 98-102.
- Brennan, B. (1997). Reconceptualizing non-formal education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 16(3), 185-200.
- Brichaux, J. (1999). La profesionalización de la actividad socioeducativa [The professionalisation of the socio-educative activity]. *Educación Social*, 12, 106-118.
- Bromme, R., & Tillema, H. (1995). Fusing experience and theory: the structure of professional knowledge. *Learning and Instruction*, 5, 261-267.
- Burga, C., & Moreno, M. (2001). *Existe subempleo profesional en el Perú urbano?* [Is there under-employment in urban Peru?]. Perú Lima: Grade.
- Calderhead, J. (1996). Teachers: beliefs and knowledge. In D. Berliner & R. Calfee (Eds.), *Handbook of Educational Psychology* (pp. 709-725). New York: Macmillan.
- Calderhead, J., & Shorrock, S. (1997). *Understanding Teacher Education. Case studies in the professional development of beginning teachers*. London: Falmer Press.
- Caletti, S. (1991). Profesiones, historia y taxonomías: algunas discriminaciones necesarias [Professions, history and taxonomies: some necessary discriminations]. *Diálogos de la Comunicación*, 31, 25-36.
- Campero, C. (2001). Presente y futuro de la formación de los y las educadoras de personas jóvenes y adultas [Forming young and adult educators: the present and the future]. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Educativos*, 31(3), 79-101.
- Carr, W., & Kemmis, S. (1988). *Teoría crítica de la enseñanza. La investigación-acción en la formación del profesorado* [Critical Theory of Teaching. Action research on teacher education]. Barcelona: Martínez-Roca.
- CEPAL-UNESCO Comisión Económica para América Latina (1992). *Educación y conocimiento: eje de la transformación productiva con equidad* [Education and knowledge: axis of productive transformation with equity]. Santiago de Chile: CEPAL.
- Cervero, R. M., & Wilson, A. L. (Eds.) (2001). *Power in Practice. Adult education and the struggle for knowledge and power in society*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Chen, C. (1997). Career projection: narrative in context. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, 49(2), 311-326.
- Chen, C. (2002). *Integrating the Notion of Chance in Career Development*. NATCON Papers. Les actes du CONAT. Retrieved May 15, 2005 from <http://www.contactpoint.ca/natcon-conat/2002/pdf/pdf-02-14.pdf>.
- Chen, C. (2003). Integrating perspectives in career development theory and practice. *Career Development Quarterly*, March. Retrieved May 15, 2005 from http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0JAX/is_3_51/ai_100389274/pg_6
- Cherniss, C. (1991). Career commitment in human service professionals: A biographical study. *Human Relations*, 44(5), 419-437.
- Chirinos, A. (2003). Las lenguas indígenas peruanas más allá del 2000. Una panorámica histórica. [Indigenous languages beyond 2000. A historical scope]. Retrieved 13 October 2004, from <http://revistandina.perucultural.org.pe/textos/chiri.doc>
- Clark, S. (2000). Work/family border theory: A new theory of work/family balance. *Human Relations*, 53(6), 747-770.

- Cochran, C., Carter, G., & Dorsey, D. (2003) *Identifying Career Paths: A review of the literature*. Technical Report 43, July. Minnesota: Personnel Decisions Research Institute.
- Collin, A. (1990). Mid-life Career Change Research. In R. Young & W. Borgen (Eds.) , *Methodological approaches to the study of career* (pp. 197-220). New York: Praeger.
- Collin, A., & Young, R.A. (1992). Constructing Career through Narrative and Context: An Interpretive Perspective. In R. Young & A. Collin (Eds.), *Interpreting career: hermeneutical studies of lives in context* (pp. 1-12). New York: Praeger.
- Collin, A., & Young, R. A. (Eds.) (2000). *The future of career*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Commission of Truth and Reconciliation of Peru (2004). *Final Report*. Lima.
- Connelly, M., Clandinin, J., & Fang, H.M. (1997). Teachers' personal practical knowledge on the professional knowledge landscape. *Teaching and teacher education*, 7, 665-674.
- Coombs, P.H., & Ahmed, M. (1974). *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Non-Formal Education can Help*. Baltimore: J. Hopkins University Press.
- Corvalán, O. (1994). Non-governmental organizations (Latin America): training for disadvantaged groups. In T. Husen & T. Porstlethwaite (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of education* (2nd ed., Vol. 7, pp. 4148-4155). Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Corvalán, O. (1998). Educación y formación profesional para el sector informal [Education and professional formation to the informal sector]. *Educación*, 57/58, 5-19.
- Crooker, K.J., Smith, F.L., & Tabak, F. (2002). Creating Work-Life Balance: A Model of Pluralism Across Life Domains. *Human Resource Development Review*, 1 (4), 387-419.
- Crozier, S., & Dorval, C. (2002). The Relational Career Values of Post-secondary Women Students. *Canadian Journal of Career Development*, 1(1). Retrieved November 23, 2004, from <http://www.contactpoint.ca/cjcd/v1-n1/article1.pdf>
- Denshire, S. (2002). Metaphors we live by: ways of imagining practice. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 2(2), 28-46.
- Díaz, H., & Saavedra, J. (2000). *La carrera del maestro en el Perú. Factores institucionales, incentivos económicos y desempeño* [The Peruvian teacher's career. Institutional factors, incentives and performance]. Lima, GRADE.
- Dixon, R.A. (1990). History of research of human development. In R. Murray (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Human Development and Education. Theory, Research and Studies*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Donaldson, J., & Kuhne, G. (1997). Researching professional practice: The integrated practice perspectives model and continuing education. The Adult Education Research Conference (AERC) Conference Proceedings. Retrieved November 23, 2004, from <http://www.edst.educ.ubc.ca/aerc/1997/97donaldson.htm>
- Douwe, J. D., & Verloop, N. (1999). Evaluation of story-line methodology in research on teachers' practical knowledge. *Studies in Educational Evaluation*, 25, 47-62.
- Drucker, P. F. (1993). *Post Capitalist Society*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Dymock, C. (1996). Dilemmas for school leaders and administrators in restructuring. In K. Leithwood, J. Chapman, P. Corson, P. Hallinger & A. Hart (Eds.), *International Handbook of Educational Leadership and Administration* (pp.135-170), Netherlands: Kluwer Academic.
- Easton, P. (1997). *Sharpening our tools. Improving evaluation in Adult and Non-Formal Education*. Germany: UNESCO.
- Eberhardt, N., Hawks, S., Mendoza, W., & Mendoza, M. (2004). Participatory evaluation on the Bolivian Altiplano: collaboration and empowerment. *Promotion & Education*, 11(1), 6-11.

