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MONOGRÁFICO

School and Social Vulnerability

PEDAGOGÍA SOCIAL

REVISTA INTERUNIVERSITARIA

TERCERA ÉPOCA
(ENERO-JUNIO 2020)



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PUBLISHING

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AS FRAMEWORK: BETWEEN THE NAIVE DO-GOODISM AND THE FACTUAL REALISM OF DECLARATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL FORUMS

With the slogan “Time for action”, the agreement on the Climate Change Summit COP25 recently held in Madrid has concluded leaving a general feeling of scepticism and disappointment, but also with a growing perception that the discourse based on social criticism and position-taking towards challenges and threats facing mankind must transcend the great declarations of international political dialogues, the pages of essays and university walls, traditional stronghold of intellectuals and thinkers, to be placed down the streets, on the media, among citizens and new social movements.

Both the intellectual critical analysis and social activism are only some of the expressions of a disenchanted society, disappointed with the political inaction that faces economic interests of global powers. There is plenty of evidence of a range of social initiatives which show an increasingly active society organised around groups and associations often involving intellectuals, writers, social activists and citizens in general. The British documentary entitled “*The shock doctrine: The rise of disaster capitalism*”, based on the book of Naomi Klein, known for her criticism of neo-liberal capitalism, globalization and militarism, is an example of the so-called theory of “shock doctrine”, which represents an apocalyptic and dystopian overview showing natural disasters, the horrors of wars and, in essence, the consequences of the excesses of capitalism. Another example could be publications such as *Truthout* in United States which engage in a reflexive and demanding journalism, a form of popular journalism which

promotes social criticism and is considered as an alternative to official media. Several of the articles published are signed by prestigious intellectuals as Henry Giroux or Peter McLaren. Moreover, there are many examples which we might sum up as alter-activism¹. Yet, regardless of the role of new social movements, the truth is that most of the political and ideological clout affecting the change and/or search for social problems still remains in the guidelines marked by international forums and meetings.

Meetings, Declarations...

The great international political forums and meetings have the goal to analyse and guide specific programmatic actions to solve global problems; it is, however, easy to observe their inefficiency in many of the cases. Specifically regarding education, and without being exhaustive, a basic chronology of some of these international summits developed since the turn of millenium, where experts, educators, politicians, institutions and government, civic and social organizations all around the world are gathered, enables the appreciation and identification of the main issues facing global society nowadays. Domestic violence, sexual violence, juvenile delinquency, child abandonment and abuse, the loss of civic values, social inclusion (migrants, disabled, women, elders), labour oppression and exploitation in some parts of the world, unsustainable patterns of production and consumption, the digital gap, the impact of

globalization on the poorest and most vulnerable countries and social sectors, new and old addictions, climate change and ongoing environmental degradation, the increasing global inequity regarding income distribution, global issues as the control of sexually transmitted diseases (HIV/AIDS), famine, illiteracy, street children, child labour, gender perspective, indigenous groups, North-South cooperation, the lack of community involvement... are just a few of the social problems continuously highlighted in many of these international conferences on education.

Some of these issues are long-standing while others are a consequence of our own development through time. In any case, it is interesting to analyze the extent to which these problems are identified and to assess how international efforts strive to deal with them from different strategies, using education as key resource. Given the multitude of conferences and government meetings, we will tackle in this text, as a demonstrative exercise, the three great international forums promoted by UNESCO and UN: the initiative Education For All (EFA), World Education Forum and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

In April 2000 the World Education Forum, coordinated by UNESCO, took place in Dakar² (Senegal) under the auspices of four international bodies: the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), UNICEF and the World Bank. This forum confirmed the World Declaration on Education For All, adopted ten years earlier in Jomtien (Thailand). The World Education Forum in Dakar focused on some of the problems listed above, and laid on education the responsibility of being a cornerstone of democratic and civic principles all around the world, besides highlighting equitable distribution of knowledge, science and technology, reaffirming the motto of enhancing quality and equity of education for all that was expressed in Jomtien³ in 1990. In the Forum conducted in Dakar the Framework for Action, *Education for All: Meeting Our Collective Commitments* was drafted and submitted, and included six broad-spectrum goals of EFA⁴. The targets proposed in Dakar were planned for the next 15 years (2000-2015) and set the agenda and the efforts of governments and citizens in a significant number of emerging countries in the world.

In September 2000 the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were adopted in New York. The so-called Millennium Declaration raised 8 major commitments; two of them referred explicitly to education (the second goal on achieving universal primary education and the third on promoting gender equality and empowering women), the

rest presented an obvious link to preventive socio-educative initiatives⁵.

A relevant qualitative leap forward in this process was the definition of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), which implies the involvement of key elements of sustainable development in the process of education and learning; for instance, climate change, disaster risk reduction, biological diversity, poverty alleviation and sustainable consumption. For that purpose, we should start in the comprehensive educational action to promote the development of attitudes, knowledge, values and competences for the sake of sustainable development in the world population. In this sense, World Conference on Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) was held in Nagoya (Japan) from 12 to 14 November 2014, which evaluated the achievements made so far and prepared the agenda to lend continuity beyond 2015 to the agreed targets set in 2000.

The continuity was embodied in the so-called **Agenda 2030**, defined as “a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity” and was adopted by the 193 UN member states in September 2015. It compiled the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 integrated and indivisible targets⁶. Among other things, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) widen the concept of “Sustainable Development” regarding the idea of dealing with present needs without compromising the future of next generations. For that purpose, sustainability on the planet must join three essential elements: economic growth, social inclusion and environment protection⁷. On the other hand, another decisive change is introduced: the fact that these goals are applicable for every country in the world, and not only for the poorest as suggested in the MDGs in 2000.

International Conference on Education for All was held in Muscat (Oman) from 12 to 14 May 2014 resulted in the so-called **Muscat Agreement**, which formed the basis for the formulation of the fourth Sustainable Development Goal on education, as well as its objectives and related means of execution. The World Education Forum was held in Incheon (South Korea) from 19 to 22 May 2015 under the motto “Inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning for all in 2030. Transform lives through education”. In this meeting, coordinated by UNESCO and sponsored by various institutions as UNICEF, World Bank, UNFPA, UNDP, UN Women and ACNUR, the strategies for the implementation of the **Education 2030 Agenda** were defined and approved⁸.

Besides the **Incheon Declaration**, the 2015 NGO Forum Declaration entitled “Towards the right to inclusive and quality public education and lifelong learning after 2015”, was adopted in this Forum, in order to guide the work and promotion activities of civil society in the coming years. The 2015 NGO Forum was organised through the Collective Consultation of NGOs on Education

for All (CCNGO/EFA), a worldwide network of 300 national, regional and international member organizations across the world (UNESCO, 2015). Furthermore, the World Education Forum (WEF-2015) was preceded by a number of regional preparatory ministerial conferences as well as others held in E-9 countries:

Asia - Pacific

Asia-Pacific Regional Education Conference (APREC)

August 6-8. Bangkok, Thailand

The conclusions of the meeting are compiled in the Bangkok Statement

Latin America and the Caribbean

Regional Ministerial Meeting “Education For All in Latin America and the Caribbean: Current State and Post-2015 Challenges”

October 30-31, 2014. Lima (Peru)

The Lima Statement was the result of the Regional Ministerial Meeting of Latin America and the Caribbean

E-9

10th E-9 Ministerial Review Meeting

November 27-28, 2014. Islamabad, Pakistan

Joint E-9 Statement on education post-2015

Arab Region

Arab States Regional Meeting on education post-2015

January 27-29, 2015. Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt

Available at Sharm El-Sheikh Statement

Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa Regional Ministerial Conference on education post-2015

February 9-11, 2015. Kigali (Rwanda).

Declaración de Kigali Statement compiles new 9 priorities established for Africa.

Europe and North America

Regional Ministerial Conference on education post-2015 - European and North American States

February 19-20, 2015. Paris (France).

The priorities for Europe and North America are compiled in the Paris Statement

The Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action for the implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 4 (“Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning for all”) presented what has been defined as a “new envision of education for the next 15 years”⁹. This new view “is inspired in a humanist conception of education and development based on human rights and dignity, social justice, inclusion, protection, cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity and responsibility and shared accountability (...), from an approach of lifelong learning” (Declaration, p.7)

Along with this type of conferences, UNESCO promoted other meetings of international educational policy as well. It is worth highlighting the **Second UNESCO Forum on Global Citizenship Education** (Paris, January 2015), where “a new pedagogical guide on global citizen education destined to educators, curriculum developers, trainers, policy-makers and other education stakeholders working in formal, non formal and informal settings” was designed (Unesco, 2015, Paris, 11 de Agosto de 2015), as well as other actions related to Peace education, **European Development Days** (EDD) and other activities focused on racism, radicalization, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and other

forms of intolerance (UNESCO, Paris, August 11, 2015).

Realities...

How many actual changes and effective results derive from all these forums and declarations of the major international conferences on education?

In 2001, Rosa María Torres¹⁰, a panelist in the Forum in Dakar, international consultant on education and former minister of Education and Culture in Ecuador, regarding what was signed in Dakar, noted a revealing idea that can be applicable to the most part of this kind of conferences and declarations:

(...)This results in documents which are cover-alls, including everyone but neither representing nor satisfying anyone in particular. That is how international documents and declarations are drawn up and how they end up talking about generalities, coming back to commonplaces, enshrining vagueness and ambiguity, and creating the illusion of shared ideals, consensus and commitment.

In 2016, the deadline for the goals of Education for All and the Millenium Development Goals

(MDGs) was missed. Some organisms and entities analyzed the achievement of these objectives. For instance, in a report published by the *British Medical Journal* (BMJ) which was echoed by the national press at the time (EL MUNDO, ABC, EL PAIS, etc.), a balance of achievements and failures was presented. This way, significant advances were made regarding the reduction of the rate of extreme poverty by half (reduction noted worldwide, from 1900 millions in 1990 to 836 millions in 2015), mortality of children under 5 (reduction from 90 to 43 deaths every 1000 newborns, although it was intended to be 3/4), same with AIDS prevention (approximate reduction of 40% between 2000 and 2013) and regarding the second objective related to the access to education and improvements in gender equality in schooling. Less advances, however, or unmet challenges remain in the other goals raised, particularly regarding child malnutrition.

One of the goals included in the EFA is universal primary education and adult literacy. Literacy is central to basic education; however, there are more than 900 millions of illiterate adults and tens of millions of children are still out of school, so it is obvious that this target seems far from being achieved.

Women are a particular case. For instance, regarding the goal related to education for girls: girls represent 2/3 of out-of-school youth, and women represent 2/3 of illiterate people all over the world. In the same line, the developing countries hold 95% of births to teenage mothers, and girls are 5 times more likely to become mothers when they present a low educational level. Early and unintended pregnancies have adverse effects on the health, socio-economic status and school achievement of adolescent girls. The major risks are expulsion from their schools and homes, stigmatization by their families, vulnerability to violence, deepening poverty and mortality and health complications for mothers. In fact, pregnancy and labour complications are the second cause of death among adolescent girls between 15 and 19, reaching 70,000 individuals affected each year. (UNESCO, 2017, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002484/248418e.pdf>)

UNESCO presents its own monitoring and performances assessment mechanisms. For example, the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS, September 21) stated that 617 million children and adolescents across the world fail to reach the minimum levels of required knowledge about reading and maths (SubSaharan Africa has the highest score: 202 million children and adolescents; being Central and South Asia the following in the rank with 81%, that is to say 241 million children). According to UIS, this points to a “learning crisis” which might compromise the advances towards the materialization of the Sustainable Development Agenda 2030 of the UN¹¹.

Closing

A deeper and more exhaustive analysis would probably offer a more precise view of the sense, need, achievements and lost opportunities of the major international forums, assessing the extent to which their final drafts, statements and formal declarations actually meet the achieved goals. The result of the Climate Change Conference COP25 exemplifies the difficulty of obtaining agreements and actual commitments in complex forums where conflicting interests meet, which increases disappointment and disillusionment, given the initial expectations raised. Nevertheless, it has been useful to reinforce the need for a bigger shared responsibility on all kinds of groups and social actors. In this line, from the academic field, scientific societies interested in the educational sphere, such as the Ibero-American Society of Social Pedagogy (Sociedad Iberoamericana de Pedagogía Social), through its different actions and work groups, particularly via our journal (PSRI), must contribute to the debate and keep a critical eye on these major international forums, promoting rigorous studies that assess with real and concrete evidence the social and educational advances stated in these Declarations.

Antonio Víctor Martín-García.

Editor in Chief

Pedagogía Social. Revista Interuniversitaria

Notes

- ¹ Vid. For example Pleyers, Geoffrey *Movimientos sociales en el siglo XXI: perspectivas y herramientas analíticas* (2018)./ Geoffrey Pleyers ; contribuciones de Breno Bringel ; prefacio de Boaventura De Sousa Santos. - 1a ed. - Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: CLACSO, 2018
- ² Objectives: Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children; Ensuring by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality; Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes; Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults; Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality; Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills. (Dakar, Unesco, 2000, p.36. Informe Final, 26-28 de abril de 2000) «reassures» the vision and goals agreed in Jomtien in 1990.
- ³ In Jomtien the Global Initiative on Education For All was approved (EFA implies a wide vision of basic education which intervenes in the basic learning needs of all children, youth and adults. EFA proposes six goals: universal primary education, adult literacy, gender equity and quality of education, and highlighted the role of education as a key to alleviate poverty as well as to reach the goals of democratic societies (UNESCO, World Education Forum 2000: Final Report, 2000).
- ⁴ World Declaration on Education for All <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000975/097552e.pdf>. The Dakar Framework for Action. Education for All: meeting our collective commitments <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000121147>
 1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children
 2. Ensuring by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality
 3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes
 4. Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults
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 6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills

Source: UNESCO. *The Dakar Framework for Action*
<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000121147>
- ⁵ Millenium Development Goals MDGs
 - Goal 1: To eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
 - Goal 2: To achieve universal primary education
 - Goal 3: To promote gender equality and empower women
 - Goal 4: To reduce child mortality
 - Goal 5: To improve maternal health
 - Goal 6: To combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases
 - Goal 7: To ensure environmental sustainability
 - Goal 8: To develop a global partnership for development
- ⁶ 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
 - Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere.
 - Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture.
 - Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages.
 - Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.
 - Goal 5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.
 - Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all.
 - Goal 7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all.

Goal 8. *Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all.*

Goal 9. *Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization, and foster innovation.*

Goal 10. *Reduce income inequality within and among countries.*

Goal 11. *Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable.*

Goal 12. *Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns.*

Goal 13. *Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts by regulating emissions and promoting developments in renewable energy.*

Goal 14. *Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development*

Goal 15. *Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss*

Goal 16. *Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.*

Goal 17. *Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development.*

Source: United Nations, Resolution adopted by the General Assembly. September 25, 2015. <http://www.un.org/es/comun/docs/?symbol=A/RES/70/1>

- ⁷ The declaration places considerable emphasis on the climate change as essential for sustainable development and poverty eradication. "Sustainable development cannot be achieved without the measures related to climate change since it affects public health, food and water safety, migration, peace and security"
- ⁸ UNESCO (2015). 197 Executive Board meeting. Paris, August 7. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000234002>
- ⁹ UNESCO. Education 2030. Incheon Declaration <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000245656>
- ¹⁰ Torres, R. M.^a (2001). ¿Qué pasó en el Foro Mundial de la Educación?. Revista: *Educación de Adultos y Desarrollo* 56/2001. (Deutscher Volkshochschul-Verband e.V., DVV)
- ¹¹ Vid. <https://es.unesco.org/news/617-millones-ninos-y-adolescentes-no-estan-recibiendo-conocimientos-minimos-lectura-y>

INTRODUCTION

SCHOOL AND SOCIAL VULNERABILITY

Fernando GIL VILLA

If we tried to divide social exclusion into different categories, we could use as a criterion the degree to which people's lives are threatened due to causes related to social organization, and therefore, avoidable. Although the general trend in recent centuries has managed to reduce infant mortality rates strongly, that does not mean that dramatic social exclusion has disappeared. Something similar happens with violence, the other great trend by which the progress of humanity could be judged. Homicide rates in Europe today have nothing to do with those of the Middle Ages. However, there are regions in the world where they remain at those levels.

These contrasts are especially pressing in a global context, where responsibility is inexcusably shared. 8500 children die daily in the world due to malnutrition related causes. The latest report from FAO, The State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World, corresponding to 2019, offers a worrying fact. The number of undernourished people in the world has been increasing since 2015, reversing the positive trend that had begun in 2000. The most affected areas are in West Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, West Asia and South America. Food insecurity increases infant mortality rates, as does obesity, the other side of the coin. From these simple data we can deduce three discouraging ideas: childhood is vulnerable throughout the world - even if it is for opposite reasons -, its life is especially threatened in large areas of the planet,

and where evolution has shown improvements, the trend could be reversed anytime.

In recent years, international reports have made use of the term vulnerability. In the 2014 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Program, the concept of "human vulnerability" attempts to go beyond the typical risk management to look at "the possibility of deterioration of the capacities and options of the people".

Childhood, *latu sensu*, would be part, together with women and people with different abilities, of one of the main groups defined by experts as especially vulnerable, due to natural disasters, climate change and industrial hazards. But the truth is that they would also be affected by sources that create discomfort in other vulnerable groups, such as civil conflicts in the case of forced displaced persons, or economic crises in the case of the poor and informal workers. In fact, if the number of displaced persons currently exceeds 25 million, it is estimated that approximately half are minors. More than seven million are of school age. Of these, more than half do not have access to education.

In this issue, we are fortunate to have an article on displaced children in Colombian schools, one of the hottest points of global child vulnerability, very difficult to observe. As their problem is usually linked to trauma, the denial of its condition, for fear of stigma, is one of the most logical

psychological mechanisms, a strategy that will have the agreement of parents. This complicity shows the link of social relationships of education with its social environment. In this way, we have that silence not only covers relationships of abuse between equals but can fulfill opposite social functions, shielding potential victims.

On the other hand, vulnerability to economic crises is so clear that it places the discussion, in fact, on a higher level. The case of Spain is clear in this regard. The latest FOESSA report, published in 2019, notes the entrenchment of social exclusion compared to the start of the 2007 crisis. 21% of households with children are in a situation of social exclusion, a few points above the average, which means that children are more likely than adults to have their rights hurt. At the heart of this vulnerable region are large families and single-parent households – normally female –, with exclusion rates of 33 and 28 percent respectively.

Therefore, childhood is vulnerable, at least at the height we are in the century, and in most of the world, not only in the poorest countries. That justifies the emergence of research teams dedicated to observing, analyzing and proposing measures to prevent vulnerability from degenerating into social exclusion. Such is the case of SEVIN (Society, Education, Violence and Children), a Recognized Research Group by the University of Salamanca that has had the honor to share the results of their work in this issue of the *Social Pedagogy Review*. In our group, we put special care in spistemological care. The house – the construction of socio-pedagogical theories – should be built up from below. The first challenge that both, researchers and managers related to childhood problems, must assume, is the epistemological vigilance that they should exercise on the underlying assumptions that condition their work, and that refer to ideologies about the social and educational relationships that are alive in the cultural context in which they work. In his posthumous work, *Factfulness*, published in 2018, Hans Rosling asks thousands of people what percentage of girls finish Primary Education in the poorest countries, if 20%, 40% or 60%. The majority of responses are wrong. Also ask what percentage of one-year-old boys and girls wo receive a vaccine, whether 20%, 50% or 80% percent. Only 13% of the answers are right. But the most curious thing is that some Nobel laureates and health sciences researchers get worse than average. It is as if awareness of social problems increases pessimism producing a professional deformation that could have negative effects.

The issue is opened by a paper, *Mythologies of Bullying*, that insist in this caution. Some of the

most admitted beliefs among researchers, provide the association of variables that come from poor statistical correlations. Its exaggeration, however, fulfills a function: it offers simple explanations – which, by their nature, can be passed more easily to the public –, about complex problems, such as violence in general, and school violence and bullying in particular. Simple causal chains generate beliefs that then accommodate political ideologies and can have discriminatory effects. We can think, for instance, that poverty favors abuse, and bulled children become bullies. There may be parents who change their child from the center if they consider that there are immigrant children whose company could be dangerous. Or someone may dismiss as a possible sentimental partner someone who has a victim background. Meanwhile, factors such as school organization, teaching laws that establish certain curricula and evaluation systems, or social power relations between school actors, are far from being suspected of bullying and, in general, of the dissatisfaction of the students with the education received. Only a “philosophy of suspicion” could regard those subjects worthy of research, such as the one that emerges from the critical sociology education or the social pedagogy in a Freirian way –that also insists on fostering critical thinking by exceeding the most shared opinions that explain our problems.

If the education system works on affectivity and compassion, if it promotes solidarity by instilling direct contact with the environment and the problems studied, investigating the suffering of other children or other people, and when possible, through direct testimonies, there would probably be fewer episodes of peer violence.

The initial comparison between infant mortality rates and homicide rates serves more than a general reflection on the deficiencies of humanity’s progress. Child welfare is limited mainly by basic rights but also by violence. Both axes configure the central plane on which the map of social vulnerability is drawn. And one of the points of intersection is bullying. Bullying reflects, on the one hand, the lacks of the education system, but on the other, the lacks of the social system into which it is inserted. The problems of living together in the school refer to the problems of living out of school. That connection take part of the objective of both, the sociology of education and social pedagogy. The cooperation between both disciplines, which can also be traced, as the reading of this issue suggests, at the epistemological level, is the only way to improve intervention instruments and strategies based on accurate and complex diagnoses.

Bullying is less investigated in some fields and in some methodologies. Also in some groups that are especially interesting in multiethnic modern societies. In Spain there is little research on ethnic bullying, and within them, there is even less about groups that are increasingly important, such as Chinese children. The paper by David et alia, in this sense, has an important role, despite its small sample, as a pioneering study on the subject. Researchers have been able to reveal the speeches of adopted Chinese girls and boys, students of Secondary Education. Family support networks, mainly due to the high status of adopters, keep the threat of harassment. This begins as a light fire, taking the form of wounding words and insults throughout the school career, especially at the beginning, which sometimes destabilizes potential victims. Chinese children are aware of their vulnerability at all times. The results allow us to conclude that ethnic differences, especially those that have to do with the phenotype or language, can act as activators of bullying. Where support networks fail - family overall, but also the peer group, especially in the last stages of compulsory education - vulnerability could increase until the doors of exclusion are opened. A family breakdown or serious economic problems, would increase the chances of these children to suffer bullying.

Learning that generates satisfaction in students can be done through playful pedagogies, but the game itself can also be used as a material in the specific prevention of bullying. In fact, many of the Basic Education teachers and the so-called Childhood Educators interviewed in Portugal by Cátia Vaz, agree with its use. By the way, the author has patented, in Portuguese and English, the game *Playing and Smiling The Bulling: Let 's Prevent*.

In the article on children in the city of Zamora, minors interviewed, despite recognizing the relatively privileged local context, in terms of security and rights, are also able to demand an education for leisure, better coordination of municipal services, and an attention to the most vulnerable groups, such as the gypsy ethnic group or children and adolescents in special centers, including the problematic transition after coming of age.

Also the article by David Urchuaga and colleagues, which records 21% of bullying confessed by first-year students in high schools of Salamanca city, proposes to improve the school climate as well as working on emotional intelligence.

I believe that the present monographic has achieved the challenge we face in the research group in order to disseminate especially original works on the main vulnerabilities of children.

MONOGRAPH

SCHOOL AND SOCIAL VULNERABILITY

BULLYING 'S MYTHOLOGIES: FALSE PROFILES OF VICTIMS AND AGRESSORS

MITOLOGÍAS DEL BULLYING: FALSOS PERFILES DE VÍCTIMAS Y AGRESORES

MITOLOGÍAS NO BULLYING: FALSOS PERFIS DE VITIMAS E AGRESORES

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<p>KEY WORDS: bullying myths epistemology sociology of education pedagogy of autonomy</p>	<p>ABSTRACT: Bullying is a complex social problem. Most of the studies use measuring instruments based on self-reports analyzed from the area of psychology. It is necessary to conduct research from other disciplinary and methodological perspectives. The sociology of education, in the tradition represented by Pierre Bourdieu, connects from the epistemological point of view with the Freirian perspective aimed at fostering a pedagogy of autonomy that traces <i>Spontaneous Educational Practice</i>. As an example, this paper analyzes the discourses that weaves public opinion at the level of <i>spontaneous sociology</i> about the nature of victims and bullies of bullying. Just as poverty should not be offered as a cause of violence, neither can a past of violent experiences, school failure, or belonging to certain especially vulnerable social groups -such as immigrants or gypsies- be used as explanations of abuse. But even if beliefs are manifestly erroneous from an empirical point of view, they can have real consequences: they reinforce the problem by preventing understanding and solving it. And it is the case that, almost half a century of bullying research, this does not seem to yield.</p>
<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: bullying mitos epistemología sociología de la educación pedagogía de la autonomía</p>	<p>RESUMEN: El acoso escolar es un problema social complejo. La mayor parte de los estudios utilizan instrumentos de medición basados en autoinformes analizados desde el área de psicología. Es necesario concitar investigaciones desde otras perspectivas disciplinarias y metodológicas. La sociología de la educación, en la tradición representada por Pierre Bourdieu, conecta desde el punto de vista epistemológico con la perspectiva freiriana dirigida a fomentar una pedagogía de la autonomía que remonte la <i>práctica educativa espontánea</i>. Como ejemplo, en este trabajo se analizan los discursos que teje la opinión pública a nivel de <i>sociología espontánea</i> acerca de la naturaleza de las víctimas y los agresores del acoso escolar. Así como la pobreza no debe ofrecerse como causa de la violencia, así tampoco un</p>

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	<p>pasado de experiencias violentas, el fracaso escolar o la pertenencia a ciertos grupos sociales especialmente vulnerables, como inmigrantes o gitanos, pueden esgrimirse como explicaciones del maltrato. Pero aunque las creencias sean manifiestamente erróneas desde el punto de vista empírico, pueden tener consecuencias reales: realimentan el problema al impedir comprenderlo y solucionarlo. Y es el caso que, casi medio siglo de investigación del bullying, este no parece ceder.</p>
<p>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: bullying mitos epistemología sociología da educação pedagogia da autonomia</p>	<p>RESUMO: O bullying é um problema social complexo. Normalmente, os estudos usam questionários autoadministrados e analisados na área da psicologia. É necessário realizar pesquisas de outras perspectivas disciplinares e metodológicas. A sociologia da educação, na tradição representada por Pierre Bourdieu, liga-se, do ponto de vista epistemológico, à perspectiva freiriana, com o objetivo de promover uma pedagogia da autonomia que supere a <i>prática educacional espontânea</i>. Nesse sentido, o artigo analisa os discursos que tecem a opinião pública no nível da <i>sociologia espontânea</i> ao redor da natureza das vítimas e agressores do bullying. Assim como a pobreza não deve ser vista como causa de violência, um passado de experiências violentas, o fracasso escolar ou mesmo o fato de pertencer a certos grupos sociais especialmente vulneráveis, como imigrantes ou ciganos, não se deveria propor como explicação para o abuso. Mais mesmo que as crenças sejam manifiestamente errôneas do ponto de vista empírico, elas podem ter consequências reais: elas reforçam o problema impedindo o entendimento e a resolução. Isso poderia explicar em parte a persistência do fenômeno do bullying depois de meio século de pesquisas.</p>

1. Introduction

bullying is a type of sustained harassment over time by one or more students of others who are viewed as especially vulnerable and who, in principle, have difficulty defending themselves. It can take physical or psychological forms and have negative consequences on the victims to varying degrees, leading to suicide - bullycide -.

The pioneers in this study, at the beginning of the 1980s in Norway, have been able to verify the persistence of the same at an international level (Olweus, 1998, 2006). In 2017, the PISA 2015 report, published by the OECD, finds 18.7% of students surveyed - 14% of Spaniards - who declare themselves victims of bullying several times a month. Specifically, physical violence, in the most typical form of pushing and hitting, would affect a percentage of students that would vary between 4% and 10% among those surveyed - 4% for Spain. Verbal and psychological variants are more common. 11% declared themselves the object of mockery, 8% the object of negative rumours, and 7% felt marginalised (2017: 45).

The NCVS (National Crime Victimization Survey) conducted in the United States in 2015, offers an overall bullying figure of 20%.¹ In Latin America, victims would range from 11% in Chile to 47% in Peru, according to Román and Murillo (2011:40). In their review study, Garaigordobil and Oñederra mention 42 Spanish samples and 41 studies in other countries, with an average percentage of serious victims between 3 and 10%, and of students who suffer violent behavior in general between 20 and 30% (2008: 27). By Autonomous Communities, the same authors offer a range of victims ranging from 19.1% in the Canary Islands to 27.7% in Andalusia (162).

Most studies offer diagnostic figures based on different self-report questionnaires. Garaigordobil and Oñederra recognize the difficulty of establishing comparisons both in the samples of different territorial levels because of the diversity of instruments and methods (2008: 26). Others, such as Serrano, allude to the disparity of theoretical constructs (2006: 36). It is therefore logical that a CIDE report on the prevention of violence in schools encourages studies “not only from Educational Psychology but from the rest of the Social Sciences” (2009:153).

Most studies offer diagnostic figures based on different self-report questionnaires. Garaigordobil and Oñederra recognize the difficulty of making comparisons both in the samples of different territorial levels because of the diversity of instruments and methods (2008: 26). Others, such as Serrano, allude to the disparity of theoretical constructs (2006: 36). It is therefore logical that a CIDE report on the prevention of violence in schools encourages studies “not only from Educational Psychology but from the rest of the Social Sciences” (2009:153).

In this sense, contributions from disciplines such as the sociology of education or social pedagogy could fill this gap by focusing on the less studied parts of the object of study, such as cultural or ethnic bullying, not only from a methodological perspective but also from an epistemological one. In the first case making use of methodologies such as observation - in its different ethnographic versions -. In the second, with reflections that analyse the discourses on bullying admitted by public opinion. It is in this section where this article fits in, analyzing the prejudices surrounding the phenomenon, establishing simplistic or unproven explanations empirically or logically about the nature of victims and abusers. What requirements

must someone fulfil in order to be harassed? How does he become a harasser? Spontaneous sociology constructs answers based on partial data on violence in general and on traditionally and ideologically associated variables such as school failure, contexts of social exclusion or the characterological imprint of the family past.

The relationship between the figures of the victim and the abuser can be observed at various spatial and temporal levels. We can establish a first general distribution of the observation in two large groups of relationships, those that occur in the school, and those that occur later, in adulthood, as a repercussion of the situations of violence experienced in childhood or adolescence. Subsequently, the observation will focus on immigrant and gypsy students. Both are usually blamed for the problems of general and school coexistence in the collective imaginary, supposedly concentrating the general conditions that cause such problems.

2. Abuse in schooling

A bullying victim could reverse roles and become an abuser for two reasons: as a revenge or as a psychological complement. In the first case, there are explanations that have sustained the role of school failure in the formation of gangs or gangs that use violence. In these cases, the peer group not only increases self-esteem but can also target the most successful students in class who are seen as archetypes of school culture. However, other authors have nuanced the importance of school failure in youth violence, emphasizing it's an erratic and sporadic character (Matza, 2017). In recent years there has been a debate about the possible change in the profile of young people who practice the most common types of violence. More and more of them are middle-class people who do not act out of economic necessity (Fernández Molina and others, 2009, Giménez-Salinas and Graupera, 2006, Orts, 2006). This trend draws attention to other circumstantial factors that explain violence against a partner, beyond the feeling of revenge. The latter is usually framed in a rather organized and abstract mental elaboration, tending to personify revenge against the system, more typical of the dynamics of gangs or gangs. This type of group exhibits its own traits that make it an independent phenomenon of bullying. The conflict is established on a horizontal rather than vertical plane. The object of the violence is in the group, rather than in the individual. The individual becomes a victim because he belongs to a rival gang. For its part, bullying belongs to the type of vertical conflicts, such as other mistreatments,

where the strong exert their dominion over a subject that plays an inferior role throughout a cycle of accentuation. Collins even points out that in cases in which the gang exerts violence against a boy who does not belong to any group that protects him, he usually sees the action not so much as derived from school social relations as from group social relations (2008: 172). That is to say, that it could also occur when having entered into a conflictive relationship with this gang without going to school, in the neighbourhood itself. On the other hand, in structures where bullying traditionally emerges stronger, as in boarding schools, there is generally no culture of violence based on revenge against the school system, with which the more or less organised actions of groups of students can be associated. Boarding schoolchildren form groups of friends that are more or less fixed but differentiated from gangs that compete for resources in a neighbourhood. In the boarding school, rather than hierarchical groups, what occurs is an alpha group with one or several leaders, and around them, a set of unstructured friendship relationships that pay active or passive homage to that dominant group.

Bullying is therefore different from other forms of school violence, such as violence against teachers or against school facilities. This aspect is clearly observed in a Portuguese barometer carried out during 2007 – with a sample of 15,759 – and 2012 – sample of 2,999 –. The violence perceived by the same actors in relation to teachers (from 10.5% to 8.9%), in relation to non-teaching personnel (from 12% to 11.1%) drops around the school (from 48.9% to 32.8%) and on the way to school (from 15.7% to 9.8%). However, in the violence perceived among peers, not only are the percentages strikingly higher, but they also rise, from 81.8% to 93.6%².

It is not easy to invoke revenge as a force that motivates harassing actions in a deferred sense, so to speak, since the abuser should feel the victim of a generalized mistreatment of a system that would exercise its actions mainly through the school authority, and more indirectly through the advantaged students. But these students are not the propitiatory victims of bullying. Their vulnerability, in this context, is too general. In fact, school success usually has, if the subject does not show other striking differences, a popular value that gives them a certain power or strength. On the other hand, it is compensated by the fact of being well seen by teachers and establishing alliances with that authority formally or informally.

Revenge can be studied from the perspective of status frustration or tension theories – Strain Theories –. From this last perspective, parental

rejection, excessive and erratic discipline, abuse, or negative experiences in secondary education – especially in relationships with teachers –, are experiences that can be perceived by those who suffer them as highly unjust, a condition empirically tested by some criminologists who try to predict criminal behavior (Agnew, 2001: 343-244). However, for predictive capacity to work, there must be, as conditions, in addition to the perception of social pressure or tension on the part of individuals as unjust, constant and strong, low self-control and certain pressure or incentives to form part of groups related to crime. Studies are needed in this regard, but it does not seem easy to find profiles of students whose objective and subjective conditions in relation to stressful factors may explain bullying in schools, neighbourhoods and medium-sized cities, and with low rates of delinquency and indicators of social protest as well as school failure.

Finally, if we focus on the revenge exercised by a victim of harassment against her abuser, it is possible to establish, within her minority character, different degrees. The most striking is that of mass murders committed by pupils who are usually teenagers in schools. Harris and Petrie allude to a certain report by the US secret services that, it seems, would observe that in two thirds of the murders in American schools, those who perpetrated them would have suffered mistreatment for long periods (2006: 12). Next, the authors try to iron out the issue by pointing out that not all cases go to these extremes. However, they add, it seems evident that nowadays bullying can push, in the worst case, to commit crimes, and in the best case, to establish a climate of fear and inferiority.

However, associating mass murder and bullying is quite risky. In the first place because, as Collins reminds us, in the countries where the former occur most, such as the United States, 99% of the centres are free (2008: 173). But above all, and secondly, multiple murder cannot be compared to bullying, thus preventing us from drawing the conclusion that the victim of a certain type of school violence became a revenge abuser. These are different types. Indiscriminate killings, committed in a single act, have nothing to do with the selective individual action of bullying.

There are other phenomena of violence, physical or symbolic, visible in the school environment, of which it is also possible to think of a vengeful reaction of the abused person. Such is the case of hazing. There are cases of students who have suffered them and then have looked for the leaders who instigated them to take revenge. But once again, these are exceptional cases. Here again we come up against another misunderstanding,

another free association – that is, not supported from an empirical point of view – between two phenomena of school violence between equals that are very different. It should be remembered that nowadays hazing has ceased to fulfil the main social function that gave it its *raison d'être*, that of becoming part of a privileged social group. With the democratization of education, its supplementary or secondary function can be explained as an outlet in an education system that continues to function under strong pressure – stressful –. Norberto Elias' interpretation of ritualized violent explosions as an escape valve from a capitalist social system centered on performance and with an effective monopoly on the exercise of force by the State, has sometimes been extrapolated to the functioning of the educational system. Hazing could have a social function similar to carnival (Elias, 1993, Felouzis, 1993).

A victim may at the same time be an abuser, but not as a reaction but as a psychological complement. This fact explains the small percentage of bullying victims. However, this category does not differ from the others only in the number but in the characteristics. Pure abusers exhibit a different profile, with no problems for social skills. Moreover, in many cases they are popular students who know how to use manipulation techniques among their colleagues. On the contrary, someone who suffers harassment and at the same time exerts it, not on his abusers but on other people, may show, in addition to relationship problems, certain instability and tendency to depression and anxiety. In fact, works that try to observe the relationship between bullying and self-esteem, see results both in the direction of the victim and in that of the abuser. Thus, in an American study carried out by Patchin and Hinduja on a sample of 1963 students between the ages of 11 and 15 from 30 secondary schools, who had experienced cyberbullying in the previous thirty days and in new different forms of online aggression, either as victims or as aggressors, showed a moderate self-esteem but statistically lower than those who did not (2010: 618).

The next question is to imagine a complement of roles but not simultaneous but deferred in time, although within the period of schooling. This possibility can be thought of as a consequence of a change of status. A pupil who begins as a victim and ends up as an abuser in his passage through compulsory education. If this happens, it is debatable that such a situation fits more in the idea of revenge than in that of the psychological trait itself. In any case, studies of mobility between hierarchical groups according to their status in schools suggest that this phenomenon is unlikely.

Apparently, observes Collins, very few descend and very few ascend, with those in intermediate categories moving somewhat more (2008:173).

3. Abuse in adulthood

Let us now analyze the inversion of the figures of victim and abuser in adulthood. In the quoted text by Harris and Petrie we read that “adults who were aggressive at school tend to have children who are also aggressive” and that, moreover, “they have a greater tendency to be involved in violent crime and abuse with their spouse, and very often resort to physical punishment with their own children and so dysfunction would continue” (2006:173). In support of this explanation they refer to testimonies from third parties, where some aggressors describe their relatives as having little interest in the values of honesty or freedom of expression, as well as little concern for them, for their children.

The argumentative reply here follows the line indicated above in the school context. The pattern is not confirmed by field work. Most victims of abuse do not abuse children. In Collins’s review of studies on this subject, children who have suffered mistreatment or have been ignored – which would add a non-violent condition to the phenomenon – are arrested as young people or adults in a proportion almost equal to the control group -18% vs. 14% (2006:145). It is also not necessary to have suffered bullying in order to inflict some kind of physical punishment on the children. The data show that up to 85% of American parents of 2 and 3 year olds, and 95% of 4 and 5 year olds, beat their children during the last year, in a good part of the cases with a frequency of 2 or 3 times per week, including those who do not agree with these practices (143). Virtually the entire American population would have been harassed according to these figures. It is interesting to add that within this overwhelming proportion would come parents with different political ideologies, fathers and mothers, and even those people who, theoretically, are against this type of practices.

We therefore constantly come up against a kind of stubborn misunderstanding, a kind of prejudice that can be summed up in a kind of curse that would surround the victim of harassment and would fatally chain him or her to the phenomenon. Bullying reproduces itself on the basis of this belief, making its solution difficult. Deep down, under these kinds of explanations, which are not very much covered by observation, beats the presumption of the propensity to relapse of any act of deviation, and therefore, of the scarce faith in the capacity for change that the social actor has

in the construction of his destiny. A child who observes how his father mistreats his mother may react in the future, either by reproducing that pattern, or by exhibiting opposite behaviors, which even scratch inhibition, as an opposite reaction. Whether one or the other model is chosen will depend on multiple factors, as well as circumstances. Therefore, whether we previously risk predicting one or another line of coherent behaviour will depend on underlying assumptions, on beliefs that go unnoticed in interpretation and that may be nourished by deeply rooted religious or ideological sources. If we tried to keep them at bay as much as possible, limiting ourselves to functional comments, we would be more inclined towards a behavioural conclusion that does not reproduce the pattern, since otherwise the protagonist not only increases the suffering of the other but also his own suffering and that of his loved ones.

But we can use the expression the curse of the victim to account not only for the long shadow of the figure of the abuser, which apparently takes various forms over time. By this we can also refer, on a deeper level, to the enchainment that this same victim would suffer with respect to violent and poor contexts. Thus, if someone has suffered some kind of violence, he could propagate it in the future. On the other hand, in poor contexts this phenomenon would be more likely. Now, from a sociological point of view, anthological works on violence such as Collins’ insist on breaking this type of prejudicial causal chains. First, there are many kinds of violence not confined to poor environments, such as terrorism, marital violence, alcohol brawls, violence derived from sporting events or social movements, or bullying itself. Secondly, if we consider the poorest and most violent places, we will confer that the majority of the poor are not violent. And third, the violent poor are not violent all the time (2008: 135-136).

In the case of school bullying studies, notes Ramírez Fernández, the false association between poverty and violence can be seen, as victims are no longer concentrated in certain socio-economic or cultural settings (2009: 322). This aspect is of special interest perhaps in areas especially affected by social inequality, such as Latin America - between 2013 and 2014, for example, is where it grew the most, with 38%. One of the most ambitious samples, worked by Cepeda-Cuervo’s team and applied in 3,226 students from 80 grades 6 to 11 of Bogotá’s public schools, with an average age between 12 and 16 years, belonging to the low and medium socioeconomic strata, finds the same frequency in the four socioeconomic strata surveyed (2008: 521). In the discussion section, these authors conclude, after alluding to other studies

carried out in Brazil and the United States, that this is a global phenomenon that affects diverse cultures and different social sectors.

We can highlight two aspects or variables that are particularly interesting, that of the vulnerability of children in general, and that of vulnerability due to cultural or ethnic reasons. The latter, due to its concreteness, will allow us a more detailed observation in order to detect simplistic explanations that mitigate harassment.

As for the former, in recent years, international and national reports insist on pointing out the special vulnerability of children and adolescents. Spanish children, for example, are more likely to be poor than adults - 21% of households with minors are in a situation of social exclusion, according to the 8th FOESSA Report - (UNICEF, 2014, UNDP, 2015, FOESSA, 2019).

But this fact cannot be interpreted as the main cause of the increase in bullying. Vulnerability, thus defined, is too general a trait that must then be carefully observed in order to understand the effects it has on violent behaviour. It depends on factors such as social position. And at the same time, within this, of the economic conjunctures. Thus, within the middle classes, certain strata of the same are more vulnerable in times of recession than in times of expansion. The child or adolescent in a middle-class family affected by an economic crisis will face a certain degree of tension that could increase, for example, if a family crisis with separation is added to it. But in turn, in this case there are different types of reaction that channel the tension in a more or less violent way. Having younger siblings could even influence a possible mistreatment transferred to the school context, having been able to learn in the family the mastery of techniques of manipulation and control. In any case, in general terms, the only obvious conclusion is that vulnerabilities add up and that a single one does not guarantee bullying. A longitudinal study in the United States and Great Britain, launched in the early 1990s and published in 2015, showed how those who had suffered domestic abuse did not subsequently suffer psychic sequelae - anxiety, depression, self-harm or suicide attempt. However, if they had also suffered abuse at school, they were more likely (Lereya et al., 2015).

The same conclusion is reached if we examine the relationship between the abusers and the status of the schoolchild as an immigrant. In principle, following the line of demystifying reasoning, bullying is not an issue that flourishes more in public schools with a strong presence of minority ethnic groups located on the outskirts of large cities. The black legend surrounding certain neighbourhoods,

within the social image that each city builds over time, makes its inhabitants take for granted all sorts of social problems in them, such as unemployment, delinquency or, in the case of education, school violence.

However, violence between schoolchildren is more likely in middle-class cities, classic boarding schools - like the traditional English, obviously not the anti-authoritarian pedagogical experiments like Summerhill - or public school systems like the Japanese, highly hierarchical and groupized. In Spain, we continue to observe examples of studies that detect bullying in medium-sized cities, regardless of the location of the neighbourhood and the ownership of the centre, as suggested by Muñoz Prieto (2009:209). From a microsociological approach to violence, such as that masterfully offered by the aforementioned work by Randall Collins (2008), more importance should be given to other types of factors, such as the degree of openness of the school organisation - to which we have already alluded - or the apparently innocuous transition from one stage of compulsory education to another when it entails a change of centre that coincides with a biological change, with puberty. That would explain why bullying is more likely in the early years of compulsory schooling and less likely at the end of it. Between the ages of 15 and 17, the average student increases and diversifies his or her activities outside the school. By decreasing the time and emotional energy he invests around him, his vulnerability decreases and his identity as a victim becomes blurred. The perspective is very different at 11 or 13 years of age, when he enters not only adolescence but also a new educational stage and, on many occasions, a new educational centre. It must then rearrange its status of agreement, to a large extent, with its perceived value in the new sex market of which it is compulsorily part (2008:172). Hence, with the transition from primary to secondary school, bullying concentrates on fewer victims and more verbal and psychological aggressions than physical aggressions. Some research done in our country seems to support some of these ideas. Thus, in the Ceutí study by Ramírez Fernández, there was an increase in severe abuse in the first cycle of OSE, while in Primary there was a greater volume of moderate abuse (2009: 191).

4. The complexity of the ethnic variable

This would also explain the relative lack of preponderance of the ethnic variable in bullying in countries such as the United States. Indeed, the US supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey, Student Reports of Bullying 2015,

offered by the National Center for Education Statistics (2016), does not see significant differences according to the ethnic diversity of students between the ages of 12 and 18. However, it is difficult to extrapolate this case and this conclusion. It is necessary to take into account the different culture of multi-ethnic coexistence, as well as the specific circumstances that make it more or less tense, depending on demographic and economic aspects. In our country, the entry of massive school immigrants is a relatively recent phenomenon, which occurs with the entry into the current century. This explains the result of the 2007 Ombudsman's report on mistreatment among equals, where immigrants assumed the exclusion in a proportion that doubled the rest of the sample (2007: 143). In the same vein, the OCEDE report cited at the beginning, Student's Well-Being, again states that the risk increases "substantially" for immigrant students who arrived in the country where they study with a certain age - 13 to 16 years - (2017: 45).

If the ethnicity variable is one of the variables that most potentiates difference in the school context, it could predispose to bullying. A clear case is that of Chinese girls adopted in our country en masse between 1995 and 2015, studied by Fernández Cáceres (2016: 409). In general, this trait predisposes to a greater degree if it is surrounded by certain circumstances such as the percentage of children who share it, their degree of group cohesion, or the networks established by adults. These, in turn, are marked by variables such as the solidity of local or neighbourhood community ties - marked by circumstantial circumstances and by other structural ones, of a cultural or religious type -, or the type of balance of power that is established with the rest of the population that shares space with the passage of time. Rodríguez Hidalgo, in one of the few works carried out in Spain that distinguish harassment due to ethnic causes, concludes that "the victims of aggressions or personal bullying attribute being the object of the same, in a considerable proportion, to being different (different appearance, I am different, I am from another country or I am from another race/culture)" (2010: 160).

The greater probability of vulnerable immigrant students being victims of bullying is, however, reversed in the discourse of spontaneous sociology, that is, in the set of non-contrasted beliefs that circulate among public opinion. On the contrary, the belief that the over-representation of immigrants and gypsies in Spanish prisons - as blacks in the United States - proves their antisocial and conflictive character, is extrapolated to the student-children. In this way, the latter would

also be responsible for the backwardness of the natives as well as for the problems of coexistence that could arise around the school. This explains why at times of maximum influx of immigrants, such as in 2000, there was a certain transfer of enrolments of indigenous students from public to private schools (Madruga 2002, Fernández Enguita, 2003). Something similar had happened in the United States in the 1960s with white students in certain cities where racial integration measures had been implemented. This is a clear example of the exit option proposed by Hirschman in reference to the consumer who fears in the massification of public services an indication of the decrease in quality (1977).

Research that has tried to empirically prove these beliefs has not only refuted them but also reversed their meaning. Thus, in an investigation conducted by Gil Villa (2012: 108) in public centres in Castilla y León during the academic year 2007-2008, it is observed that, on the one hand, they are more likely to be victims - in proportions similar to those observed by the report of the Ombudsman cited -, and on the other, they reach lower values in the sections of more common infractions, such as vandalism or fights. Mitigating immigrants as problematic and potentially violent students is false, except in the specific case of the minority who belong to Latin gangs and who offer high rates of school failure, as Robles Gavira has been able to state (2017:171). In most cases, however, foreign students exhibit more discipline and pro-regulatory behaviour than nationals, given their temporary and unstable situation, which gives them a probative character, while at the same time thanking the host society for having welcomed them.

5. Considerations on the gypsy ethnic group

Within ethnic bullying not all conclusions are extrapolable to all groups. There are important differences in the case of Spain, for example, between the gypsy ethnic group and the rest of the immigrants. The presence of gypsies in clown schools is usually muffled by a strong rootedness in the neighbourhood, which does not happen with immigrant families, even those who saw their children born there. The long tradition of living with non-Gypsies does not mean that there is no tension, but that it takes different forms. Paradoxically, however, the cultural clash is greater between these two populations than between natives and immigrants, even when they come from non-Western cultures. This is reflected in the school. Resistance to middle-class school culture

is greater among gypsies, is nurtured by strong out-of-school community ties, and displaces conflict and the potential for violence, outside the school.

Spain is one of the countries in which the gypsy ethnic group constitutes one of the most important minorities around which the central debates on educational equality and on social exclusion in general have traditionally revolved. Their specific consideration is justified. The reflection could be based on two fundamental points. If at the most popular level the stereotyped attribute of violence attributed to the gypsy is well known – as in the case of immigrants –, at the level of the speeches of public managers we can detect a second type of mythification consisting of overestimating the social inclusion of the gypsies, an objective that is taken for granted.

In the report of the Fundación Secretariado Gitano, *Evaluación de la normalización educativa de los alumnos gitanos y las alumnas gitanas en Educación Primaria*, with data referring to the academic year 2008-09 as the last reference, a positive view is given of the evolution of the integration indicators which is debatable, above all because it may lead to a mistaken reading of a happy state, in the near future, of full equality. The latter term is valued as integration, and therefore as cultural assimilation. But there is a roof over the top of equality. In recent decades, teachers' knowledge of Romany culture has hardly improved. Apparently, the communicative relationship is correct, but it is due to the fact that it is not very deep. This is why the teachers surveyed in the report just mentioned observe more aggressiveness in Romany children – 55.9% would be little or nothing, compared to 73% of payos – less tolerance and solidarity – the proportion of Romany children in this case would be equivalent to half of that of payos – and that, moreover, they explain it according to “racial” factors, such as impulsivity or the family context (2010: 62). These aspects abound in the legend of wild and primitive people. Ten years before this publication, Fernández Enguita's work had observed the functioning of prejudices in non-Gypsy parents and teachers. The former complain about the alleged abuse by the Gypsies of the support received by public administrations. The latter feel uncomfortable with students who do not fit into the school culture – in terms of discipline, hygiene, punctuality, respect for the female figure of authority, etc. – a complaint that they express in private rather than in public and that would put in a difficult situation the minority of teachers who “try to do something” (1999: 114-145).