- Edwards, J. L., Green, K. E., & Lyons, C. A. (2002). Personal empowerment, efficacy, and environmental characteristics. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 40(1), 67-87.
- El Comercio (2002). *Gran Atlas Universal 3, Perú*. [Great Universal Atlas]. Lima: El Comercio.
- Engster, D. (2004). Care Ethics and Natural Law Theory: Toward an Institutional Political Theory of Caring. *The Journal of Politics*, 66(1), 113-135.
- Eraut, M. (1994). *Developing professional knowledge and competence*. London: Falmer.
- Eraut, M. (2000). Non-formal learning and tacit knowledge in professional work. *British Journal of Educational Psychology Society*, 70, 113-136.
- Evetts, J. (1992). Dimensions of career: avoiding reification in the analysis of change. *Sociology*, 26(1), 1-21.
- Faltermaier, T. (1992). Developmental processes of young women in a caring profession: a qualitative life-event study. In R. Young & A. Collin (Eds.), *Interpreting career: Hermeneutical studies of lives in context* (pp. 48-62). London: Praeger.
- Feldman, A. (1994). Teachers learning from teachers: Knowledge and understanding in collaborative action research. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, April 4-8. Retrieved April 21, 2005, from <http://www-unix.oit.umass.edu/~afeldman/TLFT.html>
- Fenwick, T.J. (1998). Boldly solving the world: A critical analysis of problem-based learning in professional education. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 30 (1), 53-66.
- Ferry, N., & Ross-Gordon, J.(1998). An inquiry into Schön epistemology of practice: exploring links between experience and reflective practice. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 2, 98-110.
- Forrest, L., & Mikolaitis, N. (1986). The relational component of identity: An expansion of career development theory. *Career Development Quarterly*, 35, 76-88.
- Foster, J., James, W., & Castro, F. (2005). Promoting a Practitioner-Based Agenda in the Development, Dissemination, and Implementation of Empirically Supported Treatments. *American Journal of Psychological research*, 1 (1), 103-114 Retrieved September 21, 2005, from <http://www.mcneese.edu/colleges/ed/deptpsy/ajpr/issues.html>
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Vigilar y castigar. Nacimiento de la prisión* [Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison]. México: Siglo XXI.
- Freidson, E. (2001). La teoría de las profesiones. Estado del Arte. *Perfiles Educativos*, 23 (93), 28-43
- Fuentes, S. (2000). La operación ideológica como constitutiva del proceso identificador: los educadores ambientales de la UPN Mexicali [The ideological operation as an identity process: environmental educators at the UPN Mexicali]. *Revista Interamericana de Educación de Adultos*, año 22, núms. 1, 2 y 3.
- García, S.(1999). El desarrollo profesional: análisis de un concepto complejo. [Professional development: analysis of a complex concept]. *Revista de Educación*, 318, 175-187.
- Gear, J., McIntosh, A., & Squires, G. (1994). *Informal learning in the professions*. University of Hull, Department of Adult Education.
- Geijsel, F., Sleegers, P., & Van den Berg, R. (1999). Transformational leadership and the implementation of large-scale innovation programs. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 37, 309-328.
- Gibelman, M.(1995). *What social workers do*. Washington: NASW Press.
- Gibson, Ch. (1991). A concept analysis of empowerment. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 16(3), 354-61.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Giroux, H. (1994). Slacking Off: Border Youth and Postmodern Education. *Journal of Advanced Composition*, 14 (2), 347-366. Retrieved March 17, 2004, from http://www.henryagiroux.com/online_articles/slacking_off.htm
- Gomm, R., Hammersley, M., & Foster, P. (2000). *Case study method. Key issues and key texts*. London: Sage.
- Goodson, I., & Sikes, P. (2001). *Life history research in educational settings*. Learning from lives. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Goodson, I. (2003). *Professional knowledge, professional lives. Studies in education and change*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Greener, I. (2002). Agency, social theory and social policy. *Critical Social Policy*, 22(4), 688–705.
- Guest, David. (2002). Perspectives on the study of work-life balance. *Social Science Information*, 41(2), 255-279.
- Haines, C., Scott, K., & Lincoln, R. (2003). *Australian Blueprint for Career Development (ABCD) Prototype Version*. Australia: Miles Morgan Australia Pty Ltd. Retrieved May 15, 2005 from www.osca.ca/pdf/austbp.pdf
- Hager, P., & Beckett, D. (1998). What Would Lifelong Education Look Like in a Workplace Setting? In J. Holford, P. Jarvis, & C. Griffin (Eds.), *International Perspectives on Lifelong Learning* (pp. 224-234), London: Kogan Page.
- Hager, P. (2001). Lifelong learning and the contributions of informal learning. In D.N. Aspin, J. Chapman, M. Hatton & Y. Sawano (Eds.), *International Handbook of Lifelong Learning* (pp. 79-92). Great Britain: Kluwer Academic.
- Hammer, D., & Wildavsky, A. (1990). La entrevista semi-estructurada de final abierto. Aproximación a una guía operativa [The final open semi structured interview. An operative guide]. *Historia y Fuente Oral*, 4, 23-61.
- Haveman, H., & Cohen, L. (1994). The ecological dynamics of careers: The impact of organizational founding, dissolution, and merger on job mobility. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 100(1), 104-153.
- Hermes, L. (1999). Learner assessment through subjective theories and action research. *Assessment and Evaluation in Higher Education*, 24(2), 197-205.
- Herrera, J. (2002). *La Pobreza en el Perú en 2001. Una visión departamental* [Poverty in Peru, 2001. A regional vision]. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática.
- Howard, R. (1983). *Evaluación iluminativa y acción cultural* [Illuminative Evaluation and cultural action]. Santiago de Chile: CIDE.
- Huberman, M. (1995). Professional careers and professional development. Some intersections. In T. Guskey & M. Huberman (Eds.), *Professional Development in Education. New Paradigms and Practices* (pp. 193-224). New York: Teachers College.
- Huberman, M., Thompson, Ch., & Weiland, S. (1998). Perspectives on the teaching career. In J. Biddle, T.L. Good & I. Goodson (Eds.), *International Handbook of teachers and teaching* (pp. 11-78), Netherlands: Kluwer Academic.
- Jarvis, P. (1992). Learning practical knowledge. *New directions for adult and continuing education*, 55, 89-95.
- Jones, M., Cason, C. & Bond, M. (2004). Cultural Attitudes, Knowledge, and Skills of a Health Workforce. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 15 (4), 283-290.
- Kalleberg, A., & Mastekaasa, A. (2001). Satisfied Movers, Committed Stayers. The Impact of Job Mobility on Work Attitudes in Norway. *Work and Occupations*, 28(2), 183-209.
- Kallinikos, J. (2003). Work, Human Agency and Organizational Forms: An Anatomy of Fragmentation. *Organization Studies*, 24(4), 595–618.
- Kam-shing, Y. (2004). The empowerment model: a critical reflection of empowerment in Chinese Culture. *Social Work*, 49(3), 479-487.

- Kane, R., Sandretto, S., & Chris H. (2002). Telling half the story: A critical review of research on the teaching belief and Practices of University Academics. *Review of Educational Research*, 72(2),177 -228.
- Kelchtermans, G., & Vandenberghe, R. (1994). Teachers' professional development: a biographical perspective. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 26(1), 45-62.
- Kelner, M.J., Wellman, B., Boon, H., & Welsh, S. (2004). The role of the state in the social inclusion of complementary and alternative medical occupations. *Complementary Therapies in Medicine*, 12(2-3), 79-89.
- Kerka, S. (1992). Life cycles and career development: new models. *ERIC Digest* N° 119, ED346316. Retrieved October 13, 2004, from <http://www.ericdigests.org/1992-3/life.htm>
- Kerry, T. (2005). Critical incidents in the working lives of a group of primary deputy heads. *Improving Schools*, 8(1), 79–9.
- Kidd, J. (1998). Emotion: An Absent Presence in Career Theory. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 52(3), 275-288.
- Killeen, J. (1996). Career Theory. In A.G. Watts, J. Killeen, J. M. Kidd & R. Hawthorn (Eds.), *Rethinking careers education and guidance: theory, policy and practice* (pp. 23-45), London: Routledge.
- Kliksberg, B. (2001). Capital social y cultura: claves olvidadas del desarrollo [Social Capital and culture: Forgotten keys to development]. Retrieved October 13, 2004, from <http://indes.iadb.org/verpub.asp?docNum=6198#>
- Knöbl, W. (1999). Social Theory from a Sartrean Point of View Alain Touraine's Theory of Modernity. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 2(4), 403–427.
- La Belle, T.J. (1980). *Educación no formal y cambio social en América Latina* [Non-formal educational and social change in Latin America] México, Editorial Nueva Imagen.
- La Belle, T.J. (1986). *Non-formal education in Latin America and the Caribbean: Stability, Reform, or Revolution?* New York: Praeger.
- La Belle, T., & Ward, C. (1994). Non formal education policy in developing countries. In T. Husen & T. Porstlethwaite (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of education* (Vol. 7, 2nd Edition, pp. 4141-4145). Oxford: Pergamon.
- La Belle, T.J. (2000). The changing nature of non-formal education in Latin America. *Comparative Education*, 36 (1), 21-36.
- Lange, E. et al. (2000). *New research directions in popular education: towards a reconceptualization of the field*. OISE-University of Toronto, Canada. 41st Annual Adult Education Research Conference Proceedings, University of British Columbia Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, June. Retrieved October 23, 2004, from <http://www.edst.educ.ubc.ca/aerc/2000/langee&etal-final.PDF>.
- Langley, D., & Knight, S. (1996). Exploring practical knowledge: a case study of an experienced senior tennis performer. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 4, 433-447.
- Lechner, N. (2000). Desafíos de un desarrollo humano: individualización y capital social [Human Development Challenges: individualisation and social capital]. *Instituciones y desarrollo*, 7. Retrieved October 13, 2004, from http://www.iigov.org/revista/?p=7_01
- Leishman, J. (2004). Perspectives of cultural competence in health care. *Nursing Standard*, 19(11), 33-38.
- Lesser, E. (Ed.). (2000). *Knowledge and social capital. Foundations and applications*. Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann.