The perception of aggressiveness is a cultural issue. In this case, the teaching staff represents the outpost of a middle-class culture, of which clown parents and students are part, which over time increases its sensitivity to different forms of violence.

The absence of this true form of communication necessarily leads to problematic solutions. On the one hand, a minimisation, if not concealment, of conflicts. On the other hand, the unfolding of the general cultural circuit in another parallel of which the relative segregation of the gypsy schoolchildren is only one more indicator. The first is observed in the lack of communication between Roma parents and teachers. The general pattern of behaviour is mistrust. If the teacher summons the family, they think, from the outset, that it will not be good at all. In this way, it indirectly reinforces the lack of motivation that gypsy students have to go to school, or the probability that it is the whole family that does not see school as a pleasant space. It is not uncommon even for families to confront teachers, due to discrepancies in the interpretation of their children's behavior and academic progress. The main general allegation, in such cases is the victimism that would result from the negative label: “if the student were not a Gypsy, he would not have been punished”.

The second solution involves the resolution of coexistence conflicts between Romany children and between Romany children and gypsies, outside the official channels, that is, without the activation of anti-bullying protocols, the use of specialist mediators or the use of the judicial apparatus. The counsellor of an educational centre located in a neighbourhood with an important group of gypsy residents in Salamanca, relates the case of a gypsy boy who insulted a gypsy. The next day, several gypsies at the school physically assaulted this child. In the same research work by Caamaño, the teachers interviewed answer the question of bullying Gypsy children at school:

There are but few of them because the gypsies among them have a great feeling of belonging, they are very united so there is almost never any case in which the gypsy is isolated; he is always going to have his reference group. The community supports him” (2018: 23).

Similar conclusions have been reached by some observations carried out in Portugal. The paternalistic condescension or benign multiculturalism that assimilationism seeks fits with a sophisticated neo-racism based on cynicism, which from the outside accepts the coexistence of other

ethnic groups but in daily life protests against the rights of its members (Silva and Silva, 2011:218).

7. Conclusions for discussion

The specific consideration of the Roma ethnicity thus corroborates the complexity of school bullying and the difficulties in making generalizations and simple judgments that, for example, put in the same bag all social groups that suffer some kind of discrimination. By using the prism of the relationship between the victim and the abuser, and in particular the possibility of revenge, we have been able to improve our understanding of bullying by increasing the negative definition, that is, what it is not. It does not depend on the social class of the victim, on the neighbourhood where they live or on the type of neighbourhood in which the centre is located, or even on the type of centre. Nor does it depend on whether there are gangs or other types of school violence. It does not depend on the family violence experienced, nor does it have to do with mass murders in schools or hazing.

It is important to relativise this type of association because it establishes causal explanations for bullying around uncertain profiles of victims and aggressors. Such interpretations can be considered false in many cases since they do not withstand logical analysis or have empirical support.

However, by settling among public opinion as beliefs shared by citizens, they produce real effects, according to Thomas's Theorem (Thomas W.I. and Thomas D.S., 1928). Some of them may at times encourage the ghettoization of public schools with high proportions of immigrants or gypsies, or in any case and in general, the segregation of both in the spaces of coexistence outside the classrooms.

Spontaneous sociology coincides with what Paulo Freire called "ingenuous knowledge" and is

reflected, in the educational sphere, in spontaneous, "unarmed" teaching practice. The formation of democratic teachers implies surpassing this level in order to reach critical thinking. In order to do so, he will have to reflect on practice by training himself in the methodological separation of everyday gestures, an apparently paradoxical condition that requires his understanding. Although Paulo Freire did not use the specific term of social pedagogy, as Da Silva reminds us, it follows from his work that no social group can do without this discipline - especially in times of strong social change - since the objective is not only to liberate the oppressed but also the oppressor (2016:189). This seems especially appropriate for the relationship between aggressors and victims of bullying and their socio-cultural contexts. The pedagogy of autonomy proposed by Freire is elaborated in a social dimension, which is why he insists on the need to analyze the "gestures" and "intrigues" produced in the school space beyond the strict transmission of knowledge that occurs in the classroom (2004: 20).

This article has attempted to show teachers how to analyse the most frequent spontaneous discourses on the causes of bullying. Its function is to simplify a complex phenomenon and avoid critical reflection. It is thus framed in the sociological perspective that follows the modern epistemological path and that, as Pierre Bourdieu has insisted - one of the major referents of the sociology of contemporary education -, since the classics has sought "the rupture with the representations that social agents make of their state" (2011:92).

We must not forget, on the other hand, that spontaneous explanations also fulfil the function of unloading responsibilities, of not assuming the part that corresponds to all the school actors.

Notes

¹ <https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2017015>

² <http://www.epis.pt/mediadores/barometro-epis/escola>

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PEER ABUSE IN SECONDARY EDUCATION BY GENDER AND SCHOOL YEAR. THE RELATIONSHIPS WITH EQUALS, SCHOOL LIKING AND SATISFACTION WITH LIFE FOR BULLIES AND VICTIMS

EL MALTRATO EN EDUCACIÓN SECUNDARIA SEGÚN SEXO Y CURSO ESCOLAR. RELACIONES CON IGUALES, GUSTO POR LA ESCUELA Y SATISFACCIÓN VITAL DE MALTRATADORES Y VÍCTIMAS

ABUSO EM ADOLESCENTES: DIFERENÇAS DE ACORDO COM O SEXO E O ANO ACADÊMICO, E A SUA RELAÇÃO COM O GOSTO PELA ESCOLA, A RELAÇÃO COM OS COLEGAS E A SATISFAÇÃO COM A VIDA

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ABSTRACT: A review and an analysis of peer abuse and bullying in adolescents were carried out for the purposes of this piece of research. An assessment was made of the ways peer abuse can be presented during this stage of human development, as well as the differences according to gender and school year. Additionally, the potential association with other variables was analysed such as school liking, the relationships with equals and the satisfaction of adolescents with life. The results were compared depending on whether the adolescent was a victim or a bully and the relationship between being a bully and being a victim was put under analysis. The study was carried out with 1,128 adolescents registered in the 1st and 4th years of obligatory secondary school (average age: 14.4 years old). 13% of the respondents stated that they had been bullied some time and 21.2% stated they had taken part in an episode of bullying. There is more bullying in the 1st year of obligatory secondary education than in the 4th year. The most frequent form of bullying was verbal (28.5%); followed by spreading lies

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	<p>and rumours with the intention of harming others (27.4%), which was more frequent amongst girls; social bullying (ignoring or excluding others) is suffered by 18.4% of the respondents with no gender difference; physical bullying is suffered by 7.7% and mostly amongst boys. Bullies and victims, compared to others, feel unhappier and think their moment in life is worse than others. Bullies feel less accepted and more disliked by others. Victims like school less than others. The differences with other papers are discussed here</p>
<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: maltrato bullying adolescencia víctima maltratador</p>	<p>RESUMEN: En esta investigación se presenta una revisión y un estudio sobre el maltrato y el bullying en la adolescencia. En ella se valoraron las formas en que puede presentarse el maltrato en esta etapa del desarrollo y las diferencias según el sexo y el curso escolar. Además se analizó la posible relación con otras variables como el gusto por la escuela, las relaciones con los iguales y la satisfacción vital de los adolescentes. Se compararon los resultados en función de si el adolescente era víctima o maltratador y se estudió la relación entre ser maltratador y ser víctima. El estudio se llevó a cabo con 1128 adolescentes escolarizados en 1º y 4º de ESO (media de edad: 14.4 años). Un 13% afirmaba haber sido maltratado, y un 21.2% haber participado en algún episodio de maltrato. Hay más maltrato en 1º de ESO que en 4º de ESO. El maltrato más frecuente era el verbal (28.5%); seguido de bulos y cotilleos con el fin de hacer daño (27.4%), siendo más frecuente en chicas; el maltrato social (ignoran, apartan) lo sufren el 18.4% de los encuestados sin diferencias por sexo; el maltrato físico lo sufren el 7.7% y de forma más acusada los chicos. Maltratadores y víctimas, en comparación con los demás, se sienten más tristes y consideran que su momento vital es peor. Los maltratadores se sienten menos aceptados y sienten que caen peor a los demás. A las víctimas les gusta menos la escuela. Se discuten las diferencias con otros estudios.</p>
<p>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: abuso bullying idade vítima agressor</p>	<p>RESUMO: Foi realizada uma revisão e, posteriormente, um estudo sobre abuso e bullying na adolescência, as suas formas de abuso e a sua relação com idade, ano escolar, gosto pela escola, relacionamento com os colegas e satisfação com a vida. Os resultados foram comparados de acordo com se ele era uma vítima ou um agressor. A relação entre ser abusador e ser vítima é estudada. O estudo é realizado com 1.128 adolescentes inscritos (idade média: 14,4 anos). 13% disseram que foram maltratados e 21.2% participaram de um episódio de abuso. Há mais abusos no 1º ESO do que no 4º ESO. O abuso mais frequente foi verbal (28,5%); seguido de bulos e fofocas para prejudicar (27.4%), sendo mais frequente em meninas; 18,3% sofre o abuso social (ignorar, deixar de lado); abuso físico é sofrido por 7,7% e mais meninos. Os agressores e as vítimas, em comparação com os outros, sentem-se mais tristes e consideram sua vida pior. Os abusadores sentem-se menos aceitos e sentem que pioram. As vítimas gostam menos de escola. As diferenças com outros estudos são discutidas.</p>

1. Introduction

Bullying is currently a major social and public health concern due to its incidence in the world (Chester *et al.*, 2015; OMS, 2002), as it is an event that can take place in any school. Childhood and adolescence are two vulnerable stages of life, with violence being one of the most remarkable aspects of this vulnerability (Gil Villa 2016).

The phenomenon of bullying was described for the first time by Swedish Doctor Heineman (1972) based on his observations of aggressive behaviour in various school patios. Olweus (1973) defines this concept as an asymmetrical power relationship where there is an imbalance of strength, a series of negative actions being inflicted with the purpose of harming and creating discomfort by one or several students on a frequent basis, making the victim incapable of defending themselves. González and Escudero (2018) differentiate between school harassment or *bullying* (when the action of bullying is continued in time), and they refer to *bullying or violent action* when the frequency is reduced.

Bullying amongst equals can be of various types:

- *Verbal* bullying which creates discomfort through insulting, spreading lies and rumours, mocking or laughing at others.
- *Relational and psychosocial* bullying through the discrimination in the form of forced exclusion of classmates on the grounds of their being different (Etxeberria, & Elosegui, 2010; Orpinas & Horne, 2006; Pedreira, Cuesta, & Bonet, 2011), subtly excluding classmates from the groups (Mateu-Martínez, Piqueras, Rivera-Riquelme, Espada & Orgilés, 2014) on account of their performing differently in school, both in the case of underperformance as over performance (Estell *et al.*, 2009), or on account of having different physical traits and features (Brixval, Rayce, Rasmussen, Holstein, & Due, 2012).
- *Physical* bullying which is inflicted by the abuser or bully through material contact, causing harm (Álvarez-García *et al.* 2013), which can be direct on the victim (hitting, kicking, punching), or indirect on the

belongings of the victim (stealing, breaking or hiding them) (Defensor del Pueblo & UNICEF, 2007).

- Bullying inflicted through electronic devices and ITs, displaying aggressive behaviour specially through the mobile phone and the Internet by disseminating photos, videos and messages with the aim of harming others (Ortega *et al.*, 2012), which is known as cyberbullying.

The national statistics (Moreno *et al.*, 2016) indicate that 84.3% of adolescents between the ages of 11 and 18 state that they have never been the victims of bullying. Out of the 15.6% who state they have experienced it sometime, 5.6% report that bullying is continuous and somehow frequent (ranging from 2 to 3 times a month to several times a week). Boys are reported to have experienced bullying more often than girls and it is also seen more frequent in younger students rather than older.

With regards to having taken part in an episode of bullying, 82.2% state that they have never been part of one. Out of the 17.8% who have taken part, 5.6% have frequently taken part (ranging from 2 to 3 times a month to several times a week). There are also differences when it comes to gender, with more frequency in boys (7.5%) than girls (3.7%); and in terms of age, being more frequent in younger students than older.

According to a report issued by Save the Children (2016a), harassment is more common amongst the younger students with the frequency being higher amongst the first years of obligatory secondary education (ESO). In that report, girls are reported to experience more harassment than boys (10.6% against 8%). When it comes to the bullies, boys represent a higher percentage (6.3% against 3.5% in girls).

Given the above, it would seem relevant to study the differences by gender and age in situations of bullying amongst adolescents. Some research (Romero, Cuevas, Ferney, & Sierra, 2018) reveals that there are significant differences between men and women in the form of school intimidation used and the consequences associated to mental health.

Amongst the forms of bullying highlighted, verbal bullying is the most frequent (Save the Children, 2016a). Thus, six in ten underage children state they have been insulted in the last months and, amongst them, 22.6% state that this was a frequent event. Over half of the adolescents interviewed for this study (21,487 students between the ages of 12 and 16) state that they have been called names, and 20.9% indicate this has been a

frequent event. Being the victim of the spreading of lies and rumours is present occasionally in 28.8%, and frequently in 14.6%. In terms of relational bullying, the statistics indicate that 16.6% of the interviewees state that they have been victims of exclusion on occasion and 8.4% on a frequent basis. With regards to physical bullying, 21.5% have experienced it on occasion and 6.3% on a frequent basis.

The majority of studies point at male students more often taking part in acts of physical bullying (Cook, Williams, Guerra, Kim & Sadek, 2010; Hoggund & Leadbeater, 2007) and also verbal bullying (Craig *et al.*, 2009; Orpinas, Fleschler & Sinicropo, 2004). In this sense, girls who bully their classmates tend to use indirect and relational strategies, whereas boys use more direct ways of being aggressive (Navarro, Larrañaga & Yubero, 2011).

The most habitual place for school bullying is the school patio (Fu, Land & Lamb, 2013; Magaz, 2012; Magaz *et al.*, 2016; Undheim & Sund, 2010). From the victim's point of view, there is more incidence in girls, both in personal bullying (10.6%) and in cyberbullying (8.3%) (Save the Children, 2016b).

Research carried out in various countries establish the incidence of bullying at 15% to 50% (Molcho *et al.*, 2009). Some studies refer to the most severe cases being between 3% and 10% (Fu, Land & Lamb, 2013; Magaz, Chorot, Sandín, Santed & Valiente, 2011; Solberg & Olweus, 2003; Undheim & Sund, 2010).

From the 90's onwards numerous pieces of research attempted to investigate into this phenomenon more in depth through analysing other variables and dimensions that can predetermine or be associated with bullying amongst adolescents: emotional attachment and support from the family, interpersonal relationships, psychological and social variables, school coexistence, etc.

The relationships with equals are important for the analysis of bullying amongst adolescents (Del Rey & Ortega, 2007). Thus, Cerezo (2001) explains that bullying is an expression of lousy interpersonal relationships amongst equals within the school context, taking the social environment as a determining factor.

Variables such as emotional attachment to school, the sense of belonging to the establishment and greater school support are deemed to be protective factors against the penetration of bullying by some researchers (Musalem & Castro, 2015).

In terms of the personal variables that might determine or be present in school bullying (regardless of being a bully or a victim), the available research points at some key aspects:

the studies on the satisfaction with life in cases of bullying have been focusing mostly on the victims, finding a negative relationship, as expected, between both variables. Thus, the level of satisfaction with life is lower amongst adolescents who are being bullied (Navarro, Ruiz-Oliva, Larrañaga & Yubero, 2015; Valois, Kerr & Huebner, 2012).

2. Explanation and objectives

This paper attempts to reveal the situations of bullying that are present in secondary education in the city of Salamanca, Spain, taking into account the viewpoints of the bully and the victim. Additionally, we believe it will be interesting to analyse whether there are gender or school year differences as other national and international papers have pointed out. Our research is based on the differences between students in the first stage of secondary education and those who are at the end of it.

In the same way, this is an attempt to ascertain how other variables such as school liking, the relationships with equals and the level of personal satisfaction/ satisfaction with life associate with the roles of the bully and the victim.

3. Method

The research used a technique where boys and girls enrolled in the 1st and 4th years of obligatory secondary school were interviewed. The project design was descriptive, cross-sectional, comparative and quantitative.

3.1. Sample

The sample of adolescents in secondary school (1st and 4th years) has been extracted from 16 schools of the city of Salamanca (Spain). These schools were selected through multistage random sampling stratified by clusters, with the areas of social action of the city and the types of school centre (public and semi-public) being represented. Amongst the students taking part, those who did not provide fully completed questionnaires and those outside the 12-18 age range were excluded. Lastly, an equal number of cases were randomly selected (no.: 282) for the four groups under study: boys and girls in 1st and 4th years of obligatory secondary school, which yields a total sample of 1,128 students. The 1st year students (1^oESO) were 12.9 years old (SD: 0.59), 4th year students (4^oESO) were 16.1 (SD: 0.75) on average, with the average age for the total sample being 14.4 years (SD: 1.71).

3.2. Measurement instruments

In order to assess bullying and peer abuse, six specific questions of the HSBC-2014 Spain questionnaire have been selected (Moreno, *et al.*, 2014), which are based on the proposal made by Olweus (1996). This block of questions includes a presentation which explains which behaviours constitute bullying amongst classmates and which do not: "A student is being bullied when another student or a group of them says to him or her hurtful or unpleasant things. There is also bullying when somebody is teased repeatedly in a way that he or she does not like or when they are deliberately excluded from the group. There is no bullying when two students of similar strength and power argue or fight with each other. There is no bullying either when teasing is friendly or playful." The questions refer to how many times in the last two months a student has been bullied (p1); has been involved in an episode of bullying as a bully (p2); has been hurt by way of insults, laugh or mockery (p3); has been excluded from his or her group of friends or totally ignored (p4); has been hit, pushed, shaken or locked somewhere (p5); has been the victim of people spreading lies or inventing rumours about them so that he or she is not liked by others (p6). The answer options were five, ranging from 1 (never in the last two months) to 5 (several times a week). These questions include several types of bullying: verbal bullying (p3), social bullying (p4), physical bullying (p5) and psycho-social bullying (p6), as well as distinguishing between the different roles in bullying situations: victim (p1) or bully (p2).

For the purpose of analysing the variables that might be associated to bullying (school liking, relationship with equals and personal satisfaction/ satisfaction with life), the following questions of the HSBC-2014 questionnaire were selected:

- School liking: "Currently, how do you feel about school?", with four answer options ranging from 1 (I like it a lot) to 4 (I don't like it at all).
- Relationship with equals, with two questions: "My classmates accept me as I am", with answers ranging from 1 (Totally agree) to 5 (Totally disagree); "Generally, I am liked by others my own age", with answers ranging from 1 (This is not true) to 3 (This is really true).
- Personal satisfaction/ satisfaction with life, with two questions: "I often feel sad, down or feel like crying", with answers ranging from 1 (This is not true) to 3 (This is really true); "Generally, at what point of the ladder do you feel your life is at present?", with answers ranging from 0 (The worst life possible) to 10

(The best life possible) (question adapted from Cantril, 1965).

Additionally, the questionnaire includes several sociodemographic questions (age, gender and school year).

3.3. Statistical Analysis

The Levene's test is used to analyse the homogeneity of variances in the potential comparisons by gender and school year. As the test results indicate that homogeneity cannot be assumed in any of the comparisons, contrast is obtained with the nonparametric Mann-Whitney U test for gender and school year comparisons. For the analysis of the association between ordinal variables, Kendall's tau-b is calculated. For the purposes of

comparing averages of two groups (bully or not; victim or not), the Student's *t*-test is used, with a correction in the event where homogeneity of variances cannot be assumed.

4. Results

4.1. The leading roles: the bully and the victim

The statistics reveal that 3.3% of adolescents state that they have been bullied "a lot" in the last two months (approximately once a week/ several times a week), 9.7% have experienced "some" bullying (it has taken place once or twice in total/ 2 or 3 times a month), and 87% have never experienced bullying. Therefore, 13% state that they have experienced some type of bullying (table 1).

		Victim				Aggressor			
		1º ESO		4º ESO		1º ESO		4º ESO	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Never	Never	78.4%	86.2%	92.2%	91.1%	75.9%	79.4%	78.7%	81.2%
Some	Once or twice	13.5%	7.8%	5.0%	6.4%	14.5%	12.1%	17.0%	16.0%
	2 or 3 times a month	2.5%	1.4%	1.1%	1.1%	5.3%	4.3%	2.1%	1.1%
A lot	Approximately once a week	2.1%	1.4%	0.7%	0.7%	2.1%	1.1%	1.1%	0%
	Several times a week	3.5%	3.2%	1.1%	0.7%	2.1%	3.2%	1.1%	1.8%

In terms of gender, male students in the 1st year of secondary education state that they experience more bullying than girls in their same year (table 2). 21.6% of the boys in their first year

of secondary school state they have experienced some type of bullying, against 13.8% of the girls in their same year ($p < .05$). Such differences disappear in the 4th year.

	1º ESO		4º ESO		Total				
	Boys (1a)	Girls (1b)	Boys (2a)	Girls (2b)	1º	4º	Boys	Girls	
Victim	1.39 >	1.28*	1.13 =	1.13	1.33 >	1.13***	1.26 =	1.21	1a>2a*** 1b=2b
Aggressor	1.40 =	1.37	1.29 =	1.25	1.38 =	1.27	1.34 =	1.31	1a=2a 1b=2b

Mann-Whitney test; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

In terms of the school year, there is less bullying in 4th year (17.3%) than in 1st year of obligatory secondary school (8.3%) ($p < .001$). Such decrease is especially noticeable in male students, who reveal

21.6% in 1st year and 7.8% ($p < .001$) in 4th year of obligatory secondary school.

78.8% of the students interviewed report they have never bullied another classmate in the

last two months, and therefore 21.2% states that they have used some type of bullying or another. Amongst the latter group, 3.1% states they have been involved quite frequently (approximately once a week or several times a week). There are no differences by gender or school year, which reveals that the presence of bullies is similar in male and female students and in the 1st and 4th years of obligatory secondary school.

The statistics show a significant association between being a bully and being a victim (Kendall's Tau-b test, value: 0.155; sig.<.001). This is a positive

association, this is, the more frequently bullying is experienced by someone, the more probable it is for that someone to be a bully.

The statistics show an association between having experienced bullying or not and being a bully. Amongst those who have been severely bullied, 21.1% of the cases are severe bullies, against 2.3% who have not been bullied. Amongst those not experiencing bullying by others, 81.1% state that they do not bully others, with this percentage decreasing to 50% amongst those who have experienced severe bullying (table 3).

Table 3. Percentage of bullies when they are also victims

n		Aggressor			
		Never	Some	Mucho	
Victim	Never	981	81.1%	16.5%	2.3%
	Some	109	67.9%	28.4%	3.7%
	A lot	38	50.0%	28.9%	21.1%

Amongst the adolescents who are habitual bullies, 22.9% have experienced habitual bullying, against 2.1% who are not bullies. Amongst those who are habitual bullies, 65.7% have never experienced bullying, whereas, amongst those who are not bullies the percentage is 89.5% (table 4).

Table 4. Percentage of victims when they are also bullies

Table 4. Percentage of victims when they are also bullies

n		Victim			
		Never	Some	A lot	
Aggressor	Never	889	89.5%	8.3%	2.1%
	Some	204	79.4%	15.2%	5.4%
	A lot	35	65.7%	11.4%	22.9%

Therefore, we can conclude that there is an association between being a bully and being a victim of bullying. Nevertheless, there are cases where students who have not been bullied, do bully others (65.7% of the bullies have not experienced bullying), and in the same way, there are cases of students who do not bully others, who have actually experienced bullying themselves (50% of those bullied do not bully others).

With these statistics we may propose a classification according to being a bully/ victim: those outside bullying (neither bullies or victims, who are 70.6%), within the bullying cycle (bullies and

victims, who are 0.7%), bullies (bullies who do not experience bullying, who are 2.0%) and victims (experiencing bullying but not bullying others, who are 1.7%), and finally, other combined situations (see table 5).

Table 5. Roles in bullying

Never		Victim		
		Some	A lot	
Aggressor	Never	Fuera del ciclo (70.6%)	(6.6%)	Víctima (1.7%)
	Some	(14.4%)	(2.7%)	(1.0%)
	A lot	Agresor (2.0%)	(0.4%)	Ciclo de maltrato (0.7%)

In terms of the various forms of bullying under analysis, the most frequent is verbal bullying, "hurting others by means of insulting, laughing at or mocking them" (28.5% has experienced it sometime); followed very closely by bullying by means of "spreading lies or rumours about me so that I am disliked by others" (27.4% have experienced it); in the third place is what we call social bullying, i.e. "I am excluded from the group of friends, I am ignored" (28.4%); and in the last place is physical bullying, "I am hit, kicked, pushed, shaken or locked somewhere" (7.7%).

In some cases, there have been significant differences in the type of bullying by gender

and school year (table 6). “Insults, laughing at and mocking” are more prominent in the 1st year (34.6%) than in the 4th year (22.3%) ($p < .001$). In the 4th year, this type of bullying is very frequent in

2.8% of the students, whereas in 1st year it is in 9.4% of them, which proves that verbal bullying decreases (table 7), and reveals the same frequency in both genders.