- Lighthall, F. & Lighthall, M. (1998). What Do Teachers Feel During Their Teaching Day, And How Do They Manage Their Emotional Experience?: Selves, Sentiments, Emotions, and Energy. *Prepared for the Second International Conference on Self-Study of Teacher Education Practices. Herstmonceux Castle, UK. August 16-20, 1998.* Retrieved October 15, 2005, from <http://educ.queensu.ca/~ar/sstep2/lighthll.htm>
- Liimatainen, M.R. (2002). *Training and Skills Acquisition in the Informal Sector: A Literature Review.* Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Linzer, N., Conboy, A., & Eileen, A. (2003). Ethical dilemmas of Israeli social workers. *International Social Work, 46,* 7-22.
- Lohman, M.C. (2000). Environmental inhibitors to informal learning in the workplace: A case study of public school teachers. *Adult Education Quarterly, 50(2),* 83 – 101.
- Lowyck, J. (1996). Learning in the workplace. Tuijnman, A. (ed). *Internacional Enciclopedia of adult learning and training.* Oxford: Pergamon.
- Madrigal, J. (2001). Tendencies toward the adult educator profession in Latin America: an exploratory, comparative, and participatory study. Retrieved October 23, 2004, from www.coe.uga.edu/hsp/monographhs1/index.html
- Magee, B. (2000). *The Great Philosophers: An Introduction to Western Philosophy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Makrinov N., Scharager, J. & Molina L. (2005) Situación actual de una muestra de psicólogos egresados de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile [Occupational situation of a sample of psychologists graduated from Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile]. *PSYKHE, 14(1),* 69 – 77.
- Marshall, V. (2000). Agency, Structure, and the Life Course in the Era of Reflexive Modernization. Presented in a symposium on “The Life Course in the 21st Century”, American Sociological Association meetings, Washington DC, August 2000. Retrieved November 13, 2004, from <http://www.aging.unc.edu/infocenter/resources/2000/marshallv.pdf>.
- Marsick, V. (1988). Learning in the workplace: the case for reflectivity and critical reflectivity. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education, 38 (4),* 187-198.
- Matthews, J.H., & Candy, P.C. (1999). New dimensions in the dynamics of learning and knowledge. In D. Boud & J. Garrick (Eds.), *Understanding Learning at Work* (pp. 47-64). London: Routledge.
- Maturana, H. R. (1988). Ontología del conversar [Ontology of conversation]. *Terapia Psicológica, 10,* 15-23.
- McMahon, M., & Tatham, P. (2003). *Career. More than just a Job.* Australia: National Career Information System.
- McMahon, M., Patton, P., & Tatham, P. (2003). *Managing Life, Learning and Work in the 21st Century.* Australia: Miles Morgan Australia Pty Ltd. Retrieved May 15, 2005 from http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/career_development/policy_issues_reviews/key_iss ues/australian_blueprint_for_career_dev/default.htm
- McMahon, M., Patton, W., & Watson, M. (2004). Creating career stories through reflection: An application of the Systems theory Framework of career development. *Australian Journal of Career Development, 13(3),* 13-17.
- McMahon M., Watson, M., & Patton, W. (2005). Qualitative Career Assessment: Developing the My System of Career Influences Reflection Activity. *Journal of Career Assessment, 13(4),* 476–490.
- Meijer, P. (1999). *Teacher's practical knowledge. Teaching reading comprehension in secondary school.* PhD thesis, University of Leiden, Netherlands.
- Merriam, S. (1988). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- Messina, G. (2002). La formación de los educadores de las personas jóvenes y adultas: el camino de la reflexión desde la práctica [The formation of young and adult educators: from reflection to practice]. México: CREFAL. Retrieved September 7, 2004, from <http://atzimba.crefal.edu.mx/bibdigital/acervo/catedra/catedra.htm>
- Milinki, A. (1999). *Cases in qualitative research. Research reports for discussion and evaluation*. Los Angeles, CA: Pyrczak.
- Ministry of Education (1999). Boletín *CRECER* 1. Lima: Minedu.
- Mohan, G., & Stokke, K. (2000). Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism. *Third World Quarterly*, 21(2), 247–268.
- Montero, L. (2001). *La construcción del conocimiento profesional docente* [The construction of teachers' professional knowledge]. Rosario: Homo Sapiens.
- Moore, S., & Birkeland, S. (2003). Pursuing "a Sense of Success": New Teachers Explain their Career Decisions. *American Educational Research Journal*, 40(3), pp. 581-617.
- Mott, V. (2000). The development of professional expertise in the workplace. *New directions for adult and continuing education*, 86, 23-31.
- Navarro, C. (2000). El proceso de inserción laboral del educador social en Catalunya: Entre la oportunidad y el riesgo. [The arrival of the social educator in Catalunya: between opportunity and risk]. *Educador Social*, 15, 15-31.
- Nestor-Baker, N., & Hoy, W. (2001). Tacit knowledge of School Superintendents: Its nature, Meaning, and Content. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 37(1), 86-129.
- Neuenfeldt, K. (1998). Aboriginal Didjeriduists in Australian Education: cultural workers and border crossers. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 19 (1), 5-20.
- Nicholson, N., & West, M. (1989). Transitions, work histories, and careers. In M. Arthur, D. Hall & B. Lawrence (Eds.), *Handbook of career theory* (pp. 181-201). Canada: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Neil, D. (2004) Case researcher finds women's workplace experiences undergo three career phases. News Center. Case Western Reserve University. Retrieved September 7, 2005, from www.case.edu/news/2004/7-04/women.htm
- Ontario College of Teachers (2004) *Exploring Ethical Knowledge Through Inquiry*. Booklet 2. Retrieved September 10, 2005, from http://www.oct.ca/standards/resource_kit.aspx?lang=en-CA
- Overwien, B. (1998). Educación no-formal orientada hacia el empleo para jóvenes en el sector informal de América Latina [Non-formal education oriented towards employing youth in the informal sector of Latin America]. *Educación* 57/58, 175-188.
- Palladino, D. (2003). A relational approach to counseling: Theoretical integration and practical application. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 81(3), 301-310.
- Palladino D. (2005). Qualitative Relational Career Assessment: A Constructivist Paradigm. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 13(4), 381–394.
- Panaia, M. (2003). Trayectorias de ingenieros argentinos de perfiles tecnológicos [The career paths of engineers with technological profiles]. *Revista de la Educación Superior*, 125, 13-34.
- Pandak, C. (1997). *Voluntary organizations and non-formal adult education in Hungary: professionalization and the discourse of deficiency*. 38th Annual Adult Education Research. Oklahoma State University Stillwater, Oklahoma May 16-18. Retrieved November 13, 2004, from <http://www.edst.edu.ubc.ca/aerc/1997/97pandak.htm>
- Parlett, M., & Hamilton, D. (1977). Evaluation as illumination: A new approach to the study of innovative programmes. In D. Hamilton, C. Jenkins, B. King, MacDonald & M. Parlett (Eds.), *Beyond the Numbers Game: a Reader in Educational Evaluation* (pp. 6-22). London: MacMillan.
- Pease, B. (2002). Rethinking empowerment: A postmodern reappraisal for emancipatory practice. *British Journal of Social Work*, 32 (2), 135-147.

- Peräkylä, A. (1997). Reliability and validity in research based on transcripts. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative Research: Theory, method and practice* (pp. 201-220). London: Sage.
- Petrus, A. (1996). La educación social en la sociedad del bienestar [The social education in the welfare society]. In S. Yubero & E. Larrañaga, *El desafío de la educación social* (pp. 23-43). Cuenca: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha.
- Phillips, S., Christopher-Sisk, E., & Gravino, K. (2001). Making Career Decisions in a Relational Context. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 29 (2), 193-213.
- Piantanida, M., & Garman, N. (1999). *The qualitative dissertation. A guide for students and Faculty*. California, Sage P.
- Pino, M. (2000). Funciones de los educadores sociales y análisis de algunas problemáticas en su inserción laboral [The functions of social educators and an analysis of their labor contribution]. *Innovación educativa*, 10, 141-152.
- Pittman, G. (2000). Dilemmatic Constructions of Career in the Career Counseling Interview. *Career Development Quarterly*, 48(3), 226-236.
- Porlán, R., Azcárate, P., Martín, R., Martín, J., & Rivero, A. (1996). Conocimiento profesional deseable y profesores innovadores: fundamentos y principios formativos [Expected professional knowledge and innovative teachers: foundations and formative principles]. *Investigación en la escuela*, 29, 23-38.
- Portocarrero, F., Sanborn, C., Cueva, H., & Millán, A. (2002). *Más allá del individualismo: el tercer sector en el Perú* [Beyond individualism: the third sector in Peru]. Lima: Universidad del Pacífico.
- Quintana, J. (1991). La educación más allá de la escuela. [Education beyond the school]. In J.M. Quintana, M. Arandilla, G. Montserrat, M. García-Hoz, V. Garrido & et al. *Iniciativas sociales en educación informa* (pp.16-61). Madrid: Rialp.
- Ragin, Ch. & Becker, H. (Eds). (1992). *What is a case? Exploring the foundations of social inquiry*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ratcliffe, P. (1999). Geographical mobility, children and career progress in British professional nursing. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 30(3), 758-768.
- Reagan, T., Case Ch., & Brubacher, J.(2000). *Becoming a reflective practitioner educator. How to build a culture of inquiry in the schools*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, Sage Publications.
- Reber, A. S. (1993). *Implicit Learning and Tacit Knowledge: An Essay on the Cognitive Unconscious*. New York: Oxford.
- Rebollo, M. A., González, E., & García, M. R. (2001). Identidades profesionales en educación desde una perspectiva de género [Professional identities in education, from a gender perspective]. *Revista Fuentes*, 3. Retrieved November 13, 2004, from http://www.cica.es/aliens/revfuentes/num3/Campo_abierto/W_Artic_Rebollo.htm
- Reed, B., & Loughran, L. (1986). *Más allá de las escuelas* [Beyond schools]. México: Gernika.
- Reiman, A., & Thies-Sprinthall, L. (1998). *Mentoring and supervision for teacher development*. New York: Longman.
- Ricoeur, P. (1977). *La metáfora viva* [The living metaphor]. Buenos Aires: Ed. La Aurora.
- Rivero, J. (1979). La educación no formal en la experiencia peruana [Non-formal education in Peruvian experience]. *Socialismo y participación*, 6, 135-154.
- Rivero, J. (2003). *Propuesta Nueva Docencia en el Perú* [New teaching in Peru]. Lima: MINEDU.
- Rodrigo, M. J., Rodríguez, A., & Marrero, J. (1993). *Las teorías implícitas. Una aproximación al conocimiento cotidiano* [Implicit theories. An approximation to daily knowledge]. Madrid: Visor.
- Rodriguez, C. (2003). La inserción laboral de egresados de la educación superior en el Estado de Hidalgo [The labor contribution of former higher education students in

- the State of Hidalgo]. *Revista de la Educación Superior*, 127, 9-24.
- Rodwell, CM. (1996). An analysis of the concept of empowerment. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 23 (2),305-13.
- Rogers, A. (2004) Looking again at non-formal and informal education - towards a new paradigm. *The Encyclopaedia of informal education*. Retrieved June 13, 2005, from www.infed.org/biblio/non_formal_paradigm.htm
- Rowden, R.(1996). Current realities and future challenges. *New directions for adult and continuing education*, 72, 3-10.
- Rubenson, K., & Schüetze, H. G. (1995). Learning at and through the Workplace: A Review of Participation and Adult Learning Theory. In D. Hirsch & D. A. Wagner (Eds.), *What Makes Workers Learn? The role of incentives in workplace education and training* (pp. 95-116). New Jersey: Hampton Press.
- Rühling, M., & Scheuch, M. (2003). *Formación y perspectivas laborales de egresados de Institutos Superiores Pedagógicos del Estado* [The formation and employment outlook of former Public Higher Pedagogic Institute students]. Lima: GTZ-Ministerio de Educación del Perú.
- Ruiz, P., & Bobadilla, P. (1993). *Con los zapatos sucios. Promotores de ONGD's* [With dirty shoes. Promoters of NGOs]. Lima: Escuela para el Desarrollo.
- Ruohotie, P. (1996). Professional growth and development. In K.A. Leithwood, J. Chapman, P. Corson, P. Hallinger & A. Hart, (Eds.), *International Handbook of Educational Leadership and Administration* (pp. 419-445). Netherlands: Kluwer Academic.
- Ryle, G. (1949). *The Concept of Mind*. London: Hutchinson.
- Sáenz, J., & Palazón, F. (coord.). (1994). *La educación de adultos: ¿una nueva profesión?* [Adult education: a new profession?].Valencia: Naulibres.
- Salamon, L., Sokolowski, S., & List, R. (2003). *Global civil society. An overview*. USA: The J. Hopkins University.
- Santos, J. P. (2004). Career Dilemmas in Career Counseling Groups: Theoretical and Practical Issues. *Journal of Career Development*, 31(1), 31-44.
- Santos, M.A. (1993). *La evaluación: un proceso de diálogo, comprensión y mejora* [Assessment: a process of dialogue, gaining understanding, and improving]. Málaga: ALJIBE.
- Saury, J., & Durand, M. (1998). Practical knowledge in expert coaches: on-site study of coaching in sailing. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 3, 254-266.
- Savickas, M., & Lent, R. (Eds.). (1994). *Convergence in career development theories*. Palo Alto, CA: CPP Books.
- Schön, D. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: how professionals think in action*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schön, D. (1992). *La formación de profesionales reflexivos: hacia un nuevo diseño de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje en las profesiones* [Educating the reflective practitioner. Toward a New Design for Teaching and Learning in the Professions]. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Sen, A. (1997). Editorial: Human Capital and Human Capability. *World Development*, 25 (12), 1059-60.
- Senent, J.M. (1994) *Educación social en Europa: modelos formativos francófonos y meridionales* [Social Education in Europe: formatives models]. Valencia : Universitat de València, Departamento de Educación Comparada e Historia de la Educación.
- Shamai, M. (2003). Using social constructionist thinking in training social workers living and working under threat of political violence. *Social Work*, 48 (4), 545-556.
- Sime, L. (Ed.). (1990). *Aportes para una historia de la educación popular en el Perú* [Contributions to the history of the popular education in Peru]. Lima: Tarea.
- Sime, L. (1991). *Los discursos de la educación popular* [The discourses of popular education. Critical Essay and Memories of texts written by non-government organizations]. Lima: Tarea.