Table 6. Comparisons by gender and school year: forms of bullying

	1º ESO		4º ESO		Total				
	Boys (1a)	Girls (1b)	Boys (2a)	Girls (2b)	1º	4º	Boys	Girls	
Insults... (verbal)	1.64 =	1.64	1.33 =	1.33	1.64 >	1.33***	1.49 =	1.48	1a>2a*** 1b>2b**
Ignored... (social)	1.36 =	1.50	1.23 =	1.34	1.43 >	1.28*	1.29 =	1.42	1a=2a; 1b=2b
Hit... (physical)	1.26 >	1.11**	1.10 >	1.07*	1.19 >	1.08**	1.18 >	1.09**	1a>2a** 1b=2b
Lies... (psycho-social)	1.50 >	1.70*	1.28 >	1.40*	1.60 >	1.34**	1.39 <	1.55***	1a>2a* 1b>2b*

Mann-Whitney test; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Social bullying (by exclusion/ ignoring) is more frequent in the 1st year of obligatory secondary education (20.6% has experienced it sometime) than in the 4th year (16.1%) ($p < .05$). In the 1st year

of the obligatory secondary education it is very frequent in 7.2% of the students, whereas in the 4th year it is in 3.4% of them. Boys and girls experience it equally (tables 6 y 7).

Table 7. Verbal and social bullying by gender and school year

		Insults, laugh or mockery				Ignored			
		1º ESO		4º ESO		1º ESO		4º ESO	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Never	Never	65.2%	65.6%	78.7%	76.6%	80.9%	78.0%	85.8%	81.9%
Some	Once or twice	21.3%	21.3%	13.8%	18.1%	11.3%	9.9%	8.5%	9.9%
	2 or 3 times a month	4.3%	3.5%	5.0%	2.1%	2.5%	2.8%	3.5%	3.5%
A lot	Approximately once a week	2.5%	2.8%	0.7%	2.1%	1.4%	2.8%	1.4%	1.4%
	Several times a week	6.7%	6.7%	1.8%	1.1%	3.9%	6.4%	0.7%	3.2%

Physical bullying (by hitting, pushing, etc...) is experienced more by boys (10.5%) than girls (5%) ($p < .01$), and is more prominent in the 1st year of obligatory secondary education (10.3%) than in the 4th year (2.1%) ($p < .01$). Specifically, “very frequent” bullying is experienced more by boys (2.3%) than

girls (1.3%), and it is more prominent in 1st year students (2.5%) than in 4th year students (0.9%) of obligatory secondary education, with the most affected group being 1st year boys (13.8%) and the least affected group being 4th year girls (3.2%) (tables 6 y 8).

Table 8. Physical bullying and bullying by spreading lies by gender and school year

		Hit, pushed, shaken or locked somewhere				People spreading lies or inventing rumours...			
		1º ESO		4º ESO		1º ESO		4º ESO	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Never	Once or twice	86.2%	93.3%	92.9%	96.8%	73.8%	64.5%	80.1%	72.0%
Some	2 or 3 times a month	8.2%	4.6%	5.7%	1.8%	14.9%	19.5%	14.2%	19.5%
	Approximately once a week	2.1%	0.7%	0.7%	0.4%	3.9%	5.3%	3.9%	6.4%
A lot	Several times a week	0.7%	0.4%	0.4%		2.8%	3.2%	1.4%	0.7%
	Varias veces a la semana	2.8%	1.1%	0.4%	1.1%	4.6%	7.4%	0.4%	1.4%

Bullying by means of spreading lies and rumours with the intention of making someone be disliked by others is experienced mostly by girls (31.7%) than boys (23%) ($p < .001$), both in the 1st year ($p < .05$) and the 4th year ($p < .05$) of obligatory secondary education. And it is more prominent in 1st year (30.9%) than in 4th year (23.9%) ($p < .01$) of obligatory secondary education. The group mostly affected by it is 1st year girls (25.5%) and the one least affected is 4th year boys (19.9%) (tables 6 y 8).

4.3. School liking, relationship with equals and satisfaction with life

The results show that bullies (students who have bullied others sometime) like school the same as those who do not bully others, whereas victims (students who have been bullied some time) like school less (2.16) than students who have not experienced bullying (2.43) ($p < .001$) (table 9).

Table 9. Differences in school liking, relationships with equals and satisfaction with life

	Aggressor				Victim			
		No	Yes	t (sig.)		No	Yes	t (sig.)
Currently, how do you feel about school? 1: I like it a lot vs. 4 I don't like it at all	M	2.21 =	2.28	.381	M	2.16 <	2.43	<.001
	SD	.94	.97		SD	.92	1.0	
My classmates accept me as I am. Totally 1: agree vs. 5: disagree	M	1.68 <	2.43	<.001	M	1.78 =	1.78	.985
	SD	.86	1.26		SD	.95	.96	
Generally, I am liked by others my own age 1: This is not true vs. 3 This is really true	M	2.58 >	2.34	.020	M	2.56 =	2.55	.801
	SD	.53	.67		SD	.55	.55	
I often feel sad, down or feel like crying 1: This is not true vs. 3 This is really true	M	1.52 <	1.87	<.001	M	1.52 <	1.67	.024
	SD	.53	.71		SD	.65	.70	
Generally, at what point of the ladder do you feel your life is at present? 0: The worst life possible vs. 10: The best life possible	M	7.77 >	7.23	.001	M	7.76 >	7.48	.030
	SD	1.72	1.96		SD	1.76	1.72	

In terms of their relationship with equals, in comparison with others, bullies feel less accepted by their classmates ($p < .001$) and feel they are less liked ($p < .05$); whereas victims, in comparison with

the others, feel equally accepted and believe they are liked the same as others.

In terms of their psychological state, bullies feel sadder in comparison to others ($p < .001$) and

they believe their moment in life is worse ($p < .01$). This is a similar situation to that of the victims in comparison to the others, as they state they feel sadder ($p < .05$) and in a worse moment of their lives ($p < .05$).

5. Discussion and conclusions

The statistics in this paper reveal that 87% of adolescents state they have never experienced bullying. Out of the 13% who have experienced some form of bullying, 8.2% have experienced it only on occasion (once or twice in the last two months) and 4.8% have experienced it on a more continuous basis.

In comparison with the national data, the percentage of Salamanca adolescents (87%) who state they have never experienced bullying, is higher than in Spain generally (84.3%). In spite of this difference, the events of continued bullying are similar in Spain generally (5.6%) and in Salamanca (4.8%).

In terms of the differences by gender and school year, 1st year boys in obligatory secondary education experience bullying more often than girls according to this research, whereas such differences do not exist in 4th year. As is the case with the national results, bullying decreases as age increases, especially in male students.

In terms of the position of the bully, 78.8% have never been involved in a bullying event as a bully; out of the 21.2% who have, 14.9% have done so once or twice in the last two months and 6.4% have done it on a more continued basis. These statistics are worse than those obtained at national level in the HBSC study (Moreno *et al.*, 2014). In Spain, the percentage is 82.2% for those who have never been involved in bullying events as bullies and 17.8% who have been involved in an event of this type, with 5.6% being involved on a continued basis.

The research indicates that men are usually involved in these aggressive behaviours more frequently (Elgar *et al.*, 2015). The paper published by Zych, Ortega-Ruiz, & Marín-López (2018) indicates that women reveal higher scores than men in terms of social consciousness and social skills. It would therefore seem appropriate to specifically analyse these differences by gender in order to help clarify the need to establish preventative measures addressed to men.

In terms of the association between having experienced bullying and having been involved in bullying events as a bully, some pieces of research find associations between these roles indicating a circular association in bullying (Urchaga, Carballa, Barahona & González, 2018). This paper has found

a significant association between being a bully and being bullied.

In terms of the various forms of bullying under analysis, all of them are more frequent in the 1st than in the 4th school year of obligatory secondary education. Bullying caused by means of “spreading lies or rumours about me so I am disliked by others” is more frequent amongst girls.

Like in the aforementioned research, girls tend to use verbal rather than physical bullying (Navarro, Larrañaga & Yubero, 2011). The report issued by Save the Children (2016a) points out verbal bullying as the most frequent form in six out of ten children under 18. Male students are mainly the bullies in events of physical and verbal bullying, mainly in the school patio. In our research 1st year boys and girls recognise having been physically bullied (7.7%), although it is 1st school year boys who mostly experience it. Social bullying (“I am excluded from the group, I am ignored”) is experienced equally by boys and girls. The statistics are higher than those found at national level (16.6%).

In the last instance, we have physical bullying. 7.7% of the interviewees state that they have been “hit, kicked, shaken or locked somewhere” on a frequent basis, against 6.3% in Spain generally. Similarly to the case at national level, our research reveals that boys experience it more frequently, especially those in 1st year of obligatory secondary education.

With regards to the analysis of other variables such as school liking, the relationship with equals or satisfaction with life in adolescents:

Adolescent *bullies* like school in the same degree as non-bullies, whereas *victims* like school less than students who have not experienced bullying, in the same degree as indicate other pieces of research (Navarro, Ruiz-Oliva, Larrañaga & Yubero, 2015; Valois, Kerr & Huebner, 2012).

In terms of their relationships with equals, *bullies* feel less accepted by their classmates and feel they are more disliked; whereas *victims*, in comparison with the others, feel equally accepted and believe they are liked the same as others. Their relationships with their equals are crucial in this stage of their development. Having few friends, not having a best friend or having friends who are not supportive or protective increase the probability of adolescents experiencing rejection or exclusion from their peers and of becoming an easy target for bullies (Musalem & Castro, 2015). Shetgiri (2013) states that having more friends and relationships with protective peers can protect children from being victimised.

This is partially confirmed by other pieces of research (Sánchez, Ortega & Menesini, 2012; Ttofi & Farrington, 2008) where both bully and victim

have low levels of social relationships, which is more prominent in the victims. Victimization experiences are good predictive factors of social dissatisfaction (Salmivalli, 2010), as well as of antisocial behaviour (Bender & Lösel, 2011; Farrington y Ttofi, 2011) and often last beyond the school years (Ttofi, Farrington & Lösel, 2011).

In terms of their psychological state, the results of this research reveal that both bullies and victims feel sadder and their satisfaction with life is lower than that of their classmates. MacDonald, Piquero, Valois and Zullig (2005) noticed that a positive school atmosphere contributes to increased satisfaction with life, which in turn is associated with fewer cases of violent behaviour. In the same way, other pieces of research show that there is a reverse association between school atmosphere and victimisation and between this and satisfaction with life (Martínez Ferrer, Moreno Ruiz, Amador & Orford, 2011).

Consequently, it would seem appropriate to consider the following aspects when dealing with bullying in adolescence:

Prevention from the early stages of life. The results of this research reveal major differences amongst school years, showing higher levels of bullying in first-year obligatory secondary education students. This suggests the need to propose preventative actions at the primary school stages.

Improvement of adolescents' emotional intelligence. There is a direct association between emotional intelligence and aggressive behaviour (Estévez, Estévez, Segura, & Suárez, 2019). Promoting emotional intelligence increases the ability of recognising feelings, managing them, accepting, recognising and controlling emotions, thus decreasing the emotional shock experienced in cases of violence and compensating with personal stability (Elipe *et al.*, 2015). Additionally, the work of the educational establishments is crucial because it improves the students' behaviour (Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011; Fernández-Berrocal, Cabello, & Gutiérrez-Cobo, 2017; Zych, Beltrán-Catalán, Ortega-Ruiz, & LLorant, 2018).

Promoting positive school coexistence. "Although school is not the causing factor, or the only place where violence is displayed, educational establishments have a key role in the fight against it" (Save the Children, 2016a, p.77). This is why teachers and the school management board must be responsible for helping overcome violence in the school centre and its surroundings, as this affects students, their learning process, their liking of school and their level of satisfaction, and

for ensuring the prevalence of the wellbeing and the ultimate interest of the child (Nocito, 2017). In this sense, when school coexistence is sought after and improved, it has a high impact on learning, social development and students' interrelations (Álvarez-García *et al.*, 2013; Conde & Ávila, 2018). When positive relationships amongst the members of the school community become fragile, conflict emerges and, also sometimes violent situations in the form of bullying. A working atmosphere that is friendly, where students feel comfortable in the school, benefits social integration, motivation and learning (González & De Castro, 2019), contributes to the improvement of attitudes, skills and social integration and interrelation abilities (Aimi, Trubini, Barbiani, & Pinelli, 2011) as well as the degree of personal independence of the students (Fuentes, García, Gracia, & Lila, 2011).

Reinforcement of the bonds with adults, especially with the family and the teachers. Miranda, Oriol, Amutio and Ortúzar (2019) indicate that adult support at home and in a school positively contribute to higher levels of satisfaction with life in students who are highly affected by victimisation in comparison to those who perceive they have low support. Friendly and caring teachers who protect their students against victimisation (Shetgiri, 2013), as well as positive family relationships, are determinant in the subjective wellbeing of adolescents (Cánovas, Riquelme, Orellana, & Sáez, 2019; Guevara & Urchaga, 2018a).

Improvement of satisfaction with life. The school's social atmosphere and satisfaction with life are closely related according to some research (Leria-Dul & Salgado-Roa, 2019). Those children who perceive better coexistence in the classroom have higher levels of satisfaction with life (Guevara & Urchaga, 2018b), with this variable being of major importance for the adolescent's wellbeing.

The main limitation of this piece of research is the fact that is based on a cross-sectional design and therefore it does not allow us to establish a cause-effect link. Another limitation is that cyberbullying has not been included in the study, which would have increased the bullying rate, taking into account that this is a form of bullying that is on the increase according to research.

It would be necessary to propose longitudinal research to allow establish causal links and assess the effectiveness of preventative and coexistence improvement programs. It would also be necessary to further investigate into the causes of the differences by gender and school year in the various forms of bullying.

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ANTI-BULLYING GAMES. THE PERCEPTION OF PORTUGUESE TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS

JOGOS ANTIBULLYING. A PERCEÇÃO DOS PROFESSORES E EDUCADORES PORTUGUESES

JUEGOS ANTIBULLYING. LA PERCEPCIÓN DE LOS PROFESORES Y EDUCADORES PORTUGUESES

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ABSTRACT: The objective of this study is to verify if the teachers of the first Cycle of Basic Education and the childhood educators, in Portugal, consider the use of specific games to prevent bullying as pertinent. The study involved 276 first cycle teachers and 276 early childhood educators of both genders. The instrument used is a questionnaire inspired by Olweus (1989), although adapted by the author to the adult population of the study. Analysis of the results shows that most teachers and educators believe that it is pertinent to initiate bullying prevention during preschool education. One part knows at least one type of instrument or protocol to act in cases of bullying, in the institution where they work, and most defend the use of the playful nature of games as a preventive and sensitizing strategy in the early levels of formal education. The information obtained encourages the use of primary bullying prevention measures through the recreational dimension. When the game is well planned and tested, it is a tool that helps the developing of children's knowledge and skills, enabling them to gain autonomy and learn to respect the rules, providing moments of motivation, communication and positive and correct attitudes towards others.

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<p>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: bullying professores educadores prevenção jogo</p>	<p>RESUMO: O objetivo deste estudo procura verificar se os professores do primeiro ciclo da Educação Básica de Portugal e os educadores de infância consideram pertinente o uso de jogos específicos para prevenir o bullying. O estudo envolveu 276 professores do primeiro ciclo e 276 educadores da infância de ambos os sexos. O instrumento utilizado é um questionário inspirado no de Olweus (1989), embora adaptado pela autora à população adulta do estudo. A análise dos resultados mostra que a maioria dos professores e educadores acredita que é pertinente iniciar a prevenção do bullying durante a educação pré-escolar. Uma parte conhece algum tipo de instrumento ou protocolo para atuar em casos de bullying na instituição em que trabalha e a maioria defende o uso da natureza lúdica dos jogos como estratégia preventiva e sensibilizante nos primeiros níveis da educação formal. As informações obtidas incentivam o uso de medidas de prevenção primária do bullying através da dimensão recreativa. Quando o jogo é bem planeado e testado, é uma ferramenta que ajuda a desenvolver o conhecimento e as habilidades das crianças, permitindo-lhes adquirir autonomia e respeitar as regras, proporcionando momentos de motivação, comunicação e atitudes positivas e corretas em relação aos outros.</p>
<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: bullying maestros educadores prevención juego</p>	<p>RESUMEN: El objetivo de este estudio intenta comprobar si los profesores de primer ciclo de Enseñanza Básica de Portugal y educadores de infancia consideran pertinente el uso de juegos específicos para prevenir el bullying. En el estudio han participado 276 profesores de Primer Ciclo y 276 Educadores de Infancia de los dos géneros. El instrumento utilizado es un cuestionario inspirado en el de Olweus (1989), aunque adaptado por la autora a la población adulta del estudio. Del análisis de resultados se desprende que la mayoría de los profesores y educadores opina que es pertinente comenzar la prevención del bullying durante la enseñanza infantil. Una parte conoce algún tipo de instrumento o protocolo de actuación para casos de bullying en el centro donde trabajan y la mayoría defiende el uso del carácter lúdico de los juegos como estrategia preventiva y sensibilizadora en los primeros niveles de educación formal. Las informaciones obtenidas animan el uso de medidas de prevención primaria del acoso escolar a través de la dimensión lúdica. Cuando el juego está bien planificado y testado constituye una herramienta que ayuda a desarrollar el conocimiento y habilidades de los niños permitiendo al mismo tiempo que adquieren autonomía y respeten las reglas, proporcionando momentos de motivación, comunicación y actitudes positivas y correctas ante los demás.</p>

1. Introduction

In order to know the meaning of a word, one must first look for its origin. In this sense, after consulting the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (1989), it was found that a bully, which is the source of the term bullying, is «a person who uses his or her power or power to frighten or hurt those who are weaker» (p.149)¹. Referring to the APA Dictionary of Psychology (Vandebos, 2007), the concept of *bullying* takes the meaning of «persistent threatening and aggressive behavior directed at people, especially those who are smaller or weaker» (p.139).

In 1993, Olweus defined the concept of *bullying* by stating that «a person is being bullied when repeatedly and over time exposed to negative actions by one or more people», while Ramirez (2001) designates it as an aggressive, intentional and harmful form of conduct, whose protagonists are young students (including children at an earlier age). According to Sharp & Smith (1994), *bullying* is a systematic abuse of power, a deliberate and continuous form of aggressive, peer behavior. According to Pereira (2002), the theme is defined «by aggressive behaviors that intimidate the other and that result in violent practices by an individual or by small groups, with regular and frequent character» (p.16), following this line of analysis.

Aggressiveness is identified by the intention of hurting someone who is the target of the aggressive practice (Pereira, 2008).

According to Cowie & Jennifer (2008) «a literature review suggests that teachers and students have much more definitions of *bullying* than those used by researchers, especially children (eg Guerin & Hennessy 2002; Smith *et al.* 1999)» (p. 15). In a survey of 225 teachers and 1820 high school students who sought to investigate definitions of *bullying*, Naylor *et al.* (2006) found that only 18% of teachers and 8% of students included repetition of bullying behavior in their responses. In addition, only 25% of teachers and 4% of students included intent to harm, while nearly three-quarters of teachers mentioned strength imbalance as a criterion in their definitions, while only 40% of students did so (Cowie & Jennifer 2008).

As a worldwide problem, *bullying* can occur in any school and is not restricted to any specific school. School is therefore one of the main contexts, in these current days, where bullying is most felt, since it is a place where many children come together.

Nowadays, authors are increasingly investigating the *bullying* phenomenon, especially what happens in schools among students (Pereira, Silva & Nunes, 2009) and which corroborate its existence. In Portugal, a study conducted with a

sample of 200 students in public schools in the urban and rural areas of the north of the country (Pereira, Almeida, Valente & Mendonça, 1996) found that 21% of students reported having been beaten by colleagues and 18% say they have had aggressive behavior. In this sense and given its complexity, it is considered that it will be pertinent to draw up effective and diversified prevention methods.

Carvalhosa (2008) constructed a model for the relationship between *bullying* and the perception of social support, in representative national samples of Austrian, Lithuanian, Norwegian and Portuguese students. Results showed that for Portugal and within school, compared to those not involved in *bullying*, victims and/or bullies reported lower levels of social support from their colleagues, and bullies and /or victims reported lower levels of social support from their teachers. Outside school, victims reported lower levels of social support from friends and bullies reported lower levels of social support from their family than those not involved in bullying situations. Also, other authors (Formosinho, Taborda & Fonseca, 2008) correlated involvement in *bullying* situations with other forms of antisocial behavior (Carvalhosa, 2009).

In this sense and given its complexity, it is considered that it will be pertinent to draw up effective and diversified prevention methods. For the prevention of violence and indiscipline in schools, Amado & Freire (2002), three fronts of action were identified: primary prevention (intervention by anticipation), secondary prevention (early intervention); and tertiary prevention (intervention in the case of persistent cases). Having the objective of using games in the prevention of *bullying*, it is considered that the playful aspects associated with the pedagogical / educational present in the games are important strategies for teaching and in the present case for primary prevention.

Since ancient times and as far as it has been possible to search through literature research, games have gained an extremely important role for the development of children, helping them in their learning process. In this way of thinking, it is important to understand the connection between education and game concepts. Both terms have acquired different meanings due to the different conceptions built on childhood over time. Allué (2000) reinforced the idea of the importance of the role of games, both for physical development and intellectual development, hence being considered essential in childhood and gaining a character of gratuity, pleasure and joy making it acquire more meanings such as: relationship, having fun and learning. Rubin *et al.* (1983) refers to the

game as a «behavioral disposition that occurs in contexts that can be described and reproduced, manifesting through a set of observable behaviors» (p.698). With the use of the game, the child explores the world in which he or she is inserted by engaging physically and socially.

In Jean Piaget's view (1978) games not only function as a hobby, but also contribute to children's socialization, intellectual and cognitive development. Through this activity, they acquire autonomy, learn to respect the rules, as well as it helps them in the organization and development of their personality, similarly, in the opinion of Erikson (1974), the game should be linked to the social and emotional development of children. According to Dollabona & Mendes (2004) reasoning, the terms «play» and «learning» end up being synonymous with each other, since both create a space to develop thinking, to establish social proximity, to develop skills, knowledge and creativity. The dynamics between these two concepts further reduce excess of self-centeredness, help develop solidarity and empathy. Taking advantage of educational games can serve as an alternative to learning, as they will emerge as a balance in terms to acquired values.

Regarding *bullying*, Neto (1997) reinforced the importance of studying aggressive and violent behaviors so the intervention programs can be created through gambling. Thus, exposing the words of Campos (2010), games «are an invitation for interaction, with the ability to seduce and introduce good habits to children» (p.128), which can be seen in this context, as the ideal instrument to combat the problem that is *bullying*. According to Dallabona & Mendes (2004): «If properly applied and understood, playful education can contribute to the improvement of teaching, whether in the qualification or critical formation of the student, or to redefine values and to improve the relationship of people in society» (p.2). Regarding primary prevention, this study aimed to investigate whether primary school teachers and early childhood educators in Portugal consider the use of games to prevent *bullying* as pertinent.

2. Methodology

Participants

276 teachers of the 1st cycle of basic education participated in this investigation, being 89.9% (248) women and 10.1% (28) men. The average age was 43.56 years old with standard deviation of 8.77 years, highlighting that it was found that the values recorded between men and women were very close. 276 kindergarten teachers, being

97.5% (269) women and 2.5% (7) men, with average age of 41.35 years with standard deviation of 10.45 years for the women, while the average age of kindergarten male teachers was 38.43 years with standard deviation of 7.91 years. This choice was made based on the simple random method and the convenience method. Initially, several elements were randomly extracted from the reference population and were fixed as effective in this sample (Albarello, et al. 1997).

Instrument

The data collection instrument used was a survey². For this purpose, the research author constructed two questionnaires, one for elementary school teachers and another for kindergarten teachers, based on Olweus (1989), with questions aimed not at children but at the adults targeted by this research and determined by its objectives. While formulating the questions, it was taken special measures to ensure that the questions were clear and relevant, with appropriate vocabulary for the participants.

The constructed instrument consists of three question blocks: block 1, which consists of 4 questions related to personal data; block 2, with 14 questions about the knowledge of teachers and educators about bullying; block 3, consisting of 6 questions about the prevention of *bullying* and the use of games as a tool for its prevention.

The questions of the survey were considered essential to evaluate what was intended and for its application, ethical and deontological principles of confidentiality were followed.

Procedures

For the application of the questionnaires it was necessary to resort to the convenience procedure, through the disclosure on social networks and sending letters to National Associations of Teachers and Childhood Educators requesting the collaboration for disclosure of them, their associates and thus finding a sample necessary for the research. Note also that 15% of the questionnaires were self-administered. The convenience method has the advantage of being fast, cheap and easy (Hill & Hill, 2009). Thirty-one participants served as elements for the pretest of the administered questionnaire in order to detect any possible error or difficulty, subsequently some adjustments were made.

The application of the questionnaires was performed in two phases, from July to October 2017 the pre-test questionnaires were applied, subsequently from November 2018 to August 2019 all

questionnaires intended for investigation and data, were applied. The results obtained were tabulated and analyzed using SPSS, version 24.0, program and later described and discussed.

3. Results

When asked about their knowledge of *bullying*, all respondents said they had heard of *bullying*. Therefore, teachers and early childhood educators were asked to rate their knowledge on the subject. Most teachers, 61.2% (169) said they knew the phenomenon well and 30.1% (83) said they knew *bullying* very well. However, 8.7% (24) of respondents reported having little knowledge on this subject. Regarding the data obtained from early childhood educators, 23.2% (64) stated that they knew the phenomenon well, 23.2% (64) said they knew *bullying* very well. However, 16.7% (46) of respondents reported having little knowledge on this subject. Regarding the characterization of the participants' experience and training with the *bullying* phenomenon, in view of the results, it was concluded that the majority of the teachers surveyed, 56.5% (156) experienced *bullying* in their childhood or youth, and it happened to the 56.2% (151) of the kindergarten teachers surveyed.

Given the results obtained, only 23.2% (64) of the teachers stated that they had studied on this issue in their academic formation, in contrast to the 33.0% (91) of the kindergarten teachers. On the other hand, 37.0% (102) of the teachers already had training on the phenomenon as a professional and of these, 73 said that the training answered their questions. Of the 174 teachers who had never been trained about *bullying* situations, 69.0% stated that they already felt the need for such training, while only 29.0% (80) of the early childhood educators said they had already been trained, and 62 said that the training responded to their doubts. Of 196 educators who had never been trained in *bullying*, 63.8% said they felt the need to do so.

Most of the teachers and kindergarten teachers participating in the study, 92.0% (254), considered that *bullying* is currently a concern in schools.

Regarding the perception that teachers and kindergarten teachers surveyed have about primary prevention of *bullying*, most teachers, 96.0% (265) and kindergarten teachers 98.9% (273) defend that «*bullying* prevention is pertinent in preschool education»: just as 95.3% (263) of teachers and 99.3% (274) of kindergarten teachers considered «advantageous that primary prevention of *bullying* begins in preschool education». Similarly, the majority, 97.5% (269) of the teachers and

kindergarten respondents defended that «it is pertinent to have professional training on *bullying* in schools».

Regarding the existence of any instrument / protocol of action / signaling for possible occurrences of *bullying* among children in the school where they work, 33.3% (92) of the teachers said yes, in contrast to 19.9% (55) of the early childhood educators.

Teachers and kindergarten teachers were asked to characterize school-based prevention of *bullying*. Most teachers, 55.43% (153), while 35.9% of kindergarten teachers, stated that «it is a phenomenon visible in schools but in terms of primary prevention there is still much to be done». At the same time, 33.70% (93) of teachers and 47.8% (132) of early childhood educators reported that «primary prevention exists in schools but needs to be strengthened /improved for it to be effective».

Regarding the understandings of teachers and early childhood educators on combining

playfulness with education as a primary prevention and sensitization tool for children, most teachers, 96.01% (265) and early childhood educators 96.4% (266) agreed that combining playing (didactic games) with education could work as an instrument for primary prevention and sensitization of children, both in pre-school education and in the 1st cycle of basic education, for this problem.

Finally, it's presented the intersection of the results obtained from first cycle teachers and early childhood educators about their understandings. By crossing the answers and the chi-square independence test, it was intended to determine the possible association between the understandings of the professionals under study. Table 1 explored the self-evaluation about *bullying*, having experienced this phenomenon as a child, as well as the training received and viewed *bullying* as a problem of concern in schools.

Table 1. Crossing the understanding of teachers and educators about bullying knowledge, experience and training

Variable		Profession		Total	Chi-square test
		1st cycle teacher	Kindergarten teacher		
		n(%)	n(%)	n(%)	ET(p)
Bullying Knowledge Assessment	I know very well	83(30,1)	64(23,2)	147(26,6)	9,397 (0,009)
	Know well	169(61,2)	166(60,1)	335(60,7)	
	I know little	24(8,7)	46(16,7)	70(12,7)	
	Total	276(100)	276(100)	552(100)	
Experienced the phenomenon in youth	Yes	156(56,5)	155(56,2)	311(56,3)	0,007 (0,932)
	No	120(43,5)	121(43,8)	241(43,7)	
	Total	276(100)	276(100)	552(100)	
In academic training he studied the phenomenon	Yes	64(23,2)	91(33,0)	155(28,1)	6,539 (0,011)
	No	212(76,8)	185(67,0)	397(71,9)	
	Total	276(100)	276(100)	552(100)	
As a professional I was trained	Yes	102(37,0)	80(29,0)	182(33,0)	3,967 (0,046)
	No	174(63,0)	196(71,0)	370(67,0)	
	Total	276(100)	276(100)	552(100)	
Bullying is a problem in schools today	Yes	254(92,0)	271(98,2)	525(95,1)	11,254 (0,001)
	No	22(8,0)	5(1,8)	27(4,9)	
	Total	276(100)	276(100)	552(100)	

n - observed absolute frequency; % - relative frequency; ET - test statistic; p- proof value

Most of the teachers, 61.2%, as well as most educators, 60.1%, stated that they knew the phenomenon under analysis well. However, at a significance level of 1%, it was concluded that the profession is statistically associated with the evaluation of *bullying* knowledge, ($\chi = 9,397$; $p = 0.009$), since first cycle teachers reported to know very well the phenomenon than what was theoretically expected, as well as more educators than expected, to state that they know little of this phenomenon.

Regarding the possible experience of professionals in childhood / youth, very similar results were observed between elementary school teachers and kindergarten teachers, so by the chi-square test it was concluded, at a significance level of 5%, that the experience of the phenomenon

in the past was statistically independent of its current activity.

Regarding the study of the phenomenon during the academic formation, it was observed that the majority of teachers, 76.8%, stated that this did not happen, as did the majority of educators, 67.0%. It was found that most teachers did not have academic training about the phenomenon as well as educators. This justifies the statistically significant association between the profession and the study of *bullying* during the course ($\chi = 6,539$; $p = 0,011$).

Regarding *bullying* training as a professional, it was observed that most of the first cycle teachers and most of the educators stated that they did not have it. However, 37.0% (102) of teachers said they already had and 29.0% (80) of educators as

well. Given the imbalance between the observed number of teachers and educators that have been trained in terms of *bullying* during their professional activity, it was concluded by the chi-square test, ($\chi = 3,967$; $p = 0,046$), that the variables were statistically associated.

Regarding the fact that *bullying* is a worrying problem of the current days in schools, it was observed that 92.0% of elementary school teachers said yes, as well as 98.2% of kindergarten teachers. By the chi-square test, ($\chi = 11,254$; $0,00 = 0,001$), it was concluded that the activity performed was statistically associated with the understanding of this aspect, and the educators were the ones who stood out.

Table 2 shows the intersection of the understanding of teachers and early childhood educators about primary prevention of *bullying* in the institution where they worked. In this sense, it was observed that most teachers, 96.0%, like most educators, 98.9% stated that they considered the primary prevention of *bullying* to start in preschool education as pertinent.

However, at a significance level of 5%, it was concluded that the profession is statistically associated with the evaluation made on this issue, ($\chi = 4,690$; $0,0 = 0,030$), since more early childhood educators were observed to defend such fact than first cycle teachers.

Table 2. Crossing the understanding of teachers and educators about primary prevention					
Variable		Profession		Total	Chi-square test
		1st cycle teacher	Kindergarten teacher		
		n(%)	n(%)	n(%)	ET(p)
Considers primary prevention relevant	Yes	265(96,0)	273(98,9)	538(97,5)	4,690 (0,030)
	No	11(4,0)	3(1,1)	14(2,5)	
	Total	276(100)	276(100)	552(100)	
Considers it advantageous for prevention to begin in preschool	Yes	263(95,3)	274(99,3)	537(99,3)	8,292 (0,004)
	No	13(4,7)	2(0,7)	15(2,7)	
	Total	276(100)	276(100)	552(100)	
Do you think it is appropriate to have training for professionals	Yes	269(97,5)	269(97,5)	538(97,5)	0,001 (0,999)
	No	7(2,5)	7(2,5)	14(2,5)	
	Total	276(100)	276(100)	552(100)	
Combining the playful with education with prevention instrument	Yes	265(96,0)	266(96,4)	531(96,2)	0,050 (0,824)
	No	11(4,0)	10(3,6)	21(3,8)	
	Total	276(100)	276(100)	552(100)	
What best characterizes prevention in your school	It's all undone	24(8,7)	29(10,5)	53(9,6)	23,349 (0,000)
	It's done enough	6(2,2)	16(5,8)	22(4,0)	
	Increasingly visible phenomenon	153(55,4)	99(35,9)	252(45,7)	
	Primary prevention	93(33,7)	132(47,8)	225(40,8)	
	Total	276(100)	276(100)	552(100)	

n - observed absolute frequency; % - relative frequency; ET - test statistic; p- proof value.

Regarding the fact that it is advantageous for primary prevention of *bullying* to start in pre-primary education, it was noted that most teachers, 95.3%, said yes, as did most, 97.5%, of kindergarten teachers. It has been found that educators are defending this advantage more than teachers, which justifies the statistically significant association between the profession and the answer to this question ($\chi = 8,292$; $p = 0.004$).

Regarding the pertinence of the existence of training for *bullying* professionals in schools, very similar results were observed among first cycle teachers (97.5%) and kindergarten teachers (97.5%). It was concluded, at a significance level of 5%, that the identification of this relevance was statistically independent from the activity currently performed.

When it comes to combining playing and education as an instrument for primary prevention and children's sensitization, very similar results were observed between first cycle teachers (96.01%) and early childhood educators (96.4%). Chi-square concluded, at a significance level of 5%, that the opinion on this aspect was statistically independent from the activity currently performed.

Regarding what best characterized prevention in the institution where they currently work, it was observed that 55.4% of teachers and 35.9% of kindergarten teachers stated that «this phenomenon is increasingly visible in schools but in terms of prevention, much remains to be done». On the other hand, 33.7% of teachers and 47.8% of educators agreed that «primary prevention exists in schools, but it must be strengthened / improved to have better effects». Given the imbalance between the opinions of teachers and educators, it was concluded by the chi-square test, ($\chi = 23,349$; $p = 0.000$), that the professional activity performed was statistically associated with the prevention and characterization performed in the workplace.

4. Analysis of Results

In this research, it was found that all teachers and kindergarten teachers interviewed, knew well the phenomenon of *bullying*, and this perception is added by the fact that the majority still know the phenomenon very well. In a study conducted by Silva (2014), teachers revealed that they know *bullying*, which meets other findings in the literature. However, another study by the same authors, conducted in a public school in Brazil, revealed that teachers know *bullying*, but incompletely. They also added that they are not prepared to deal with this complex phenomenon, which is in line

with what was mentioned by some of the participants in this research, when they said that they have little knowledge about this subject, while contradicting the majority who say they knew a lot. The phenomenon, in this line of thought, can also be noted that although no studies have been found in the literature, any study on the perception of early childhood educators regarding *bullying*, with regard to teachers, is the one carried out at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, where it was found that about half of the teachers could not give information about whether or not students were bullied (Silva, et al., 2017a). In another study by the same authors (2017b) conducted with 17 teachers from five public schools in São Paulo, it was concluded that only 17% of teachers were aware of *bullying*, with theoretical and critical knowledge about the forms of production of the phenomenon.

Regarding training on the issue of *bullying*, although some respondents have taken approaches during academic and vocational training, a large percentage of teachers and early childhood educators have never been trained in *bullying*. Yoon & Bauman (2014) show that teachers are not efficiently prepared to cope with *bullying*, while concluding that most teachers recognize the need to address how to intervene in *bullying* situations. The authors add that there are few programs that provide teachers with adequate training and when this happens, they tend to focus on theoretical information.

In a study by Silva et al. (2013), the teachers approached report that situations of school violence are complex and therefore require more comprehensive and articulated interventions. Silva & Rosa (2013) also highlight the need to review initial and continuing teacher training programs to be able to act more effectively in the face of challenges of school violence, in particular, *bullying*. They also add that debates and lectures are insufficient for intervention. New research is needed in the training institutions to review the adopted models. In this context Oliveira (2012) adds that teachers, faced with various forms of school violence and without adequate training and specialized guidance, become powerless in dealing with conflict manifestations, while failing to act effectively. Studies also reveal that teachers feel powerless in the face of acts of violence in the school environment, being aware that their actions are ineffective, mainly because they have not been adequately trained in the area of the problem. Eyng's study; Gisi & Ens (2009) is an example of these conclusions when it comes to processes of teachers' education to challenge the construction of various competences in teachers, aiming to

transform them into agents promoting dialogue, knowing how to value diversity in an egalitarian perspective.

Most respondents considered *bullying* an increasingly worrisome problem in schools, in this sense they agree that it is pertinent and advantageous for its prevention to begin in pre-school education. Although scarce or even nonexistent, studies on primary prevention of *bullying* from pre-school education emphasize that it should be considered as a first field to intervene in the prevention of *bullying* in the school context. If in terms of 1st cycle a lot has been said about *bullying*, about what happens in the preschool context, little has been studied. Noteworthy here is the study by Crick, Casas & Ku (1999) conducted with preschool children and another study by Kishimoto (2001), also covering the same audience.

The relevance of having training for professionals on *bullying* in schools is defended by all respondents, in line with the literature that proposes the expansion of actions aimed at teachers' education, especially with regard to conceptual training, with the purpose of strengthen the vast theory, fundamental and necessary to tackle *bullying* in the school environment. Studies also reveal that when teachers have little awareness of the phenomenon, there is no place for a pedagogical intervention and much less to overcome the problem in the school environment (Silva *et al.*, 2017). Researchers such as Neto (2005); Martins (2005); Botelho & Souza (2007); Pereira; Silva & Nunes (2009); Pereira *et al.* (2011) and Fisher *et al.* (2012) demonstrated that to prevent the phenomenon of *bullying* it is necessary to involve the whole school community. Interventions at school involving intersectoral actions, in accordance with studies are more effective (Smith; Rigby & Peeper (2004); Pereira; Silva & Nunes (2009); Pereira *et al.*, (2011).

For Winslade, *et al.* (2015) schools can deal with *bullying* by encouraging counselors, teachers and principals to play a transformative role rather than accepting this phenomenon.

Regarding the existence of an instrument / protocol of action / signaling for possible occurrences of *bullying* among children in the educational establishment where the respondents perform functions, it appears that it exists, which does not happen in schools in some countries, such as refer Silva *et al.* (2013) in a study conducted in Brazil, specifically in the city of Uberaba, demonstrated the absence of a school project to combat *bullying* and the lack of articulation between professionals.

In line with what the literature points out, the 1st grade teachers and kindergarten teachers who

participated in the study, given the response options proposed in the questionnaire, mentioned being aware that the phenomenon of *bullying* is increasingly visible in schools, but in terms of primary prevention, there is still much to be done because, although it does exist, it needs to be strengthened/improved to be effective.

Regarding the relevance of combining playing and education as an instrument for primary prevention and raising children's awareness of the problem of *bullying*, it was found that both 1st cycle teachers and early childhood educators advocate the alienation of play (school games) to educated both in pre-school education and in the 1st cycle of basic education for the problematic, which goes against what was defended in the 18th century by Rousseau and Pestalozzi when they emphasized the importance of games as a formative instrument, according to what was found in a bibliographic review.

Although researchers over time have been more concerned with dramatic playing and symbolic playing in children's cognitive development, and although some actors point to the emergence of educational games in the 16th century, studies by Kishimoto (2003) have found that the first studies around them are in Greece and Rome. Research carried out in the early twentieth century varies in intensity according to the political and social contingencies of each era, but in the 1970s the psychological studies on children's play, stimulated by Jean Piaget (1971), resurface.

More and more authors are currently investigating the *bullying* phenomenon, especially with regard to schools. There are also several studies on the perception of first cycle teachers about this phenomenon (Smith, 2004; Neto 1997; Pereira, Silva & Nunes, 2009), but studies on the perception of early childhood educators regarding the problem and those related to playing games as a prevention of *bullying* are barely visible. However, in Portugal the work conducted by Marques (2017) with children of the 1st cycle of the physical education area, which consisted of research over a year in the school playground with the aim of distinguishing between fighting and *bullying* in this space, through the games they played during this period of fun. For elementary school teachers, many fighting games turn into serious situations, and this opinion, according to Sharp & Smith (1994), is based on the few cases in which this happens. For most children, only 1% of fighting games become serious fighting (Smith *et al.*, 2003).

Studies, although unpublished, appear in the literature review to meet the importance of using educational games as a strategy to reduce violence in schools allowing children to work

cooperatively, develop critical thinking and know how to solve problems.

Complementing this view, Tesani (2004) defends that playing is essential as a pedagogical resource, because playing articulates theory and practice in the child, formulates hypotheses and experiences, making learning attractive and interesting.

Playing games is an important role in the cognitive, affective and social formation of children so that, through it, it is possible to enable their socialization and integration into society.

5. Conclusions

Studies on *bullying* are not recent, the first one was in 1982 by Dan Olweus in Norway. This issue continues to concern all institutions and the whole of teachers, kindergarten teachers and parents. It's extremely complex, and it takes on very specific forms that must be understood in order to intervene. In this sense, teacher's training is fundamental, as it is those who can most easily prevent and detect this problem in schools, even if this requires initial and ongoing training and at the same time with the support of society as a whole.

Strech (2004) emphasizes the importance that we should all have in the prevention of *bullying*, emphasizing the importance of the performance of parents, educators and teachers. It is not enough to know and criticize the problems of society, it becomes relevant to act actively by betting on primary prevention with regard to the phenomenon of *bullying*. Assuming that playful activities are extremely important in the lives of children, in addition to contributing to their development, they may also play a major role as a tool for preventing *bullying*.

We may then wonder about the relevance of using didactic games for the primary prevention of *bullying*, and more specifically, in preschool education. While it is urgent to move to primary intervention to prevent and reduce *bullying*, it is necessary to create tools to facilitate this increasingly relevant and complex task.

The use of games, as an educational resource, starts from the Renaissance (Kishimoto, 2003), the examples found in the literature review about the positive results obtained through the application of games in the construction of knowledge and in the development of global education. By encouraging motivation, reasoning and argumentation between teachers and students, reinforced the belief of its importance as a strategy not only for the teaching and learning of concepts but also for the contribution of primary prevention of *bullying* and more specifically through of the use of educational games.

Analyzing the data of the present research, the main conclusions are the unanimity of the participants in claiming to know the phenomenon of *bullying*, although there are more teachers who know it well and kindergarten teachers claiming that they know little, at the same time. Teachers have not been trained as much as educators during the course about the phenomenon but that is a worrying problem of the present time and more specifically in schools.

When referring to the primary prevention of *bullying* in the institution where they work, teachers and early childhood educators considered it pertinent and advantageous for prevention to begin in pre-school education, although teachers argued further for such facts, as well as the existence of training on *bullying* in schools. Regarding combining playing and education as a primary prevention and awareness-raising tool for both pre-school and primary education, both considered that it could work as a prevention tool.

Finally, *bullying* has been found to be an increasingly visible phenomenon in schools, but in terms of prevention, much remains to be done, and although it exists, it needs to be reinforced/improved for better effects.

In view of the foregoing, the effort of this investigation is so that the game can gain space not only as a learning tool, but also as an educational tool for the primary prevention of violence and most often *bullying*.

Notes

- ¹ Author's free translation.
- ² Questionnaire built by Cátia Vaz to identify the understanding of early childhood educators and 1st cycle teachers about the phenomenon of bullying and its primary prevention through playing, within the PhD thesis in Social Sciences, Faculty of Social Sciences, University from Salamanca.

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**SILENCED DIVERSITY: THE ANONYMITY OF CHILDREN
 DISPLACED IN COLOMBIAN SCHOOLS**
**DIVERSIDAD SILENCIADA: EL ANONIMATO DE LOS NIÑOS Y NIÑAS
 DESPLAZADOS EN LAS ESCUELAS COLOMBIANAS**
**DIVERSIDADE SILENCIOSA: AS ANÔNIMAS DE CRIANÇAS DESLOCADAS
 NAS ESCOLAS COLOMBIANAS**

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<p>KEY WORDS: forced displacement school indifference anonymity silence</p>	<p>ABSTRACT: This work addresses the strategies of concealment of the condition of forced displaced boys, girls and adolescents in Colombian schools. From the theoretical level, silence is conceived as a social practice. The general objective is to understand the silencing of the displaced condition by the victims themselves. To achieve the proposed goal, a qualitative methodological approach is adopted, as it is interesting to know how displaced girls and boys perceive the educational reality. A total of 26 interviews between open and semi-structured have been conducted. The sample has been composed of children, adolescents, parents, and professionals linked to the educational context. The technique of analysis followed is the theory based as an analysis technique. Specifically, we have followed an axial coding procedure defined by Strauss and Corbin. The conclusions show how meaningful each profile of respondents gives their action to silence the displaced person's condition. And how, these strategies paradoxically act as a mechanism of exclusion in the educational context.</p>
<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: desplazamiento forzado escuela anonimato silencio</p>	<p>RESUMEN: En el presente trabajo se abordan las estrategias de niños, niñas y adolescentes para ocultar su condición de desplazado forzado en las escuelas colombianas. Desde el plano teórico se concibe el silencio como una práctica social. El objetivo general estriba en comprender el silenciamiento de la condición de desplazado por parte de las propias víctimas. Para alcanzar dicha meta se adopta un planteamiento metodológico cualitativo, pues interesa conocer cómo se percibe la realidad educativa de las niñas y niños desplazados. Se han realizado un total de 26 entrevistas entre abiertas y semiestructuradas. La muestra se ha compuesto por niños/as, adolescentes, padres/madres y profesionales vinculados al contexto educativo. La estrategia de análisis seguida es la teoría fundamentada. Concretamente, se ha</p>

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	seguido el procedimiento de codificación axial definida por Strauss y Corbin. Las conclusiones muestran qué sentido da a su acción cada perfil de entrevistados a la hora de silenciar la condición de desplazado. Y cómo, paradójicamente, estas estrategias actúan como mecanismo de exclusión en el contexto educativo.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: deslocamento forçado escola anonimato silêncio	RESUMO: Este artigo aborda as estratégias de ocultação da condição de meninas deslocadas forçadas, meninos adolescentes em escolas colombianas. Do nível teórico, o silêncio é concebido como uma prática social. O objetivo geral é entender o silenciamento da condição de deslocamento pelas próprias vítimas. Para atingir o objetivo proposto, é adotada uma abordagem metodológica qualitativa, pois é interessante saber como meninas e meninos deslocados percebem a realidade educacional. Foram realizadas 26 entrevistas entre abertas e semiestruturadas. A amostra foi composta por crianças, adolescentes, pais e profissionais ligados ao contexto educacional. A técnica de análise seguida é a teoria baseada em uma técnica de análise. Especificamente, seguimos um procedimento de codificação axial definido por Strauss e Corbin. As conclusões mostram o quanto significativo cada perfil de entrevistados dá sua ação para silenciar a condição da pessoa deslocada. E quão, paradoxalmente essas estratégias agem como um mecanismo de exclusão no contexto educacional.

1. Introduction

Colombia is one of the countries with the highest number of internal displacements in the world due to conflicts. For instance, from 1997 until 2013, 5.185.406 internal displacements were registered (UN Refugee Agency [UNHCR], 2013). Rural populations have been struck by conflicts, which are especially intense in these areas. Due to the lack of material means of survival, they have been forced to abandon their homes and flee to cities such as Bogotá, Medellín, Cali, Barranquilla or Bucaramanga.

These recipient cities still have not been able to implement socially satisfactory solutions in face of the human challenge that arises from forced displacement due to the fact that it is difficult to the real scale of the issue, among other aspects (Corredor, 2010; Jaramillo, 2006; Naranjo, 2004; Villa, 2009). It is estimated that families and people registered as displaced only represent 30% of the total number, this circumstance reduces the possibilities of receiving aid from public entities that is adapted to the population's individual needs (Corredor, 2010; Jaramillo, 2006; Naranjo, 2004; Villa, 2009). This lack of a faithful registry shows its most harrowing facets in the child population.

In the period of time between 1985 and 2007, approximately 2.380.274 children and teenagers grew up in the midst of harsh conditions of uprooting and exile due to forced displacement (Vanegas, Bonilla & Camacho, 2011). Out of this population, 41% were younger than 14 years old at the moment of displacement and only four out of ten had access to education (Vanegas, Bonilla & Camacho, 2011). This life experience marks these children for life and, above all, affects their individual development process (Romero & Castañeda, 2009). The data brings to light that Colombian children in a situation of forced displacement

represent a weak and defenceless part of a specific population that is already vulnerable as is. For instance, they are huddled in host cities nearly deprived of public services such as schooling and health services, without truly understanding why they have ended up in such situation of scarcity (Vanegas, Bonilla & Camacho, 2011).

Forced displacement compromises formal schooling of thousands of children, thus compromising their overall development. They are forced to abandon their rural schools, their teachers and classmates, to enter urban host schools, but now as a displaced person. The arrival of these children has a significant impact on recipient educational communities due to the fact that their arrival increases the complexity of social relationships at classroom. They represent an educational reality tinted by great heterogeneity and social and cultural diversity which blurs the lines of the equality in educational opportunities. This is not due to the diversity in itself, but rather to the heterogeneity silenced by the own victims (Vera, Parra & Parra, 2007). That is, it is a group that is present in Colombian classrooms, but that is in social anonymity. In such a complex educational context like this, offering a level learning field and education seems a difficult a difficult ideal to attain.

Nowadays, research on displacement and school inclusion has mainly focused on aspects such as quality, curricular flexibility, school inclusion, diversity and right to education or on violence. For example, Ruiz Castro (2010) analyses how educational content and the right to education in Colombian schools with students who are victims of forced displacement is managed. Her research managed to pinpoint good practices that better guarantee this student group's right to education. For their part, Villegas and Rojas (2011) carry out a documentary analysis in order to discover the scope of the education on Human Rights in Restoring the Right to Education for children and

teenagers affected by armed conflict. This article shines a light on how education becomes a key part in restoring countries in situations of conflict.

It is worth mentioning the work of Vera, Parra and Parra (2007) where they note that displaced minors prefer to go unnoticed in fear of being discriminated or rejected when starting at a new school. In this sense, the authors identify three mechanisms in place that do not allow visibility of forced displacement in schools, namely: denying the condition, not recognising the existence of displaced persons in the classrooms, or not offering special treatment to displaced children based on their condition.

For their part, in the study of Vera, Palacio and Patino (2014), they try to understand the social situation generated in the school community after receiving victims of political violence. At the same time, they try to analyse whether the educational response encourages inclusion. In their results, they note how this social group is truly excluded.