- Sime, L. (1993). Los discursos pedagógicos en la formación de las identidades [The influence of pedagogical discourses on the formation of identities]. *La Piragua*, 7, 72-75.
- Sime, L. (1994). Challenges to people and human rights education: the formation of worker, citizen and persona. *Journal of Moral Education*, 23(3), 305-314.
- Sime, L. (1998). Metaevaluación: ir más allá de la evaluación para volver sobre ella [Meta evaluation: going beyond education to return to it]. *Revista Educación*, 7(4), 199-216.
- Sime, L. (2001). *Universidad y curriculum: construyendo el cambio* [University and Curriculum: building change]. Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Sime, L. (2003). *Hacia una pedagogía de la convivencia* [Towards a pedagogy to live with]. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Singh, M. (Ed.) (1998). *Adult Learning and the Changing World of Work*. Hamburg: Unesco Institute for Education. Retrieved April 13, 2005, from <http://www1.worldbank.org/education/adultoutreach/investing.livelihood.asp>
- Sloan, T. (1992). Career decisions: a critical psychology. In R. Young & A. Collin (Eds.), *Interpreting career: Hermeneutical studies of lives in context* (pp. 168-176). London: Praeger.
- Smith, M. (1999). Informal Learning. *The Encyclopedia of Informal Education*. Retrieved November 13, 2004, from <http://www.infed.org/biblio/inf-lrn.htm>
- Smylie, T.(1995). Teacher learning in the workplace: implications for school reform. In T. Guskey, & M. Huberman (Eds.), *Professional development in Education. New Paradigms & Practices* (pp. 92-113). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Sullivan, S. E. (1999). The changing nature of careers: A review and research agenda. *Journal of Management*, 25, 457-484.
- Sullivan, P., & MacCarthy, J. (2004). Toward a Dialogical Perspective on Agency. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 34(3), 292-308.
- Sutton R.E, & Wheatley K.F. (2003). Teachers' Emotions and Teaching: A Review of the Literature and Directions for Future. Research *Educational Psychology Review*, 15 (4) 327-358.
- Stake, R.E. (1994). Case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 236-247). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stebbins, R.(2001). *Exploratory research in the social sciences*. London: Sage University Papers.
- Steinar, K. (1996). *Interviews. An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. London: Sage.
- Syed-Ikhsan S., & Rowland F. (2004). Knowledge management in a public organization: a study on the relationship between organizational elements and the performance of knowledge transfer. *Journal of Knowledge Management*, 8(2), 95-111.
- Szulanski, G. (2000). The process of knowledge transfer: A diachronic analysis of stickiness. *Organizational Behavior Human Decision Processes*, 82, 9-27.
- Tarazona, S., & Maish, E.(2002). *El tránsito de la pérdida del empleo a la empleabilidad* [From job loss to employment]. Lima:Universidad del Pacífico.
- Tennant, M. (1999). Is transfer of learning possible? In D. Boud & J. Garrick (Eds.), *Understanding workplace learning* (pp.165-179). London: Routledge P.
- Theunissen, M. et al.(2000). *Understanding teachers' behavior in moral dilemmas: Exploring relations between teachers' reaction-intentions in moral dilemmas and their professional and religious orientations*. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association (AERA) conference in New Orleans, USA, April 24-28, 2000.Graduate School of Education/Department of Educational Science University of Nijmegen.
- Thompson, J. (1990). *Ideology and Modern Culture. Critical social theory in the era of mass communication*. Stanford,CA: California University Press.

- Thompson, J., & Bunderson, S. (2001). Work-Nonwork Conflict and the Phenomenology of Time Beyond the Balance Metaphor. *Work and Occupations*, 28 (1), 17-39.
- Titmus, C. (1989). *Lifelong Education for Adults. An International Handbook*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Touraine, A. (2002). From understanding society to discovering the subject. *Anthropological Theory*, 2(4), 387–398.
- Trías, E. (1999). *La razón fronteriza* [The frontier reason]. Barcelona: Edición Destino S.A.
- Trilla, J. (1992). *La educación no formal. Definición, conceptos básicos y ámbitos de aplicación*. [Non-formal education: definition, basic concepts and scope for application]. In J. Sarramona (Ed.), *La educación no formal* (pp. 9-50). Barcelona: CEAC.
- Tuijnman, A.C. (Ed.) (1996). *The International Encyclopedia of Adult Education and Training*. Oxford: Elsevier Science.
- Tuijnman A. & Boudard E. (2001). *International Adult Literacy Survey. Adult Education Participation in North America: International Perspectives*. Canada: Ministry of Industry.
- UNESCO (1997). Adult education: the Hamburg Declaration and the Agenda for the Future. International Conference on Adult Education, 5th (Hamburg).
- Valach, L. (1990) A theory of goal-directed action in career analysis. In R. Young & W. Borgen (Eds.), *Methodological Approaches to the Study of Career* (pp. 107-127). New York: Praeger.
- Valderrama, M. (1995). *Perú y América Latina en el nuevo panorama de la cooperación internacional* [Peru and Latin America within the new scope of international cooperation]. Lima: CEPES.
- Valderrama, M. (1998). *Cambios en las organizaciones de promoción del desarrollo peruanas* [Changes in Peruvian organizations in promoting development]. Lima: Cepes-Alop.
- Van der Heijden, B.(1998). *The measurement and development of professional expertise throughout the career. A retrospective study among higher level Dutch professionals*. The Netherlands: University of Twente.
- Van den Berg, R.(2002). Teachers' meanings regarding educational practice. *Review of educational Research*, 72 (4), 577-625.
- Van Noppen J.P. (2000). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Belgium : aux Presses Universitaires de Bruxelles a.s.b.l.
- Van Veen K.(2003). Teachers' emotions in the context of reforms. Dissertation manuscript. Netherlands: Catholic University of Nijmegen.
- Vargas, G. (2002). Hacia una teoría del capital social [Towards a theory of social capital]. *Revista de Economía Institucional*, 4(6), 71-108 .
- Vaughn, M., & Stamp,G. (2003).The empowerment dilemma: The dialectic of emancipation and control in staff/client interaction at shelters for battered women *Communication Studies* 54(2). Retrieved November 13, 2004, from http://www.24hourscholar.com/p/articles/mi_ga3669/is_200307/ai_n9297703
- Velon T.(2004). Understanding Teaching about Teaching: Teacher educators' researching their own practice. *Lerarenopleiders* 25(3), 23-28. Retrieved March 13, 2005, from [http://www.velon.nl/documenten/Loughran%20VELON25.\(3\)..pdf](http://www.velon.nl/documenten/Loughran%20VELON25.(3)..pdf).
- Vulliamy, G., Lewin, K.M., & Stephens, D. (1990). *Doing Educational Research in Developing Countries: Qualitative Strategies*. London: Falmer.
- Weaver, H. (1999). Transcultural Nursing with Native Americans: Critical Knowledge, Skills, and Attitudes. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 10 (3), 197-202.
- Werner, T., & Kuster-Schapfl, E.(1996). Erfahrung und Wissen: Deutungsmuster und Wissensformen von Diplompädagogen und Sozialpädagogen in der außerschulischen Kinder- und Jugendarbeit [Experience and Knowledge:

- Interpretative Patterns and Forms of Knowledge among Professional Pedagogues and Social Workers in Out-of-School Work with Children and Adolescents]. *Zeitschrift fur Padagogik*, 42 (6), 831-51.
- Wexler, P.(1987). *Social Analysis of Education after the New Sociology*. London. Routledge.
- Wheaton, B., & Gotlib, I. (1997). Trajectories and turning points over the life course: concepts and themes. In I. Gotlib & B. Wheaton (Eds.), *Stress and adversity over the life course. Trajectories and turning points* (pp.1-28). USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Wildemeersch, D. (Ed.) (2000). *Balancing Competencies. Enhancing the participation of young adults in economic and social processes: Balancing instrumental, social and biographical competencies in post-school education and training. Final Report*. European Commission - Targeted Socio-Economic Research. Retrieved 12 September, 2005, from http://improving-ser.sti.jrc.it/default/show_gx?Object.object_id=TSER----00000000000030C&_app.page=show-TSR.html
- Wildy, H. (1999). School principals and the dilemmas of restructuring: The problem of participation. Paper presented at the AARE-NZARE conference, Melbourne, November. Retrieved November 1, 2004, from <http://www.aare.edu.au/99pap/wil99810.htm> .
- Yáñez, E. (1999). *Capital social, pobreza y políticas públicas* [Social capital, poverty and public policies]. Retrieved November 13, 2004, from http://www.urbaninternational.utoronto.ca/spanish/s_proj/dusbe2.html
- Young, C., & Friesen, J. (1990) Parental Influences on Career Development: a research perspective. In R. Young & W. Borgen (Eds.), *Methodological Approaches to the Study of Career*. New York: Praeger.
- Yubero, S. (1996). Educación y sociedad. Temas y profesionales en el marco de la educación social [Education and society. Themes and professionals in social education]. In S. Yubero & E. Larrañaga (Eds.), *El desafío de la educación social* (pp. 11-22). Cuenca: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha.
- Zinn J. (2004). *Literature Review: Sociology and Risk. Working Paper*. Canterbury: School of Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research (SSPSSR).

APPENDICES

List of Appendices:

Appendix A: Interview guide.

Appendix B: Control matrix of excerpts in the final report

Appendix C: Control matrix of interviewees' excerpts

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

I Professional characteristics	II Professional knowledge	III. Professional dilemmas
<p>+Could you describe the most periods in your career path since leaving university? How would you position these periods in a time line?</p> <p>+To what extent does this time line reflect your most important professional career?</p> <p>+Can you remember how you came to be taken on at your current place of work? How did you gain access to your first place of work?</p>	<p>+Which are the three most important skills, knowledge or attitudes that you have developed during your professional career?</p> <p>+Recount how have you learnt at least one of these.</p> <p>+Recount a critical incident, or experience in which you had to put one or other of these into practice.</p> <p>+Which skills, knowledge or attitudes have you had little chance to learn during your professional career?</p>	<p>+Was your decision to study education a clear-cut one? Were there tensions in choosing education as a career?</p> <p>+If you have studied to be a school teacher, why have you been working in non-formal educational settings? What has motivated you to stay in these settings?</p> <p>+Have you ever considered leaving non- formal educational settings? When and why?</p> <p>+What are your expectations professionally? Do you want to continue in these settings?</p> <p>+If you are not a school teacher, how would you categorize your professionalism?</p>
<p>+Which are the most frequently recurring tasks in your current place of work?</p> <p>+Which of these tasks do you find more interesting? Why?</p>		<p>+ Did you experience moments of tension in selecting what kind of course to follow after your undergraduate studies?</p> <p>+How did you choose a specialization for your Masters or another study?</p>
<p>+What is your current income, approximately?</p> <p>+Have you ever earned more than this? When? Doing what?</p>		<p>+If you are working in the provinces: What made you decide to move? What does working in the provinces mean to you?</p> <p>+If you have worked in the provinces before: What made you decide to move when you did? What did working in the provinces mean to you at that time? Would you like to return to</p>

		<p>working in the provinces?</p> <p>+If you have never worked in the provinces: Have you ever received a proposal to work there? What happened? Do you like the idea of working in the provinces?</p>
		<p>+Have you ever been in situations in which you would have liked to change your position or department within your institution, or the kind of project on which you were working? Why did you want this change? What led up to this?</p>

APPENDIX B: CONTROL MATRIX OF EXCERPTS IN THE FINAL REPORT

Number	Excerpt	Category	Critical Incident	Metaphors	Emotions	Remarks
	Chapter 5 : Professional Career					
1	RR: "It was not simply..."	elaboration of educational materials				
2	LL: "...translating what the..."	elaboration of educational materials		X		
3	LL: "I feel more passionate..."	planning of projects				
4	JM: "I began adult education..."	earlier social experiences				
5	LV: "Then, the places where..."	earlier social experiences				
6	RM: "Some friends from..."	earlier social experiences				
7	LL: "I was a parish boy..."	earlier social experiences				
8	RM: "01L: What has motivated..."	attractive labor conditions		X		
9	LV: "My throat feels like..."	attractive labor conditions		X		
10	RM: "Mainly it was richer..."	attractive labor conditions				
11	LL: "When I began the..."	attractive labor conditions				
12	LL: "I can now recognize two motivations..."	attractive labor conditions				
13	JM: "I have quite ..."	attractive labor conditions		X		
14	RR: "It is something that..."	attractive labor conditions				
15	RM: "After getting married..."	attractive labor conditions	X			
16	JC: "I was searching around..."	attractive labor conditions				
17	JC: "in 1991..."	support & networks from friends in NFE				
18	JM: "01: JM:...I did nothing..."	support & networks from friends in NFE	X			
19	RM: "...Jose was a key	support & networks from friends in				

		NFE				
20	JM: "When you are working...	relationship & impact on social sectors	X	X	X	
21	JM: "01 L: Working in ...	relationship & impact on social sectors				
22	LL: "The first motivation...	relationship & impact on social sectors				
23	LL: "Working with adults...	relationship & impact on social sectors				
24	JM: "It was a line of...	career perspective		X		
25	RR: "01 RR:...I didn't lose ...	career perspective			X	
26	RR: "At Christmas...	career perspective	X			
27	LV: "I feel part of this institution...	career perspective				
28	RM: "For me, political...	career perspective				
Number	Excerpt	Category	Critical Incident	Metaphors	Emotions	Remarks
	Chapter 6: Professional Dilemmas					
29	LL: "I was a parish boy...	vocational dilemma				same N 7
30	LL: "My dad said:...	vocational dilemma				
31	JC: "My first option...	vocational dilemma		X		
32	RM: "My mother was a teacher...	vocational dilemma		X		
33	RM: "I entered politics with a...	vocational dilemma		X		
34	JM:"My mom said...	vocational dilemma				
35	RM: "I had decided to bring...	field dilemma (beyond educational field)				
36	RR: "01 RR: I've only talked about it ...	field dilemma (beyond educational field)		X		