Emphasising on the educational context, in Vera-Márquez, Palacio and Holgado's study (2015) they assess the children's psychological and sociocultural adaptation process in terms of forced displacement in Colombia. The authors identify a series of factors that hinder or encourage their adaptation. They also shed a light on the school's role in achieving integration of the child population victim of violence when this reality comes about in the school context. In this regard, in the work of Barajas and Moreno (2015), they conclude that the process of educational inclusion must be a collective task and all of the actors involved in the educational community must play their part, thus breaking with the imposed fantasy that arises from the modern thinking of uniformity that poses that there is an "excluded" subject and an "inclusive" subject. This investigation precisely articulates all of the actors in their particular scenario in such a way that the process of inclusion is built along a two-way road and drawn from the existing needs and subjectivity at the school of Nuevo Chile in Colombia.

Overall, the advances in this matter have been covered by the empirical evidence that has been consulted, yet there are also some grey areas that should also be addressed. It is worth noting that there are not many studies that assess the inclusion of displaced children in Colombia. Most of the studies focused on educational equality and inclusion in schools are focused on people with disabilities. In this sense, we see that it is still necessary to evaluate educational inclusion from the perspective of the own victims. For example, certain questions arise such as why is this condition silenced by the displaced population in the school

context? Or more specifically, what is the reason behind these children silencing their condition of displaced person in schools?

For these reasons, the object of this study is to understand why the own victims silence their condition of displaced persons. Finally, this study aims to contribute to fill the gaps that exist in this sense, by exploring a social condition that seems to hinder the ideal of educational inclusion of forcefully displaced children and teenagers in the schools of Comuna Uno in Bucaramanga. According to the Unique Registry of Displacement Bucaramanga, it is listed as one of the largest receiver of the displaced population in Colombia during the last years.

2. Methodology

In this investigation, the starting point is the silence of displaced persons which is not associated with prudence or grandeur, but by staying silent, the person listens to the voice of the universe and finds their own self. In this sense, it refers to silence that is linked to the axis of power: an imposed silence emerges from a mandatory silence. Freire (2012) in his work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, states that in silence culture there is a clear link between the oppressor and the oppressed that, from the banking approach, excludes the less advantaged. For Freire, "silence culture" is generated in an oppressing model where both the oppressed person and the oppressor carry out the violent act together. The latter coerces the former and this one lives and acknowledges the violent act and contributes to breach the Law (Freire, 2012).

The silence imposed by a violent context impacts society because "imposed silence, always an ally of the aggressor, perpetuates the victim's condition whilst allowing the aggressor to go unpunished" (Cury, 2007, p. 77). Thus, in silence culture, many are the oppressors: the State, political parties in charge, but also the displaced persons. Due to the fact that the latter choose to remain silent, accepting their prohibition to participate autonomously in the transformation of the society, they end up consenting oppression. Invisibility is one of the silence culture's powerful instruments because it perpetuates inequality, injustice, violations and violence (Arteta, 2010).

However, silence does not manifest as an individual condition, yet as a communitarian condition. That is, not only those who live and directly experience the effects of violence are the ones who remain silent, yet the ones who witness them. This mindset of lack of general interest in the matter gives place to a process that leads to the alienation

and self-denial of the oppressed and the oppressors (Freire, 2012). Likewise, silence is also linked to secrecy (Mendoza, 2009). Secrecy as the deliberate concealment of information is a key example of silence in social interaction (Simmel, 1977). Both dimensions, indifference and secrecy, come together in a key process: communication, both in terms of the speaker's denial as well as the concealment of information (Tacussel, 1994).

From communication, we can get an in-depth understanding of silence linked to secrecy through Jakobson's functions of language (Gallego, 2013). From this perspective, secrecy means one thing or the other depending on the emphasis put on each of the factors that are present in the process of communication: sender, receiver, context, code and reference. If secrecy silences the sender, anonymity is produced. If it suppresses the receiver, silence is produced because the existence of the receiver is unknown (speaker). If emphasis is placed on the message, it refers to lies. In this case, the message is concealed. If emphasis is placed on the channel with an aim to cancel or avoid contact, isolation is produced. If the code is concealed, it refers to cryptography to conceal information. And, finally, if the context is concealed, it gives place to hiding. For instance, in regards to displaced persons, if the reference is cancelled (the displaced person), they remain anonymous.

In consequence, based on this approach, the object of study is silence, understood as a social practice. This approach allows us to analyse the reason behind the silence and anonymity strategies that the own actors put in place.

In order to reach our objective, we believe that a qualitative analysis gives added value when delving in the key players' subjectivity in terms of interpreting the reason behind the silence of displaced persons. It is rather difficult to use numbers to understand feelings, fear, frustration or hopelessness that forcefully displaced children experience. Therefore, we believe that a qualitative analysis is the most appropriate option to retrieve the subjectivity and the point of view of the own actors (Martínez, 2006), who are the victims of the conflict and of the people who, in one way or the other, are in contact with this issue.

The data is gathered by different qualitative techniques that allow us to get a closer look at the actors' different standpoints in regards to the problem in question. This set of techniques was also used to retrieve the collective subjectivity that marks the conflict in the specific context of Comuna Uno in Bucaramanga. The following techniques were selected:

- *In-depth interview*, adapted for children, teenagers, parents or caregivers of victims of forced

displacement. This type of interview was proposed for this group taking into account that the participants are aware of their situation, that they can reflect on it and, at the same time, can contribute to the search of pertinent solutions (Delgado & Gutiérrez, 1994; Cánovas, Riquelme, Orellana & Sanz, 2019).

- *Semi-structured interview*. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with a group of professionals, dubbed the *Institutional voice* (IV) for the purposes of this study, made up of teachers and psychosocial experts. These interviews are key to the study in that the point of view of the IV allows us to understand silence, the object of the investigation.

The study group was chosen from the public school institutions in Comuna Uno in Bucaramanga and the students enrolled that fit in the profile of victim of armed conflict and their families were called to participate. Once the consent to access the educational centers was received, invitations were sent to parents or guardians who achieve the previously established profile; since they should know the study significance. Before interviewing girls and boys, they were informed that their names would be omitted to protect their identity, as well as that of their families and near people. These measures were established to provide them with the confidentiality and confidence necessary to develop their stories with relief, observing article 153 of Law 1098 of 2006, Childhood and Adolescence Law.

In this process, the study group was made up of those people who fit in the previously established profiles and who decided to participate voluntarily. We can also call this group a "self-selected group" because the people themselves are the ones who propose to participate (Hernández, Fernández & Baptista, 1998). It is important to note that it is not easy to access this population due to the fact that they are reluctant to tell their experiences related to displacement and because they live in a state of constant concealment from the moment they flee their homes. The group of professionals was selected amongst the representatives of seven schools, each of which was chosen by the rest of the team of their corresponding school in an initial work meeting. The topic of the investigation was also disclosed in this first encounter.

Finally, we established four profiles: the first one made up of children and teenagers who are victims of forced displacement; the second one made up of parents or caregivers of victims of forced displacement; and the "*Institutional voice*", which is subdivided into two more profiles: on the

one hand, teachers, and on the other, psychosocial professionals.

The final study group was made up of 26 individuals divided up in the following way (Table 1).

Table 1. Sample by profiles and techniques used.

Profiles	Techniques	Number and code of interviews
Girls, boys and teenagers	In-depth interview	E1-E2-E3-E4-E5-E6-E7-E8-E9-E10
Parents	Ind-eptth interview	F1-F2-F3-F4-F5-F6
Teachers	Semi-structured Interview	M1-M2-M3-M4-M5-M6
Professional	Semi-structured Interview	PS1-PS2-PS3-PS4

The script elaborated to subtract the vision of each one of the groups of interviewees has been concretized in a battery of analysis questions, connected with the category of analysis, silence, which are presented below:

Children who are victims of displacement:

- C1: Initial relationship with classmates and teachers.
- C2: Information on behalf of the school on rights and obligations as a displaced student.
- C3: Support given by teachers and directors (principal, coordinator, psychologist, social worker) for displaced children.
- C4: Form of communication with the school (teachers and directors) on the need of assistance due to their situation of displaced children.

Parents:

- C5: Information on behalf of the school on their children's rights and obligations as displaced children.
- C6: Integration of their child in the education process in their institution.

Psychosocial professionals:

- P1: Which changes have you witnessed in the situation of displaced students?

- P2: Which public policies is the school implementing in favour of displaced students?

Teachers:

- P3: As a teacher, do you know which of your students are displaced?
- P4: What are the classmates' attitudes towards displaced students entering the classroom? How is the relationship between them?

Finally, Grounded Theory is adopted as an analytical technique. We followed the process of axial coding defined by Strauss and Corbin (1998) as a way to relate the categories with their sub-categories. By using axial coding, we analyse the interviews based on the initial categories. After checking the memorandums, we build subcategories and categories in order to proceed to the detailed analysis of the data obtained, taking into account microanalysis. Finally, we display an analytical strategy focused on the detailed study of each group or within each profile, according to the profiles (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

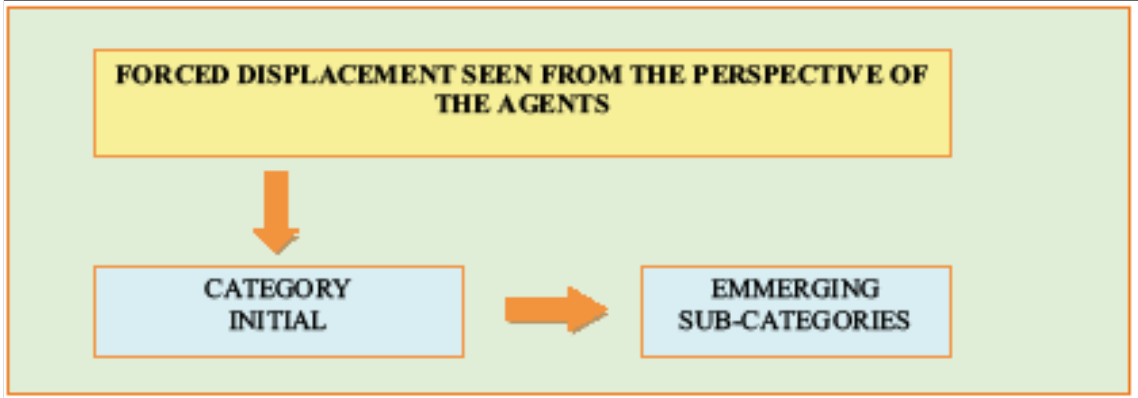
Following this, the matrix designed to lead to axial coding is presented. This is a logical diagram to establish the relationships between the initial analysis category and the emerging subcategories (see table 2).

Table 2. Matrix for Axial Coding

FILE	Categories	Codes	Fragments	Memorandum code	Memorandum by category
Interview-Nu. Question-Nu.					

Table 3 shows the structure developed for the analysis from which the emerging sub-categories were constructed.

Table 3. In-depth interviews and semi-structured interviews



3. Results

This section is subdivided into two more sections. On the one hand, we present an analysis of the interviews to children and teenagers as well as the interviews of parents who are victims of forced displacement. On the other hand, we show the results of the interviews that have been carried out with what we call the *Institutional voice*. This structure allows us to specify the points of union and separation found among the actors involved in forced displacement, according to their sense in terms of the silencing strategies or pursuit of anonymity. To finalise, it is worth mentioning that the interviewee’s remarks appear alongside that person’s number or code, and it is followed by the category or question, both in brackets. For example, interviewee 1 and category 1 (I1-C1).

3.1. Silence in parents, children and teenagers

There is an interesting phenomenon linked to silence: the feeling of insecurity. Being displaced is coupled with a set of experiences and social expectations that give place to feelings of inferiority in the person who suffers such situation. These fears derive from their perception of vulnerability which creates a social fear of finger-pointing and rejection: “because it’s something that you don’t tell in fear of being rejected and them thinking that you’re an invader” (I8-C1). Fear of prejudice, isolation, discrimination, pity, to be seen as the “weird one” because of their appearance: “plus, I don’t comment in fear of people looking bad at me” (I5-C1), which makes them stay on the path towards anonymity: “I’d prefer to stay quiet, plus my

parents don’t want me talking about the displacement” (I8-C1); “my teachers and psychologist don’t know I’m displaced, I haven’t told them” (I3-C3).

However, in the interviews we can see that the decision to conceal their condition is not an unequivocal decision on behalf of the children, yet they are backed by their own parents. At this point, it is interesting to verify how the parents’ construct their own biographical story that aims to define their new social identity based on the denial of past life experiences before the displacement. This biographical narration is mixed into three emerging categories extracted from the parents’ story, namely: *Taboo*, *Protection* and *Denial*.

In terms of *Taboo*, the parents encourage their children to not ask about aspects related to their previous life: “It’s best not to talk about it, not to remember it; they’re better off if they don’t have any problems” (P2-C6). Nonetheless, the minors ask their family members about going back to their old school or about when they will be able to meet up with their old friends – “they ask when they’re going back to their old school to be with their friends again” (P4-C3) –. And, in general, they are anxious to get back to their old lives; this is how one of the interviewees responds in regards to their child’s questions: “When will they be able to get back what they were before, find their own space, their past memories and experiences? And when will they be able to go back home?” (P4-C3). In this sense, parents channel their anonymity strategy by forgetting their past in order to erase their condition of displaced persons.

Behind this strategy is an underlying fear of the families that their children will be recognised

as “displaced”, and that they will be exposed to a situation of defencelessness, as one of the younger interviewees has stated: “My mom is afraid of going to the psychologist or the principal because she’s always told me not to tell anyone where I come from or how we left the village” (I1-C9). In face of this situation of vulnerability, parents want to *Protect* their children by urging them not to talk about their displacement, as one of the interviewees has stated, “it’s best not to talk about it, not to remember it; it’s best that they don’t ask about it; they could get in trouble; they could be more aggressive and be in danger if they talk about this with their classmates” (E2-C6).

Parents believe that confronting the situation could give place to problems in school. This fear makes them urge their children to not say anything at their school about their origin, aiming to Deny their life story, as we can see in the following statements: “I haven’t told anyone that I’m displaced” (I7-C9) or, “she’s always told me not to tell anyone where I come from” (I1-C9).

However, it is a paradox that the parents silence their situation as forcefully displaced persons if we understand this attitude as a better strategy to deal with the adversities that they can face if their reality were to come to light. Especially in regards to the fact that their decision implies ignoring the rights that are conferred to them specifically because they are displaced persons, which ultimately leads to a lack of institutional support: “I don’t know which rights displaced children have because of that reason: I prefer not to ask nor say anything; it’s best to stay safe and avoid being pointed at because you’re displaced” (I3-C5). This anonymity not only prevents them from knowing and enjoying their rights as displaced persons, but it also obliterates any chance to deal with their situation with the educational tools available at their schools.

Overall, parents, as well as children, are consciously interested in concealing their situation in order to achieve normalcy and it has become the norm. This silence is justified by the negative connotations that they perceive as displaced persons. This is the reason why they keep their situation concealed despite not being able to have support on behalf of schools.

3.2. *The silence in the Institutional Voice*

Throughout the interviews with the actors that fall into the category of what we have dubbed the Institutional Voice, we can see a point of union with the previous interviews that emerges from the perception of the displaced population’s vulnerability. Again, there is a strong negative charge

associated with the “displaced” label. For instance, the Institutional Voice’s statements show that they believe that it would be reckless to identify children as displaced due to the risk of being stigmatised. For this reason, they keep their condition of displacement in anonymity although this group goes to teachers for other reasons: “We have reunions with parents where we cover different topics to help them with their children’s upbringing and we have special consultations when they ask for it. Up to the moment, we have not specifically dealt with displacement” (PS1-C5).

Silence is presented as the Institutional Voice’s decision backed by the victims’ revelations that it could embarrass children and put them at risk, as we can see in the following statements:

“As a teacher, I like observing these situations, in this case, we can only assume because we don’t know for sure who are the displaced children; I try to control the situation so I don’t embarrass them in front of their classmates and I support them by encouraging participation in class because that’s where they differ” (PS6-P3).

“In general, we don’t identify them because we don’t want to stigmatise them and because we have so many students in the classroom which makes it difficult to individually monitor them. We know that there are students that come from the countryside or other regions because of their particular way of speaking, their hairstyles and their way of behaving” (PS1-P3).

However, in terms of the Institutional Voice’s silence, some statements stand out: “Plus, we often feel that they [the displaced children] take advantage of their situation, either because they’re corrupted or because of lack of information, in order to manipulate teachers or the school” (PS6-P3); “Everybody is afraid to say anything because they come from violent places and because they’ve escaped vengeance; it’s not an easy topic for the school” (PS2-C6). The previous statements shed a light on prejudice towards the displaced population. Displaced persons are attributed a tendency to take advantage of their situation for their own benefit. Likewise, this prejudice could be founded on the lack of knowledge on each person’s specific situation, whether they are displaced parents or children, and, at the same time, on the differential attention needed by each person according to their condition.

In sum, according to the analysis of the Institutional Voice’s statements, we can conclude that silence acts as an exclusion mechanism for displaced children because it tends to make the

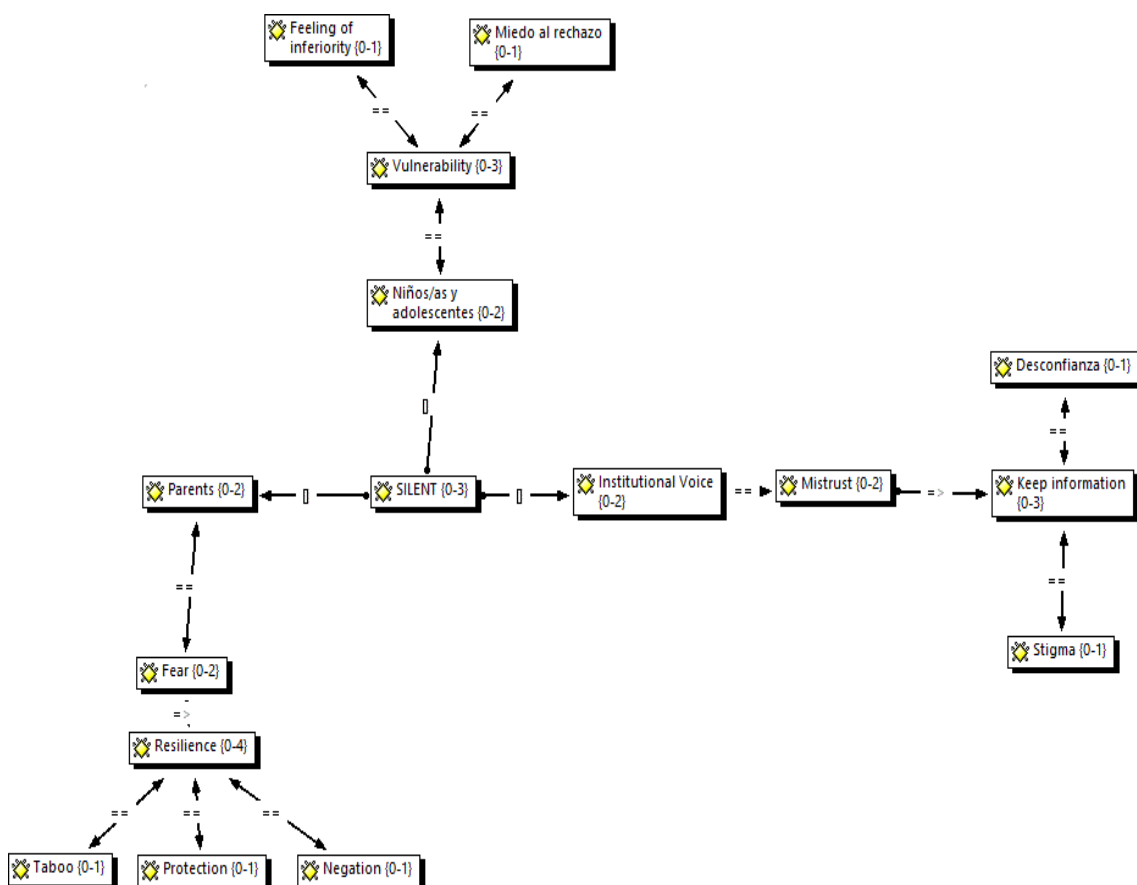
condition anonymous. Minors and parents stay silent about their displaced lives. However, in the educational context, teachers and psychosocial professionals also admit to not confronting this phenomenon in the classroom or in activities that they carry out with parents, as well as in terms of the attention that psychosocial professionals give to students and their parents. The Institutional voice's silence is related to concealing information on the situation of displaced children. The silence in this case is considered as a form of protection, both for the institution itself as well as for minors, because they do not mention the subject to avoid embarrassing them, exposing them socially and putting them at risk. Despite violating many of these children and teenagers' rights which are recognised by multiple international treaties, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by 192 countries, Colombia being one of them, they are denying the necessary and specific guidance and protection they need in their situation of forced displacement.

4. Conclusions

Armed conflict has driven a great number of Colombians from their homes, who flee in fear for their lives to other areas in the national territory. They leave behind their memories and belongings, although the biggest challenge of all is integrating into their host societies. The arrival of the displaced populations in the host city classrooms creates an emergency of educational realities crossed by great social diversity and heterogeneity that clash with the principle of educational equality. This is not due to the increase of social diversity but because part of that heterogeneity is silenced.

According to the analysis of the statements, we associate the strategy of making the displaced group anonymous in the classroom with vulnerability. However, we observe variability in the meaning of silence according to each profile (see graphic 1).

Graphic 1. Category of Analysis and emergent Sub-categories



Parents search for anonymity due to their fear of threat, persecution or death that hangs over the heads of their children. This fear proves the parents' resilience, who tries to offer their children

with the best possible strategy to deal with their reality. It is a dynamic of silencing their condition as displaced persons from the start by urging their children to not delve into their past, thus, avoiding

a process of stigmatisation due to their new condition. For their part, the Institutional voice's silence has to do with concealing information on the displaced children's condition. In this case, this silence comes as a response in order to avoid stigmatising this social group or as a result of the institution's own prejudice towards this group.

However, these silencing strategies, interpreted as mechanisms to protect a vulnerable social group are truly connected to the axis of power. Victims stay silent due to fear; the institution, due to suspicion, but both feel mutual mistrust which comes to reality as a contradiction in the school context. The results show how silencing displacement acts as a mechanism for exclusion of children and teenagers insofar that they cannot be supported as such.

Although, despite this contradiction being founded as conscious silence, in terms of its meaning as a dynamic for anonymity, the key to showing this reality, and making it possible to

intervene, resides in establishing the necessary communication, as understood by Paulo Freire, which can allow the actors involved to understand the complexity of this reality.

In conclusion, the several interviews have allowed us to have a minimum sample of the veracity and credibility that has allowed us to reach the following conclusions backed by the proposed methodology. Nonetheless, although there are limitations related to using qualitative techniques in order to reach representative conclusions on the population, the possibility of having testimonies of a group that is so difficult to interview such as forcefully displaced persons and, in particular, children, is a relevant asset in the empirical evidence obtained. In addition, from the categories obtained, we can suggest that new lines of investigation need to be developed in order to understand how the process of stigmatisation in the classroom towards displaced persons is created.

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STUDY ON CHILD WELFARE OF ADOPTED CHINESE CHILDREN AT SCHOOLS IN CASTILLA Y LEÓN
PERCEPCIÓN DEL BIENESTAR SOCIAL DE NIÑOS Y NIÑAS ADOPTADAS DE ORIGEN CHINO EN LAS ESCUELAS EN CASTILLA Y LEÓN
PERCEPÇÃO DO BEM-ESTAR SOCIAL DE CRIANÇAS ADOTADAS DE ORIGEM CHINESA NAS ESCOLAS DE CASTILLA Y LEÓN

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ABSTRACT: The increasing diversity in schools as a result of international adoption has created new social challenges that need to be addressed. Beyond the learning processes of schools, the school is perceived as the ideal space for children and adolescents to develop skills and behaviours that allow them to live in society and it is considered a meeting point of different cultures. In the case of Spain, adopted Chinese children contributed to ethnic diversity in the classrooms, and the schools had to face this challenge. The main objective of this study is to know the social well-being of children adopted in the Republic of China who attend Secondary Education in Castilla y León since it presents itself as a group potentially exposed to the tensions that arise in heterogeneous groups in educational settings. Ten semi-structured interviews were conducted to meet the objective. The analytical strategy followed is based on well-founded theory. The results show that it is a group mocked for its Asian phenotypic features, but not for its adopted status.