37	LV: "I had studied and worked..."	field dilemma (beyond educational field)				
38	JM: 01 L: Could you first try...	field dilemma (from school to NFE)				
39	LV: "I felt that I was already..."	field dilemma (from NFE to NFE)				
40	LV: "I had spent many..."	field dilemma (from NFE to NFE)	X		X	
41	LL: "The institution had exploded..."	field dilemma (from NFE to NFE)		X		
42	JC: "What occurred at..."	field dilemma (from NFE to NFE)			X	
43	LL: "01 L: Have you ever had to face..."	institutional dilemma		X	X	
44	RM: "It was difficult..."	institutional dilemma	X			
45	LV: "We had talked about..."	institutional dilemma				
46	JC: 01 L: Have you been..."	institutional dilemma				
47	RR: "01 RR: ...I had been..."	institutional dilemma				
48	JM: "01 L: Then why did you..."	locational dilemma				
49	JM: "There are people [willing..."	locational dilemma				
50	JM: 01 L: "How do you view..."	locational dilemma		X		
51	LL: "Remember that the..."	locational dilemma			X	
52	RM: "01 L: You worked in non-formal education..."	locational dilemma		X		
53	RM: "For me, it was another..."	locational dilemma				
54	RR: "I had a very beautiful ..."	locational dilemma	X	X		
55	LV: "Objectively, I'm a city person..."	locational dilemma				
56	RR: "I lacked that ..."	Specialization dilemma				
57	RM: "I wanted to do a Masters..."	Specialization dilemma				
58	LV: "01 LV: Many things..."	Specialization dilemma				

59	RM: "In reality, I came...	Specialization dilemma	X			
60	JM: "I believe it has to do...	Specialization dilemma				
61	RM: "When I read the...	Specialization dilemma	X			
	Chapter 7: Workplace Knowledge					
		Skills:				
62	RR: "I can always communicate well..."	communication-interaction with people				
63	LL: "Sometimes I'm..."	communication-interaction with people				
64	JC: "One pleasant experience..."	communication-interaction with people				
65	LV: "If I know a topic..."	communication-interaction with people				
66	JM: "Having been there..."	communication-interaction with people				
67	RR: "At Christmas..."	communication-interaction with people				same N 26
68	LV: "I believe it's a gift..."	communication-interaction with people				
69	LV: "It's easy for me..."	communication-interaction with people		X		
70	RM: "I have many facilities..."	specific educational capacities		X		
71	RR: "To establish Kaufman soap..."	specific educational capacities				
72	LL: "With a certain modesty..."	specific educational capacities		X		
		Knowledge				
73	LV: "There are two ways..."	development issues	X			
74	JC: "01 L: Which are..."	training topics				

75	JC: "01 L: Were your colleagues...	training topics				
76	RR: "01 RR: Something difficult...	marketing	X		X	
77	RM: "Actually, it was not until...	ways of retrieving knowledge				
78	JC: "[In the ethics workshops] in...	ways of retrieving knowledge				
79	LL: "Educational planning...	ways of retrieving knowledge				
80	RM: "It was during the first week...	ways of retrieving knowledge	X			
81	JC: "When I said that...	ways of retrieving knowledge		X		
		Attitudes				
82	JM: "During a recent workshop...	open attitude concerning the knowledge				
83	LL: "01 L: Do you remember...	open attitude concerning the knowledge	X			
84	LL: "As teachers we...	open attitude concerning the knowledge				
85	RM: "The other thing I...	open attitude concerning the knowledge				
86	JM: "I'm not going...	open attitude concerning the knowledge				
87	JM: "The search was not economic..	lifestyle				Partially same 48
88	RM: "I could earn more...	lifestyle				
89	RM: "A big company gives...	work style		X	X	
90	RR: "when I joined the...	work style			X	
91	LL: "It was a very violent period...	work style	X			

92	JC: "I remember a workshop..."	work style	X			
93	JM: "This has been the..."	work style				
94	LL: "People with whom I..."	work style				
95	JC: "Many different managers..."	work style		X		
96	JC: "I remember making a trip..."	work style	X			
			16	21	9	3

APPENDIX C - CONTROL MATRIX OF INTERVIEWEES' EXCERPTS

	INTERVIEWEES	CHAPTER 5	CHAPTER 6	CHAPTER 7	TOTAL	TOTAL (in %)
1	RM (female)	6	9	6	21	22
2	LL	7	5	7	19	20
3	JM	6	6	5	17	18
4	RR (female)	4	4	5	13	13.50
5	JC	2	3	8	13	13.50
6	LV (female)	3	6	4	13	13.50
	TOTAL	28	33	35	96	100

Samenvatting

Dit promotieonderzoek met als titel 'de educatieve werker in de non-formele educatie: een case studie van afgestudeerden van de Katholieke Universiteit van Peru' heeft tot doel kennis te verzamelen over het professioneel functioneren van educatieve werkers in Peru die buiten het formele onderwijssysteem werken. In de Latijns-Amerikaanse samenlevingen is zowel in de academische gemeenschap als bij de politici aandacht voor de beroepspraktijk en de invloed van educatieve werkers in de non-formele educatie. Studies over het onderwijs hebben in het verleden echter relatief weinig aandacht besteed aan de educatieve werkers die in de non-formele educatie werken. Zij behoren tot een groep professionals die voor hun educatie-activiteiten onorthodoxe wegen en eigen benaderingen kiezen. De focus van deze studie ligt op de non-formele educatie en op de educatieve werkers in de non-formele educatie in Latijns Amerika in het algemeen en in Peru in het bijzonder. Theorieën over loopbaanontwikkeling hebben de neiging om vooral iets te zeggen over de traditionele professies die door de samenleving worden gelegitimeerd. Een belangrijke taak voor de onderzoeksgemeenschap is om ook nieuwe professies en onorthodoxe carrièrepaden in hun ontwikkeling te volgen in het licht van sociale, organisatorische en technologische veranderingen van de samenleving. In deze studie staan drie perspectieven centraal om het sleutelbegrip loopbaanontwikkeling van educatieve werkers in de non-formele educatie te beschrijven. Het gaat om: hun loopbanen, de aan hun professe gerelateerde dilemma's en hun praktijkkennis. De volgende drie onderzoeksvragen staan centraal in deze studie:

1. Wat zijn de karakteristieken van de loopbanen van educatieve werkers in de non-formele onderwijseducatie?
2. Wat zijn de dilemma's waarmee educatieve werkers in de non-formele onderwijseducatie te maken hebben tijdens hun loopbaan?
3. Welke praktijkkennis hebben deze educatieve werkers zich verworven door hun ervaringen op de werkplek?

Om antwoord te krijgen op deze drie vragen is een case studie opgezet en uitgevoerd bij drie mannelijke en drie vrouwelijke afgestudeerden van de Faculteit Educatie van de Katholieke Universiteit van Peru. Hun opleidingsachtergrond kenmerkt zich door een studie in de pedagogiek, maar na hun afstuderen raken zij betrokken bij onderwijs buiten het formele onderwijssysteem. Deze zes personen zijn geselecteerd uit 35 curricula vitae van afgestudeerden van de Faculteit Educatie die zijn geanalyseerd en geconstrueerd in tijdlijnen. Deze informatie is vervolgens gesynthetiseerd zodat de hoofdkenmerken van deze educatieve werkers in beeld konden worden gebracht. De zes geselecteerde educatieve werkers die allen midden in hun carrière waren en in verschillende soorten werksettings in de non-formele educatieve sector werkzaam waren, hebben op vrijwillige basis aan deze studie deelgenomen.

Na de introductie wordt in hoofdstuk 2 de context van het non-formele educatieveld in Peru en het functioneren van de educatieve werkers in het non-formele onderwijssysteem beschreven. Tevens wordt de complexiteit van het veld en de bijdrage die het levert aan de samenleving in kaart gebracht. Hoofdstuk 3 beschrijft het theoretisch kader en gaat met name in op de drie kernbegrippen van dit onderzoek: loopbanen, professionele dilemma's en praktijkkennis.

In hoofdstuk 4 wordt de dataverzameling door middel van semi-gestructureerde interviews en de gebruikte kwalitatieve methode toegelicht.