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<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: diversidad adopción bullying étnico vulnerabilidad educación.</p>	<p>RESUMEN: La creciente heterogeneidad en las escuelas, fruto de la adopción internacional, ha generado nuevos desafíos sociales que deben ser abordados. Más allá de los procesos de aprendizaje propios de los centros escolares, se percibe a la escuela como el espacio idóneo para que niños, niñas y adolescentes desarrollen habilidades y comportamientos que les permitan vivir en sociedad y como un escenario de confluencia para culturas totalmente diferenciadas. En el caso de España, la llegada de los niños adoptados de origen chino contribuyó a aumentar la diversidad étnica de la población española en las aulas, y con ello los desafíos para la institución educativa. El objetivo principal de esta investigación estriba en conocer el bienestar social de los niños y niñas adoptados en la R.P. China que cursan la Educación Secundaria en Castilla y León, dado que se presenta como un grupo potencialmente expuesto a las tensiones que se generan en contextos educativos heterogéneos. Para alcanzar el objetivo se han realizado 10 entrevistas semiestructuradas. La estrategia analítica seguida se asienta en la teoría fundamentada. Los resultados muestran que es un grupo objeto de burla por sus rasgos fenotípicos asiáticos, pero no por su condición de adoptados.</p>
<p>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: diversidade adoção intimidação étnica vulnerabilidade educação</p>	<p>RESUMO: A crescente heterogeneidade nas escolas, resultado da adoção internacional, gerou novos desafios sociais que devem ser enfrentados. Além dos processos de aprendizagem das escolas, é percebido como um espaço adequado para que crianças e adolescentes desenvolvam habilidades e comportamentos que lhes permitam viver em sociedade e como cenário de confluência para culturas totalmente diferenciadas. No caso da Espanha, a chegada de crianças adotadas de origem chinesa contribuiu para aumentar a diversidade étnica da população espanhola nas aulas e os desafios para a instituição educacional. O principal objetivo desta pesquisa é encontrar o bem-estar social de meninas adotadas na República Popular da China que frequentam educação média obrigatória em Castela e Leão, uma vez que se apresenta como um grupo potencialmente exposto às tensões generalizadas em contextos educacionais heterogêneos. Para atingir o objetivo, foram realizadas 10 entrevistas semiestruturadas. A estratégia analítica seguida é baseada na teoria fundamentada. Os resultados também mostraria que eles estão sujeitos a provocação de grupo por suas características fenotípicas asiáticas, mas não por sua condição adotada.</p>

1. Introduction

The increasing heterogeneity of society, as a result of increased international mobility, has created new social challenges that need to be addressed. The cultural, ethnic and social differences pose to citizens new scenarios of relationships, which generate tensions (Maldonado, 2016). In this sense, the school is a clear reflection of the dynamics of social interaction derived from such social diversity (García-Yepes, 2017). One of the factors that influence the experience lived in schools is the new composition of the student body, and that must be considered for its academic, emotional and social consequences. Beyond the learning processes, the school is perceived as an ideal space for children and adolescents to develop skills and behaviours that allow them to live in today's society. The school is, therefore, a space of socialization that must contribute to future social cohesion and remove inequalities (Saraví, 2015). In this sense, it is essential to study the well-being of students in schools where diversity is increasing.

Adopted children from Chinese origin represent a unique group in this heterogeneity. In the late 1990s, Spain had become the second-largest country in the world in adoptions. Due to its geographical origin, Asia, and in particular the People's Republic of China, became a priority destination for adoptive families. According to data from the INE (National Statistical Institute),

from 1995 the first adopted Chinese girls began to arrive, reaching their peak in 2005, when of the 2,854 children adopted in Asia, 2,753 came from that country. A decade later, there are approximately 18,000 adopted children of Chinese origin in Spain, making up the largest group of foreign adoptions. Most of these children were girls. Given the magnitude and uniqueness of this group, they were called the "Mei Ming Generation" or "Generation No Name". This phenomenon contributed to increasing the ethnic diversity of the Spanish population in the classrooms.

In the light of research, being adopted (Raaska et al., 2012), possess Asian ethnic features (Fernández Cáceres, 2016) or being a girl (OECD, 2017) are attributes that condition the school experience as they are perceived as elements of vulnerability. As mentioned above, the underlying reason seems clear: "The school is the first place where they mention the differences, the only space where contact between native and foreign people is mandatory" (García Fernández, 2005, p.185). Consequently, data of the PISA student's Well-Being report (2017), shows clearly, that schools must do more to foster a safe, tolerant and respectful school climate based on tolerance and respect. For these reasons, the PISA report in its 2015 edition included as a novelty the concept of student well-being. This report breaks down the idea of social well-being into several dimensions: student satisfaction with their lives, anxiety

in study and exams, motivation to achieve something, students' sense of belonging to the school, the social situation and inequality concerning equal welfare and bullying.

We emphasize the bullying as it is one of the most outstanding aspects of vulnerability (Gil Villa, 2016). Ovejero's work (2013) reveals the variations in figures of international studies and he refers to a group of countries with rates above 15%, including the United States, Australia or Japan; the second group of Scandinavian countries with rates between 6 and 9% and the third group including Spain and neighbouring states with bullying rates around 5%. In Latin America, the number of victims would range from 11% in Chile to 47% in Peru (Román y Murillo, 2011). In Portugal, the studies of Carvalhosa (2007) on secondary school students referred to in 1998 and 2004, find almost identical percentages of aggressors, victims and a mixture of both - about 10%, 22% and 26%, respectively. Garaigordobil and Oñederra (2008) mention 42 researches in Spain and 41 studies in other countries, with an average percentage of victims of severe bullying between 3 and 10%; in general, between 20 and 30% of the students suffered violent behaviours. In education, Volume III of the PISA 2015 Report finds that 18.7% of those interviewed say that they have suffered some bullying several times a month (14% for Spain). According to the same report, boys are victims of physical aggression more often than girls, although girls suffer more psychological harassment than boys (OECD, 2017).

If one emphasizes the phenotypic difference, it is well contrasted in the scientific literature that a key factor associated with discriminatory behaviour is ethnic-cultural prejudice (Collins, McAleavy y Adamson, 2004; Verkuyten y Thijs, 2001, 2002, 2006; Rodríguez Hidalgo, 2010; Lloyd y Stead, 2001; Monks *et al.*, 2008; Rodríguez Hidalgo, Ortega y Zych, 2014; González-Alonso y Escudero-Vidal, 2018). For example, schoolchildren living in multi-cultural educational communities prefer to associate with boys and girls of their own culture (Tajfel, 1981); thus, isolate others, who tend to be a minority group. At this point, it is worth noting Verkuyten's and Thijs contributions (2001, 2002, 2006) to studies focused on ethnic-cultural abuse and harassment, or ethnic-cultural bullying. These authors show the existence of a form of racist victimization among equals that goes beyond the racist or xenophobic insult, which is the verbal and direct social exclusion of the victim explicitly based on ethnic-cultural difference. In the same direction Rodríguez Hidalgo, Ortega y Zych (2014) point out that, in the Spanish context,

ethnic-cultural victimization is related to the number of friends of the harassed person.

If we focus on Asian phenotypic features, the literature has analyzed their mediation in situations of bullying. For example, Juvonen Graham and Schuster (2003) point out that Asians are less aggressive. Furthermore, Mouttapa, Valente, Gallaher, Rohrbach and Unger (2004) show how Asian students are significantly more victimized than their Latino peers. McKenney, Pepler, Craig and Connolly's work (2006), control the ethnic variable and status and concludes that there were no significant differences in the prevalence rates of general victimization or according to the ethnic group.

Psycho-pedagogical studies regarding adoption have been carried out, focusing on the roles performed by the professionals involved in the adoption process, in the guide of the families that wish to adopt (Palacios, 2010) and guidance on the emotional impact of children adopted after a long period in orphanages (Palacios, Sánchez-Sandoval y León, 2005; Palacios y Brodzinsky, 2010; Rodríguez-Jaume y Jareño, 2015; Bernedo *et al.*, 2017). Psychology focused mainly on the psychological consequences of adoption on minors (Abadi, 1989), or the adaptation of the child to his family and his social and educational environment (Barástegui, 2003 y 2005). The work of Horno and Romero (2017) points out how bullying occurs especially against vulnerable groups, among which adopted children stand out.

From a sociological point of view, few studies focus on this issue despite the enormous quantitative impact and social relevance that adoptions have acquired in Spain in recent decades. Alberdi and Escario (2003) note the immense social acceptance and visibility that international adoption has among Spaniards. The University of Alicante carried out a study on the baby boom of international adoptions in Spain (2011) in which they analyze adoptive families and their lifestyles, as well as other sociologically relevant aspects in the analysis of the family and its dynamics. As regards education, Fernández-Cáceres (2016) found complaints of xenophobia and racism in the testimonies of 32 adoptive families in Castile and Leon, highlighting that possessing Asian phenotypic features, combined with being adopted, enhanced the possibility of being victimized in schools.

The literature consulted shows how adoption, gender or ethnicity are variables that condition the social well-being of individuals. However, there is little research focused on studying the welfare of the people who embody these three elements at the same time - adoption, gender and ethnicity - in Spanish schools. This gap requires further

deepening of this issue from, among others, a sociological approach (Vázquez, Doncel y Soto, 2009), even more, if we consider the consulted literature which point out that the social network of students in a school context is associated with the vulnerability of young women.

Consequently, the main objective of this study is to deepen the knowledge to see if the specific nature of this group of Chinese adopted children influences their social well-being as it is a potentially vulnerable group. Therefore, given their characteristics, it allows a reliable approach to the study of social well-being in schools with increasing diversity. To be more specific, and taking the general objective as a reference, the following subdivision is made:

- a. Determine the life satisfaction of the students.
- b. Delve into ethnic harassment among equals.
- c. Analyze the relationship between supportive social networks and social well-being.

2. Methodology

The result of the approach described leads to the question of the present work: does the uniqueness of the group of Chinese adopted children condition their social well-being in schools? In this sense, well-being is understood as the psychological, cognitive, social and physical skills and activities that 15-year-old adolescent student needs for a happy and full life (PISA, 2017). In PISA 2015, the concept of social welfare is linked to several aspects of the study, of which we highlight those related to the subject studied. First, we will address students' satisfaction with their lives. Second, we will analyze the phenotypic difference linked to bullying; this is an essential element that interferes with the well-being of students in schools (González-Alonso y Escudero-Vidal, 2018). And finally, we delve into the role played by social media and friendships that this group creates within their social well-being.

2.1. Analysis and sample technique

The technique selected to achieve the proposed objectives is the *semi-structured interview*. The reason for this selection is the potential it must provide information through the story of the adopted children themselves and its significant relevance to understanding their social well-being in schools.

The population studied is composed of the adopted Chinese adolescents who are currently enrolled in Compulsory Secondary Education (ESO). A total of ten interviews have been

conducted with adolescent boys and girls between the ages of 11 and 18 who have arrived in Spain from China through adoption processes (see table 1). As for the socioeconomic status of their families, they all fall within the upper-middle class with university studies, which is common among adoptive parents, as they must meet specific social, economic and cultural status requirements to start the adoption process (Parsons, 2009).

Interview	Gender	Age
E1	girl	17
E2	boy	13
E3	girl	16
E4	boy	16
E5	girl	16
E6	boy	18
E7	girl	12
E8	girl	15
E9	girl	11
E10	girl	16

To achieve a right approach on how the interviewees think we used a battery of questions connected with the objectives of the study, namely:

- Are you satisfied with your life?
- What's your school like? Do you like to go?
- Do you have many friends? Do you think you have good friends? What are your friends like?
- Do you have a group of friends; how would you define your group? How are they?
- What's your family like?
- How do you see yourself in relation to your peers? How do your peers see you? How do your friends see you? How do your parents see you?
- Have you ever been told that you are Chinese?
- How do you live the ethnic difference?
- Have you ever been insulted or harassed? If so, what kind of insults or harassments.

The interviews took place between May and October 2019 in Salamanca and Valladolid.

2.2. Category of analysis

In terms of category coding, the technical analysis followed consist of coding the quotation within its corresponding group along with the preceding and subsequent paragraphs to encompass the theoretical context of that quotation. To this end, the following initial category of analysis linked to the social well-being of students in schools was defined:

I. Life satisfaction.

II. Ethnic bullying.

III. Social media and friendships.

Based on information gathered from all interviews, an analysis matrix was developed to identify the main inputs according to the objectives of the research. From this, three sub-categories were drawn up within the ethnic bullying: dedramatization of harassment internalized vulnerability and acquired resistance, which is listed in the following matrix (see table 2).

CATEGORIES	SUBCATEGORIES
Life satisfaction of the students	
Ethnic Harassment	<i>Dedramatization of harassment</i>
	<i>Internalized Vulnerability</i>
	<i>Acquired resistance</i>
Supportive social networks.	

2.3. Analysis strategy

The analysis strategy is based on the principles of grounded theory. The axial coding procedure is followed, which is a process of relating the categories to their subcategories (Strauss y Corbin, 1998). The interviews try to study the meaning that the adoptees give to ethnic differences and to the condition of being an adopted child, and places emphasis on their school experience.

At the same time, a computer-aided analysis was used with the Atlas.ti version 6.1 that will offer us a different perspective of the analysis.

3. Analysis

First, we will present the results for each of the defined initial categories: life satisfaction, social media friendships, and ethnic harassment. And secondly, we present the results from the analysis of the detected sub-categories.

3.1. Initial Category Analysis

3.1.1. Life satisfaction

Overall, the interviewees have a good self-perception of their well-being, and this is associated mainly associated to family support. This is depicted as follows: *"Well, I think adolescence is*

already a difficult stage in itself (...). But.... I don't think I'm finding it harder than other boys or girls my age. I'm fine in general." E1; *"I'm super happy with everything."* E9; *"Well, except for some fights with my mother... well, discussions, otherwise everything is fine."* E5

Family ties are positively valued, and although they refer to certain conflicts more closely linked to the adolescence, this is not a big issue. The boys and girls that were interviewed feel safe, loved and protected by their families. *"I get along quite well with my parents".* E1; *"My family supports me, so... I don't have any problems."* E4

It is noteworthy that most of the subjects interviewed have other brothers or sisters who are also adopted and from China, which usually gives them support regarding the uncertainty that their adoptive origin may pose, as they share this circumstance and country of origin.

3.1.2. Ethnic harassment

In a first approach to the interviews, none of the interviewees refers to episodes that can be considered ethnic bullying. *"No, not really (no comments/problem for his physical features). The truth is that discrimination well... in my school, apparently, there is no discrimination. For starters, there is a sign that says "school without racism" E8.* But they do point out some specific episodes

of insults related to their Asian phenotype. However, the interviews will show that real life is never so simple. Therefore, linked to the initially analyzed category of *Ethnic Bullying*, three sub-categories emerge, which allow understanding of how members of this social group perceive bullying. The three subcategories are: Dedramatization of harassment, internalized *Vulnerability*, and *Acquired resistance*.

3.1.2.1. Dedramatization of harassment

Within the before mentioned categories they feel hurt in three ways: insults, comments or offensive jokes. These adjectives or mockeries focus both on cultural aspects linked to China, as well as given names as shown by the following fragments: "Once a classmate called me 'chinita' (little Chinese girl), and I felt annoyed and whatever. And that's it. And then I told the teacher, and they told me to call her 'charrito' (diminutive for somebody from Salamanca), you know, and that's it." E7; "Yes, sometimes they picked on my name, for example, sometimes, and then for different reasons... that have to do with my race." E4. They also refer to the Asian phenotype, i.e., to the shape of the eyes. "Yes, it's always the..., it's the difference, that is, mmm..., the physique is what makes the difference, I have not been insulted much more by others. It is always either the eyes or... yes, that" E1. "Always associated with a negative image of someone who perceives himself differently. As a child they made fun of me as the Chinese girl at school." E9

Although none of them considers that it was bullying, we must point out that in some interviews a continued exposure to insults for their condition is observed. For example, quote: "yes it happened, sometimes... "E6 or "but they insisted" E3; "or "yes there was a situation that was a little more important than the rest" E1 or "but I could no longer take it" E9. All this shows that it is not something occasional. The coincidence in all the statements that are made reveals a social group exposed to insults, although we can also observe that it is a situation they are trying to dedramatize. For this reason, they continually emphasize that this situation can be disabled when a third party intervenes.

I try to solve it myself and then it's like "nothing happened here", but I couldn't do it anymore, so I told my parents, and my parents wanted to tell the teachers, that's what I was afraid of, I didn't want the teachers to know, so I said: "don't tell them please, because I don't want to make a big mess and get into trouble". E9

3.1.2.2. Internalized Vulnerability

The analysis of the interviews shows that it is a group that has internalized a sense of vulnerability, which can even be experienced as inevitable. Proof of this is their distrust when they see that they are observed by others with suspicion, as is stated in the following fragment: "I doesn't matter to me if they look at me strange because I really do not care how they look at me". E3. It also points out their sense of helplessness when, in moments of change in their lives, the fear of rejection arises in the new scenario: "Then in the new high school I was afraid, because I said to myself, maybe now when I leave this school and go to another, well they may insult me or whatever, but thank god that did not happen" E3. Phenotypic features play an important role in nurturing this sense of vulnerability: "Offensive comments well... yes they are many, that is inevitable, because what is different is like ... the physique is what makes the difference, I have not found any more insults from the rest of the people" E1.

This internalized vulnerability is also observed when one of the interviewees points out that, in large environments such as cities, they are not perceived as someone who is different and are treated "without labels".

Sometimes when I go... I don't know, to Valladolid or bigger cities, or on holiday to a bigger place, where there are more people, and people don't... they ignore you! everyone goes their own way, you feel like free and you don't... I don't know! You're like anybody else! you're not someone different who everyone already knows ... they put a label on you. E1

Another aspect that shows the internal vulnerability is expressed by a defensive posture, as they find a negative comment poured towards the Chinese in general by a teacher annoying, identifying themselves with that generic comment.

Yes (categorical) I received annoying comments... at high school had a teacher who was not racist but he was more like... It was about the history of philosophy, and sometimes topics of debate arose, and comments were made about the Chinese, that the Chinese invaded Spain... it wasn't that he talked about me exactly, but I felt included within the group and it was annoying. E6

It should be noted that a sense of vulnerability is marked by a certain social class. We must not forget that there is a bias towards classes in adoptive families as they have to meet certain socio-economic criteria in order to qualify for adoption.

This difference in social class is shown when they feel negative about being identified with children from 'Chinese bazaars' which have traditionally been run by the immigrant Chinese population. Or when they refer to those who insult them as "child of those gypsies" E6.

And... many people wonder..., most people think that... we are Chinese girls...from the bazaars ... or that we are from Chinese families, living here, that we are their daughters, but that we are from China and that we have emigrated here. And those who know that we are adopted, they know it, but... they don't know the history, I think they don't know very well what the adoption process is like and all that. E1

It's just that once a friend of mine, they went into a Chinese store, a bazaar, and I walked in and they thought I was a son of the boss who worked there. E2

But beyond the internalized vulnerability, which keeps the members of this social group on alert, the emotional wear and tear they face is highlighted. Because, the offense causes them distress.

Look, my parents said not to think about it, that was nonsense. Well it's silly for them, because they don't say anything to them. I mean, it's just that they can say it to you in a super affectionate way and others say it otherwise. I know I'm a Chinese, but I just don't want them to say that to me, as if they were making fun of me. E9

It was mainly the typical group of boys who... They follow the joke to other people and... In the end half class ends up joking so...It's just to follow the joke! But... well we talk about it and... it ends up being solved. Although... it always stays... in your memory. E1

But when I was younger it annoyed me... but gradually you get used to it... It's as if you have a problem with your face or some stain, at first you have a hard time... E6

3.1.2.3. Acquired resistance

As they grow, they become accustomed and strengthen their resilience to possible rejections for feeling more observed or receiving some offensive verbal comment. Given the reported experiences, the strategies and resources used by adopted children from China have three pillars: the individual, the family and the peer group. We can see how the individual, over time, learns to manage the situation of vulnerability.

Maybe in some case they have messed with me, but there's more... in fact there was more... of that, that kind of people, but... sometimes it has bothered me. E4.

Yes, especially at high school, I told my mom about the insults and that I did not want to go to school because I felt uncomfortable, but it did not get to the point of bullying... but I learned that I had to let it go and move on because I think that is the best you can do. E6

The family plays an essential role in support, whether mediation is required in possible conflict situations or when transmitting skills to their children to manage the situation. At this point, it should be noted that families do preventive work before the harassment takes place. That is, they are aware of the uniqueness of their family and perceive vulnerability in it. Hence a common denominator has been the resilience that families try to transmit to their adopted sons and daughters (Ungar, 2001; Cristóbal, Calderón-Almendros and Pérez-Cea, 2017). All this is probably, conditioned by the inevitable moment of revelation, a process by which the adoptee knows his status and origin and, ultimately, the unique family status. This is a process that takes place within the family, and each family uses a different strategy, although with a tendency to emphasize the emotional dimension rather than educational or parenting functions (Meil, 2006; Oscón, 2007). For example, in various studies on single-parent families (with a similar profile in terms of education and economic level) it was also found that these families were especially effective in transmitting resilience to their offspring to strengthen them in the face of situations of misunderstanding or rejection outside the family (Ospina-García, 2018; Huaiquivil, Yévenes y Zicavo, 2019).

I try to solve it on my own and then it's like "nothing happened here", but I couldn't do it anymore, so I told my parents, and my parents wanted to tell the teachers, that's what I was afraid of, I didn't want the teachers to know, so I said "don't tell them please, because I don't want to make a big mess and get into trouble". E9

When they made those comments, sometimes I pretended not to hear, but if they insisted then I would tell my parents and they told me not to worry and just ignore them, that they want for us to feel offended and that if we ignore them they would get tired and they would stop doing it. E3

At the beginning, when you're younger... and you always have lots of doubts... and mom, why this and that...why do they call me..., why am I different... but... my parents have helped me a lot, that is, they have always told me the story of when they went to adopt me and my sister, what to do and how to do it, how to act in situations if one day they would take it out on us. And anyway, they've always solved the doubts we had. E1

3.1.3. Social media and friendships

But above all, the peer group acquires a special role in the addressed group. They have good friendships and different types of friends: friends in the village, school and high school, and also childhood friends (sometimes children of their parent's friends). Several of the interviewees have already gone from school to high extracurricular school and have made new friends without much difficulty. Extracurricular activities or hobbies is another way to make new friends.

I used to play hockey, but not anymore. I also studied at the Music Conservatory (plays the piano) and I studied Chinese for 3 years in the language school. E1

For six years I think I was going to Chinese, but I quit because it was difficult, I was a little child and as for me I didn't see it as useful. Now I really regret that decision, to let it go... E6

If we take a look at the diversity of the peer group, some have a friend that is also adopted from China or from another nationality, while in other peer groups the diversity is less. We can observe that the children who were interviewed are not particularly or exclusively related to peers of the same ethnic or adoptive background. Over time, in some cases these relationships have faded over the years. They perform a variety of extracurricular activities and range for example from studying other languages (German, English or French), sports (hockey, football, basketball, karate, archery, swimming, chess, skating), studies at the Music Conservatory (piano, violin, guitar, flute) or other activities (chorus, library, scouting, ballet). The following statement describes how important peer protection can be in the face of harassment.

Also, once, one thing I liked is that I was on the street one day and some guys

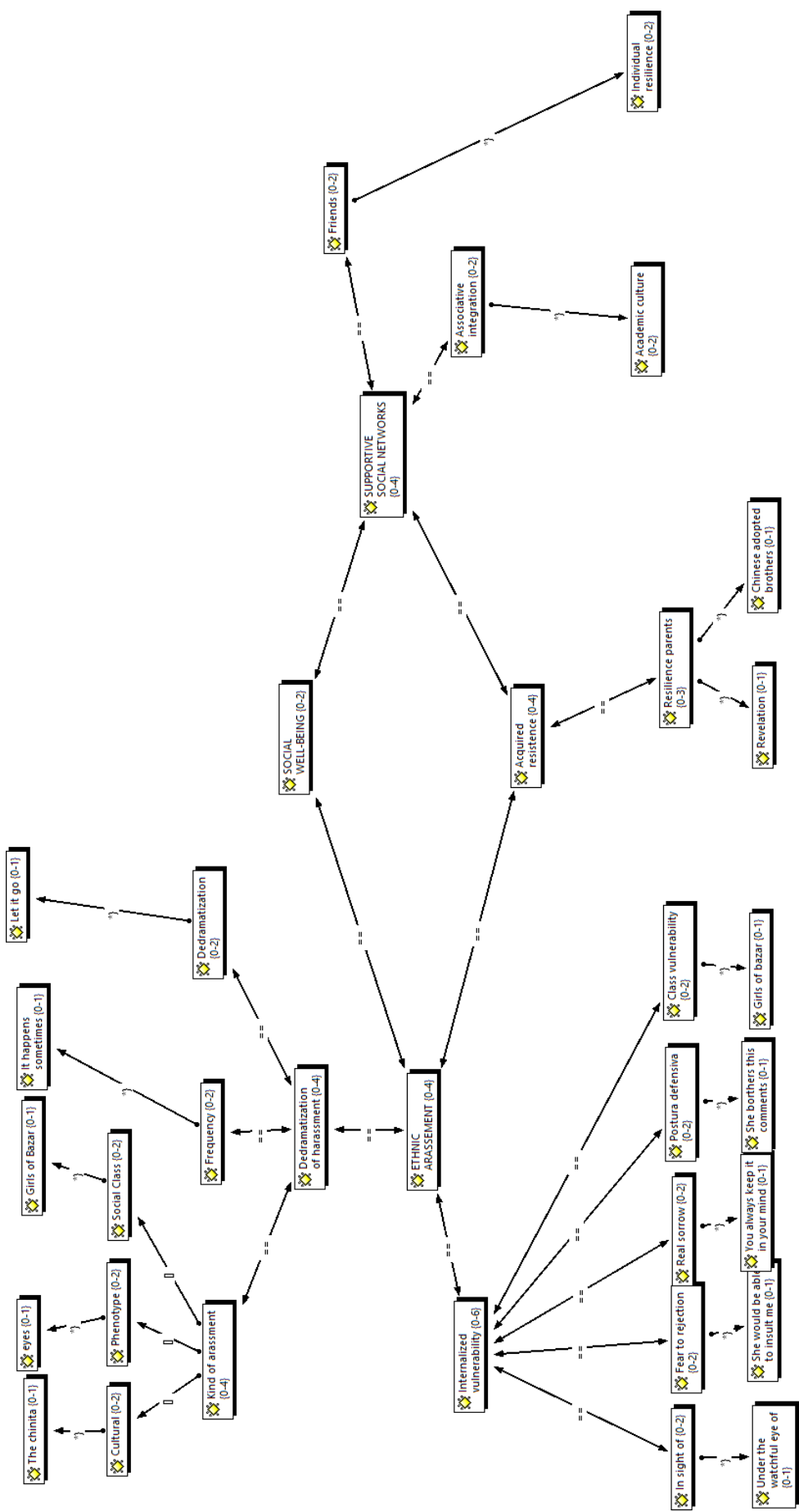
started to insult me some guys... Curiously it's always boys who insult, and I was with a group of friends and they stood up for me "Do you have any problem with my friend?" and so on.... E6

At first in class there were some annoying comments, but then as you became friends it no longer happened, you were already part of the class. And in class they didn't say anything because the teachers could hear it... But outside the classroom it did happen, sometimes... E6

3.2. Analysis of emerging categories

The study of the obtained emerging categories – internalized vulnerability, dedramatization of harassment, and acquired resistance – allows us to improve the understanding of this group's school experience. Overall they are satisfied with life, but they also perceive themselves as vulnerable. It is interesting to see that they do not dramatize in their statements, but that the normalization of offensive situations is constant. In other words, one sees a group that has internalized the possibility of being mocked and even so, they show strength to deal with these situations. This strength is acquired by their families who previously use strategies to ensure good integration of the adopted child in their immediate environment. Planning illustrated in Figure 1.