In hoofdstuk 5 worden de loopbaanpaden van deze zes educatieve werkers geanalyseerd. Het hoofdstuk geeft een overzicht van de breedte van hun loopbaanpaden op basis van de analyses van de curricula vitae. De conclusie is dat deze educatieve werkers in feite een ondernemersprofiel hebben en dat zij zich succesvol hebben ontwikkeld in een educatieve setting buiten het formele schoolsysteem. Door dit te doen hebben zij zich een permanente vooraanstaande positie verworven met een goed salaris. Bovendien hebben zij voordeel gehad van hun netwerken om toegang te krijgen in de non-formele educatie en hebben zij hun professionele identiteit ontwikkeld door bij voortdurende educatieve taken op zich te nemen. Hun ondernemersprofiel wijst op de motivatie van deze professionals om zich in de zogenaamde derde sector van de economie persoonlijk te ontwikkelen door de eigen identiteit en autonomie te vergroten, hetgeen voor hen belangrijker is dan financieel gewin of het hebben van invloed. Het hoofdstuk geeft ook informatie over hun motivatie om binnen te komen in de non-formele educatie-arena en zich daar te handhaven. Deze motivationele factoren blijken een belangrijke rol te spelen bij het verder openen van deuren in het non-formele educatieveld. De attitude van deze zes educatieve werkers is om actief werk te vinden buiten het formele schoolsysteem door het accepteren van educatieve taken waarbij zij een optimistische visie hebben over hun toekomstig functioneren in het non-formele educatieve systeem. Daarentegen zijn ze

zeer kritisch over het schoolsysteem in de formele educatie. Zij wijzen op de rigide routines, het gebrek aan autonomie in de werksituatie, het falen van het creëren van een werkklimaat dat vernieuwingen aanmoedigt, de geringe mogelijkheden om in multidisciplinaire teams te werken en het relatief lage inkomen. Deze perceptie van de formele educatie leidt tot pessimisme bij een aantal van hen over de kwaliteit van het formele onderwijssysteem.

Hoofdstuk 6 gaat in op de professionele dilemma's waarmee deze educatieve werkers te maken krijgen in de loop van hun professionele loopbaan. Professioneel gerelateerde dilemma's worden gedefinieerd als loopbaandilemma's. Dit zijn problematische en betekenisvolle spanningen die van tijd tot tijd gedurende hun loopbaan optreden en die kunnen worden opgelost door het maken van keuzes. Er is een typologie van carrièredilemma's ontwikkeld die bestaat uit vijf soorten dilemma's die theoretisch werden verondersteld en empirisch in de data werden teruggevonden. Het gaat om dilemma's met betrekking tot het beroep, het werkveld, de specialisatie, de locatie en de institutionele druk. Beroepsdilemma's verwijzen naar spanningen die ontstaan tussen het plannen van de carrière en verdere scholing. Werkvelddilemma's zijn spanningen die naar voren komen wanneer er sprake is van een overgang van het ene werkveld (bijvoorbeeld educatie) naar een ander (bijvoorbeeld het bedrijfsleven). Maar ook van het ene subveld naar het andere (bijvoorbeeld van formele educatie naar non-formele educatie). De specialisatiedilemma's verwijzen naar de keuzes van wel of geen verdere studie na de diplomering. Locatiedilemma's hebben betrekking op de beslissing tussen werken in de (hoofd)stad of in de provincie. De institutionele dilemma's tenslotte, verwijzen naar stressvolle situaties binnen een institutie die met promotie dan wel demotie te maken hebben. Sommige van deze dilemma's zijn aan elkaar gerelateerd. Zo kan bijvoorbeeld een werkvelddilemma resulteren in een locatiedilemma als een afgestudeerde besluit om van werk te veranderen binnen de non-formele educatie maar het nieuwe werk in de provincie is. Er zijn verschillende manieren om met de onzekerheid en ambiguïteit van deze carrièredilemma's om te gaan. De dilemma's worden beïnvloed door een combinatie van factoren waardoor een multi-level benadering noodzakelijk is om de carrièredilemma's te begrijpen. Daarnaast is het opmerkelijk dat educatieve werkers niet alleen besluiten om te veranderen of in de non-formele educatie te blijven vanwege professionele redenen, maar ook om een betere balans te bereiken tussen hun werk en hun privéleven. Hoe sterker de eisen van de familie hoe meer in de dilemma's gezocht wordt naar een balans tussen werk en privéleven. Hoofdstuk 7 rapporteert over de vaardigheden, kennis en de attitude van de zes educatieve werkers. Uiteraard nemen zij vanuit hun opleiding een zekere basisbagage mee in hun werkveld. Deze academische kennis gebruiken zij om te leren op d werkplek. De belangrijkste vaardigheid die zij tijdens hun beroepspraktijk hebben ontwikkeld is de communicatieve vaardigheid, gevolgd door de didactische vaardigheid om onderwijs te ontwerpen, adequaat uit te voeren en te evalueren. Met betrekking tot de kennis van deze educatieve werkers valt op, dat zij praktische kennis hebben verworven op het gebied van het ontwikkelen van trainingen, marketing en management. Met betrekking tot hun attitude ten opzichte van theoretische kennis blijkt, dat zij een open houding hebben ontwikkeld en dogmatisme en rationaliserings vermijden. Pragmatisme, flexibiliteit en een zeker eclecticisme met betrekking tot het gebruiken van theoretische kennis in hun werk is duidelijk aanwezig. De vormen van praktijkkennis die door hen gebruikt worden, kunnen worden beschreven in termen van typen kennis die zij weten te combineren voor hun beroepsuitoefening zoals participerende kennis, overdrachtkennis, interculturele kennis, sociale netwerk-kennis en reflectieve kennis. Deze vaardigheid om op een flexibele wijze de verschillende soorten kennis te integreren en in te zetten voor hun werk maakt hen tot kundige educatieve werkers die op verschillende niveaus kunnen functioneren.

In hoofdstuk 8 worden de conclusies en de implicaties van deze studie gepresenteerd.

De analyses van de beroepsloopbanen in de non-formele educatie en de categorisering van de beroepsdilemma's waarmee zij te maken hebben, blijken nuttige en betekenisvolle middelen te zijn om een dieper inzicht te verkrijgen in de typering van het werk van educatieve werkers in de non-formele educatie. In wezen zijn zij te omschrijven als succesvolle, actieve, meervoudige grensoverschrijders tussen het formele en het non-formele educatieve systeem. Zij dagen door de wijze waarop zij werken in de non-formele educatie het formele onderwijs uit om te reflecteren over de aanpak die in hoge mate traditioneel is en weinig uitdaagt om nieuwe paden in te slaan. Een dialoog tot stand brengen op basis van deze inzichten over de dingen die ertoe doen in het onderwijs tussen vertegenwoordigers van de formele en de non-formele educatie, zou voor beide systemen voordelig kunnen zijn.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Luis Enrique Sime Poma was born on 8 January 1959 in Lima, Peru. After secondary school, he studied at the Faculty of Education of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú in Lima. He obtained his Bachelors degree in 1986 and the Licentiate Title in Education in 1988. He was involved in human rights education and popular education training programs in various Peruvian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) before moving to Chile to study for a Masters in Educational Sciences, specializing in Curriculum, at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile in Santiago. He graduated from this university with Maximum Distinction in 1994. While in Chile, he continued his involvement in human rights issues by working on an educational program for a Chilean NGO. In 1995, he returned to Peru as advisor to a citizenship education program run by an NGO in Lima, and became a professor in the Department of Education at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, and coordinator of the Masters Program in Education at the same university. His publications have been concerned with citizenship and human rights education, popular education, curriculum, and professional development.