Parents perceive the potential vulnerability of their adopted children and consequently develop a set of responses to manage the potential challenges they may face, given the uniqueness of their family. For example, they expand the family with newly adopted children of Chinese origin. They also prepare their children to respond positively to adverse situations. And finally, they encourage their children to participate in extracurricular activities or associations. A decision that, on the one hand, allows to increase the bonds of friendship of their children beyond schools. And on the other hand, because of the nature of the activities carried out – ballet, music, etc. – that is in line with the academic culture of the centers, and allows them to have better school experience. These factors, along with the ability of individuals to create dense networks of friendship, enable them to face their uniqueness in heterogeneity, offering resistance to mockery. Although it does not exempt them from affliction.



Graphic 1. Starting Category and Emergent categories.

4. Discussion and conclusions

The main objective of this study has been to understand whether the specific nature of this group of adopted Chinese children influences their social well-being in increasingly diverse school contexts. Results show that it is a social group that sometimes is mocked for its Asian phenotypic features, but not for its adopted status. In other words, having differentiated ethnic traits is the attribute that most influences their vulnerability, even more than being adopted or being a girl. Specialized literature also considers these factors as elements that put at risk their well-being in school. Although the participants do not perceive their adoptive status as an important element of discrimination or mockery, it has been observed that their families put the emphasis on preventing this fact from affecting their children's psychosocial well-being and therefore prepare them with tools to make them more resilient.

Adolescents and their families perceive this vulnerability and, as other research show, having strong social ties is presented as a key element to face this situation. Given the results obtained,

it is possible to conjecture that it is the perceived vulnerability itself that encourages families to articulate responses as a way to improve their children's well-being.

This research has shown that these girls and boys have a dense social network of both family and friendship. As other research show, social inclusion is a key element to confront their potential vulnerability and ensure their social welfare.

The way of tackling this challenge through qualitative study provides results that are a reflection of how the reality experienced by the adolescents adopted by Spanish families is perceived. However, with the information we have, we cannot generalize according to quantitative criteria, although it has allowed us to deepen the knowledge of the social well-being of this unique group in the schools of Castilla y León. For these reasons, the following lines of work will consist of obtaining more empirical evidence with a questionnaire to extend the knowledge about the object of study. If we do not approach the social well-being, the consequences can be enormous: growing unease, frustration, abandonment, or loss of human capital for 21st-century Spanish society.

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CHILDHOOD AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN ZAMORA CITY

INFANCIA Y DERECHOS HUMANOS EN LA CIUDAD DE ZAMORA

INFÂNCIA E DIREITOS HUMANOS NA CIDADE DE ZAMORA

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<p>KEY WORDS: childhood adolescence participation city policies</p>	<p>ABSTRACT: Current cities are offering spaces of citizenship answering to social transformations and new realities; turning territories into sociopersonal development universes. In this context, children and adolescents are interacting, leading to know what are urban developments located in this healthy, intelligent and sustainable cities paradigm. The main objective of this study has been to analyse parental, professional and technical figures opinions who work with children and adolescents in Zamora city, related to childhood and adolescence's municipalities' policies. It's used an exploratory and descriptive research, be means of a qualitative approach generating 3 focus group discussion which children and adolescents. The narratives show that children and adolescent's rights in this city are not always a priority, although participants reveal there should be a special concern for those children in vulnerable circumstances. These results will allow adapting municipal programs and spaces, and contribute to children autonomy and empowerment, by means of coordinated political processes and the children's participation.</p>
<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: infancia adolescencia participación ciudad políticas</p>	<p>RESUMEN: Las ciudades actuales están ofreciendo espacios de ciudadanía como respuesta a las transformaciones sociales y nuevas realidades; convirtiéndose los territorios en espacios de desarrollo sociopersonal. Interactuando en este contexto se encuentran los niños, niñas y adolescentes, lo que lleva a conocer cuáles son los desarrollos urbanos que se sitúan en este paradigma de ciudades saludables, inteligentes y sostenibles. El principal objetivo de este estudio ha sido analizar la opinión de los niños, niñas y adolescentes de la ciudad de Zamora en relación con las políticas de la infancia y adolescencia del municipio. Para ello se utilizó una investigación de tipo exploratorio y descriptivo, utilizando un enfoque cualitativo traducido en 3 grupos de discusión. Los relatos muestran que los derechos de los niños, niñas y adolescentes en la ciudad no siempre son prioritarios, aunque los participantes manifiestan que debería haber una especial preocupación por aquellos menores de edad en situación de vulnerabilidad. Estos resultados plantean la necesidad de coordinar los procesos políticos, incluyendo la participación de los niños, niñas y adolescentes en la planificación urbana, lo que contribuirá a adaptar con eficacia los espacios urbanos y facilitar su autonomía y empoderamiento.</p>

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<p>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: infância adolescência participação cidade políticas</p>	<p>RESUMO: As cidades atuais estão oferecendo espaços de cidadania em resposta a transformações sociais e novas realidades; transformar os territórios em espaços de desenvolvimento sociopessoal. Interagindo nesse contexto estão crianças e adolescentes, o que leva a saber quais são os desenvolvimentos urbanos que estão localizados nesse paradigma de cidades saudáveis, inteligentes e sustentáveis. O principal objetivo deste estudo foi analisar a opinião das figuras parentais, profissionais e pessoal técnico que desenvolvem seu trabalho com crianças na cidade de Zamora em relação às políticas de infância e adolescência do município. Para isso, utilizou-se uma pesquisa exploratória e descritiva, com abordagem qualitativa, traduzida em 3 grupos de discussão, nos quais participaram crianças da cidade de Zamora. As histórias mostram que os direitos das crianças na cidade nem sempre são uma prioridade, embora crianças afirmam que deve haver uma preocupação especial pelas crianças em situações vulneráveis. Esses resultados levantam a necessidade de coordenar processos políticos, incluindo a participação das crianças e adolescentes no planejamento urbano, o que contribuirá para adaptar efetivamente os espaços urbanos e facilitar sua autonomia e empoderamento.</p>
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1. Introduction

The 30th anniversary of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and the consequent legislative reforms that Spain has implemented show the commitment to the well-being of children and adolescents (CA). This has meant an important advance in the defence of the 'best interests of the child'; substantive law and procedural rule, included in the CRC (1989) and in the General Observation No. 14 (2013) of the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child. This recognition of children as subjects of law has allowed the European Commission to adopt an EU Agenda for the Rights of the Child (COM 2011/60 final) in whose General Principles it states that "the *child rights perspective* must be taken into consideration in all EU measures affecting children".

Despite legislative progress, greater specialization and improved coordination, the system is not capable of reducing social exclusion; rather, the lack of compensatory policies and bureaucratic management models become phenomena that lead to vulnerability and social inequality. 31.3% of the child population is in the AROPE2 situation; 9.8% live in households with low employment intensity (BIT H) and 6.5% support Severe Material Deprivation (SMD) (EAPN, 2017). In 2017, 47,493 minors were attended by the autonomous child protection systems, representing an 8% increase over the previous year (Ministry of Health, Consumption and Social Welfare, 2018). In this same year, the rate of early school leaving reached 18.3% (Childhood in Data Web). Brazier's study (2017) places the country in 21st place in a ranking of rich countries (41 OECD countries), after selecting 10 SDO and comparing them with child welfare levels. It presents a vulnerable Spanish society which, although it ranks 3rd in relation to health (SDO 3), descends in the table to 28th in

the reduction of inequalities (SDO 10) and in the eradication of poverty (SDO 1).

In the last Concluding Observations to Spain (CRC/C/ESP/CO/5-6), in February 2018, the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the body that monitors every five years the implementation of the CRC by the States Parties, welcomes progress and reiterates previous recommendations related to legislative harmonization, coordination of inter-ministerial and Autonomous Community sectoral policies, take action on the budgetary needs of the CA, conduct impact assessments of measures and expand the capacity to collect disaggregated data on CAs in all areas of the CRC. Its main concern, however, is the impact of cuts in public investment in social protection systems affecting children, especially after the publication of General Comment No. 19 on public budgeting for the realization of children's rights (2016), which sets out the obligations of States in relation to the allocation of budgets for the realization of children's rights.

A study carried out on investment in children's welfare and rights in Spain (Assiego y Legal, 2018), specifically on the draft General State Budget for 2018, concludes that there is no direct investment in children, but rather through "tax benefits to which households in situations of greater vulnerability and with lower incomes do not tend to have access" (pp.16). However, the lack of specific criteria for evaluating the sufficiency of public resources allocated to children causes UNICEF Spanish Committee to propose a methodological tool to quantify public spending on children. Through this study, which categorises public expenditure on children (Garcimartín, 2018) and applies it to the General State Budget for 2017, it is concluded that this expenditure "barely represents 7.05% of total expenditure and 1.66% of GDP; around 2,218 euros per year per child...a reduced figure, compared to the estimates offered by other countries" (p. 25).

In view of the lack of inter-territorial equity, the challenges of guaranteeing uniform protection for children of all regions and the weaknesses in the child policy management model, a profound legislative reform is being undertaken with the aim of prioritizing children on the political agenda. In 2015, more than 20 state laws on civil, criminal, labour and immigration matters, among others, were amended, linking all public administrations for the protection of children and adolescents. Commitment that means promoting changes in state, regional and municipal governments from the perspective of rights, equity and child participation to transform the realities of the CA; with implications for the Autonomous Communities, for their legislative capacity in the protection of children and adolescents, by virtue of the EC, having to make a legal and technical-operational adaptation.

This coordination at the three levels of the administration will be achieved by creating a local child care network that provides services and resources, drives actions and promotes community awareness, but also facilitates the creation of bodies for child and adolescent participation, making effective Articles 12, 13 and 15 of the CRC, essential in the creation of prosperous, inclusive and sustainable cities. The CA are placed in the center of the city by the New Urban Agenda for the 21st century of the UN Habitat III Conference (2017, p. 5), with the ideal of “equality in the use and enjoyment of cities and human settlements..., known as the right to the city”.

It is a new paradigm of urban strategy that considers that the most important objective is the well-being of the citizenry: security and protection. Therefore, cities must be inclusive, designed for all, as spaces of opportunity and empowerment, and configured by people themselves, by children and adolescents. This means allowing the CA to develop a citizen consciousness (Gaitan, 2018).

The justification for this exercise, as well as the need to “place childhood as a priority on the political agenda”, according to the II National Strategic Plan for Children and Adolescents (2013-2016), leads to a participatory, integral and transversal urban planning, with programmes that orient municipal actions towards childhood and adolescence, and that contain the vision of Agenda 2030 to achieve the SDO, therefore, with the incorporation of the perspective of children’s rights.

3. Rationale and objectives

The importance of the best interests of the child, as defined in the Convention on the Rights of the

Child, is evident as a social challenge. Its consideration as a subjective right, interpretative principle and procedural norm (Villagrasa, 2015) causes difficulties in delimiting its content and translating it into political practice (Solis, 2016). The right to life, identity, family and well-being, among others, are elements for its interpretation; although, to understand it in all its breadth it is essential to know this self-perceptions (Liebel, 2015). In this framework, it is fundamental to create opportunities for dialogue with the CA, so that they can express themselves and make decisions freely, as social actors (Gaitán, 2006; Qvortrup, 1992); and research becomes a possibility to construct these participatory dynamics, so that decisions are not taken vertically.

From this reality, the purpose of this work is to study the opinions of the children and adolescents of the municipality of Zamora in order to show, from their vision, what their reality is and what contributions they make to improve the current practice. It will make it possible to know, from their feelings and perceptions, if their municipality complies with the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which will allow them to obtain indicators and criteria to optimize the design of the municipality’s childhood policies, with special attention to the focus on children’s rights.

The study presented here is part of a more extensive research on the reality of the CA in the municipality of Zamora, with the aim of drawing up the Municipal Children’s Plan to apply for recognition as a UNICEF Child Friendly City. It was also attended by parents, teachers, municipal technicians from different areas (social welfare, education, culture, environment, sports, police, civil protection, etc.) and civil society organizations (Red Cross, Caritas, Young Menesian Centre, Trascampus), as well as the Management of Social Services, the Provincial Directorate of Education and the Management of Health, which are usually involved in the design, management and evaluation of programs and activities related to children.

Thus, the general objective of the study is to know and analyze the positions and expectations that the CA of Zamora have about the city in which they live. How do municipal policies influence the rights of the CA and transform power relations? Are there services and programmes that take into account the opinions of the CA? What collaboration strategies exist between families, schools, associations and the City Council? What changes would be necessary to improve the well-being of the municipality’s children and adolescents? Considering SDO 11: ‘Sustainable Cities’, these questions are intended to diagnose the impact of municipal policies on the welfare of the

CA of Zamora, under the child rights approach, identifying strengths and weaknesses to improve their management and comply with the focus of Agenda 2030: 'Leave no one behind'.

4. Methodology

A methodology is used that responds to the objective and the research questions, supported by the deductive method, to analyze the actions of municipal policies and their impact on the CA, and the inductive method based on the experiences of the CA on their vital contexts (Patton, 2002). In order to understand the object studied through the context in which it is inserted, in this case the city of Zamora, without seeking generalization to other contexts, the qualitative approach, characteristic of the Social Sciences, is resorted to. The technique chosen to gather the information was the discussion group because of the possibility it offers of accessing in depth the meanings that the CA give to the important aspects of their daily life; because it allows the diagnosis of the social reality being studied (Murillo and Mena, 2006). For its constitution, the guidelines of García, Ibáñez and Alvira (2005) were followed, considering the criterion of residence in the city of Zamora.

This technique has already been used by numerous researches with the same object of study, with interpretative character and construction from multiple identities (Plummer, 2003). In this line of analysis of child citizenship, previous studies contribute with participatory methodologies with CA (Fernandes, 2016; Pascual and Castro, 2014), increasing in recent years, and arguing that the minor has to occupy the central role to guarantee their points of view. This protagonist strategy constitutes for them a real way of participating in decision making, with the power to transform reality, allowing their personal growth and empowerment.

The selection of participants is carried out by means of a probabilistic sampling of an unintentional, propositional type, without rules to decide the size of the sample (Parton, 2002); adding two criteria to ensure the representativeness of the participants: the ownership and the physical location of the educational center in which they were schooled -center and periphery of the city-. It was decided to include in the research adolescents who had fulfilled the protection measure, with 18 years of age, in order to also know their reality. All participants collaborate voluntarily, with the authorization of those responsible for the CA, the commitment of confidentiality and with the utmost respect for their protection against any

negligence, as a guarantee of an ethical basis in research with minors (Fernandes, 2016).

The participants were a total of 22 CA, of whom 59% were girls (n=13) and 41% boys (n=9). 45% are in primary education (n=10), 32% in secondary education (n=7) and 23% (n=5) are in 'emancipation flats'; all of them residents of Zamora City. The educational centres selected were: 10 public, 7 subsidized and 2 residential centres for minors at social risk, with 3 DG, according to the optimal size of Krueger (1991): G1- primary students, N=10; G2- secondary students, N=7 and G3- adolescents in protection N=5.

For the development of the DG, considering that they were going to be developed with CA, special attention was paid to the creation of a permissive atmosphere but with rules of behavior, non-judgmental, starting by explaining to them what the study consisted of and assuring the confidentiality of their names and opinions. The DG script was designed taking into account UNICEF's Municipal Indicators of Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Ochaíta and Espinosa, 2009): health; school-education; culture, leisure and free time; environmental sustainability; family; cooperation and participation. Considering these criteria, we worked with four dimensions of the object of study: a) The condition of the CA: general vision, b) The rights of children and adolescents, c) Thinking about the future of Zamora's childhood and adolescence: what to do or what to change. It should be noted that in the development of each DG, which took place at the Zamora Teacher Training College, two members of the research group were present, as moderators and observers. It was agreed that an observer would participate in each DG in order to make it possible to obtain other types of information -non-verbal- not recorded in the audio recordings, their presence being relevant to comply with the principle of triangulation (Cohen and Marion, 1990).

For the segmentation of the data, distribution of the contents (categories) and generation of theoretical constructs with meaning for the study, from the narratives of the CA, the program ATLAS.ti is used.

5. Results

The general vision of childhood in Zamora is conditioned, among other factors, by the size of the municipality (just 61,827 people registered as of January 1, 2018), which means that it is a pleasant city to live in, where you can enjoy freedom of movement, security and tranquility, regardless of age. Some of the expressions of the interviewees

affect precisely the scope of these important dimensions of daily life: “people are not as bad as in other cities” [G2]; “you can go out with your friends without as much concern as in Madrid or in other cities” [G2]; “there is more freedom because there are fewer people and we know them” [G1]; “you play more peacefully because there are fewer cars” [G1]. It is clear, therefore, that these kinds of intangible resources make Zamora provide a pleasant, healthy and protective environment for children, a dimension that is especially relevant and recognized in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

However, one key aspect must be highlighted that should not be forgotten: the perceptions of childhood and adolescence about their own situation (problems and needs, life experiences, knowledge and recognition of rights), as well as the measures that should be implemented so that Zamora can obtain the “Child Friendly City” seal from UNICEF, are conditioned by the socioeconomic situation of the family, the place of residence (centre-periphery) or the social and community support networks. In this sense, the reflection of one of the children is very significant: “I live in a place where a few kilometers are Las Llamas and there live all the junkies” [G1]. These factors, which are known, can be traced in other studies on contemporary childhood in different contexts (Gómez-Mendoza and Alzate-Piedrahíta, 2014; Acuña, Aguilera, Cesario and Imhoff, 2016) and in specific reports from different governments, such as those issued by the High Commissioner for the fight against child poverty in Spain; international bodies, such as the Committee on the Rights of the Child; and NGOs, such as the Red Cross, in its studies on energy poverty, Save The Children, Intermon Oxfam, UNICEF or the rest of the entities that make up, in the case of Spain, the Children’s Platform.

a) The condition of the child and adolescent. General overview

The day-to-day life of children in the municipality of Zamora takes place between attendance at the educational centre, the performance of homework and extracurricular or school support activities offered by various institutions and social organizations. This saturation of activities sometimes leaves little room for play and the use of time-sharing in parks or other spaces in the city. However, although these limitations are recognized or “some (parks) do not have much space” [G1], this scarcity does not limit the possibilities offered by the street: “There are fewer parks, but we play more in the street” [G1], which cannot always be done and enjoyed in larger cities.

Consequently, Zamora’s childhood has a relatively optimistic view of the environment in which they live, valuing tranquility, safety and other experiences that often go unnoticed by other sectors of the population, such as river walks, the beauty of the old town and, in particular, freedom: “There is more freedom because there are fewer people and we know them” [G1].

Weekends and holidays vary greatly depending on the age of the children. Quite a few go to rural areas, where they perceive two values that, once again, are recurrent in their speeches: safety and tranquility. Others, however, take part in sporting activities, walk with friends or go to places of entertainment, such as shopping centres in the capital. Thus, it is recognized that “the leisure zone during the weekend is the McDonalds or the Carrefour” [G1], a very significant indicator that reveals changes in the forms of socialization of childhood and adolescence in the information society, also in small cities such as Zamora.

Similarly, the boredom of some young people, which can be seen in the study conducted, is framed in a documented trend of active and passive boredom driven by the relationship with ICTs and with rapid social change as a backdrop (Gil Villa, 2007). This use of free time is largely explained by the family and community resources available to children; a situation that is clearly identified in Zamora: “Before there were recreational activities, but now there are not” [G1], “swimming pools (there are no more heated swimming pools in winter)” [G2] or “there is no library in some neighborhoods” [G2]. Also, adolescents, and especially those who are under the child and adolescent protection system, recognize that “with respect to spaces for young people, there are no recreational spaces, there are no bars for us” [G3]. In this case, the references to a mythical space in the collective imaginary of the city are very eloquent: “Today, Friday, I go to *Herreros*, which is the area of bars, but they are 14-year-olds; for us 17-20-year-olds, there are no more places. If you wanted to see people you go to that street.” [G3]. Therefore, also the lack of specific resources for leisure is evident in the Zamorano context analyzed.

Likewise, Zamora’s childhood is aware of an increase in individualism due to the excessive use of new technologies and the polemics they maintain, in many cases, with their parents due to their excessive use of them. This affects a transformation of social relations, becoming more virtual than interpersonal, so that, as a consequence, joint leisure decreases considerably except in the city’s neighborhoods where there are spaces, gardens or common courtyards in which they can meet

to share other experiences. Therefore, these perceptions correspond to the results of other analyses on the digital gap between adults and adolescents, the encounters and (dis)encounters at school and at home on the use of ICTs (Morón, Busquet, Aranda, Ruano and Ballano, 2010) and their impact on the processes of transition to adult life (Marí, 2016).

b) Rights of children and adolescents

If knowledge of rights is a prerequisite for their recognition, development and implementation, then it should be noted that, in the case of Zamora City, the CA have relatively high knowledge of their rights. They emphasize above all the right to education, to health, to play, to express themselves and to relate to one another. This knowledge of their rights comes mainly from activities carried out through schools, taught either by personnel of the educational center or almost always by social institutions or organizations, such as the Red Cross, the Police, the Civil Guard, and others.

The interviewees reaffirm the importance of children's rights being respected for all, recognizing that, in some cases, they are not fulfilled, citing some specific examples of various breaches: "Sometimes yes (they are fulfilled), sometimes no [G1] or "in a subject a teacher did not let me give his opinion" [G2]. Furthermore, it is very significant that they themselves confess that some of these rights are not respected with certain children, expressly quoting those who have some type of disability: "There are times when rights are not fulfilled for children with disabilities (...) for example, they make fun of that person" [G2].

In the visions on the knowledge and fulfillment of children's rights, particular reference should be made to adolescents who are under the system of protection for children and adolescents and who feel their rights being curtailed, mainly that related to work, although not only: "At work, they take great advantage of young people and the first opportunities they have (...) they don't try to play with you as much in adulthood because they see that you have had more experience before and they won't be able to play with the same cards" [G3]. These adolescents also demand other types of professional support in certain circumstances:

"In Our Lady of Transit there was a nun there who was also a nurse, but if you were sadder it was not treated. They can take you to the hospital for something more serious, but nothing else. That it be of nuns also does, because you are more afraid and you do not tell what happens to you" [G3].

And even this group expressly claims "more freedom of expression" and the right "to a second chance and not to be judged for having done something wrong in the past" [G3].

In addition, the CAs stress the importance for them to respect their tastes and opinions. They highlight, above all, the demands of adolescents on health issues, demanding that institutions develop specific programs related to mental health, depression or anxieties, as well as sexual health counseling in general and, in particular, in cases of unwanted pregnancies. Regarding the latter, it is significant what one girl says: "There are no spaces if I get pregnant to go; in Menesians yes, they would help us, but not out here" [G3]. But so are perceptions about the existence of other types of resources:

"In anxiety, stress, bullying, there are no programs that address these issues. You put socks on when someone says something, but if not, there is no specialized service. For battered women, yes, or abuse of women, yes, but not for the rest. I signed up for an activity, but at no time have I been called, it was a pilot experience without developing" [G3].

It is also very revealing that none of the participants in the discussion groups knows whether Zamora has parks for children or adolescents with different functional capacities adapted to their needs.

c) Thinking about the future of Zamora's childhood and adolescence: what to do or what to change

The general perception of the CAs is that with the exception of the activities programmed for the city's festivals, and those carried out through schools or some neighborhood associations, few specific activities are offered for them in Zamora, since they are included in the proposals for the rest of society and those that there are tend to have limited places or with prices that are not very affordable for a large part of the families (cinema or theatre, for example), and there are activities through the Social Action Centres (CEAS) for certain specific groups.

Other claims are equally important. Among them are those related to mobility and, in a very special way, to the extension of the cycle lane, the creation of new pedestrian spaces in the city or the extension of sidewalks: "Extended cycle lane, which passes through the city centre if possible, architecturally" [G3], "that the whole old town be pedestrian, not just for residents and such things" [G1] and "that there be more places on the sidewalks and not so much road" [G1]. But neither should we forget the safety problems when children have to cross some pedestrian crossings:

“Near my house there is a zebra crossing that the cars do not stop because they say the children are waiting” [G1]; nor the demands that are made in terms of conditioning and improving the green areas of the city.

The CA also demand the implementation of new leisure resources, such as “areas for children that are not just parks that are like larger areas but that there are not only things to play, more for what you want (...) as a forest I mean, some area where there are no swings, but where you can play” [G1], without forgetting the demands of adolescents related above all to “more libraries in which you can study, study rooms, so you can work in groups” [G3], “bookstores-cafeterias where you can have a coffee and read the book” [G3] and other more specific infrastructures, such as bowling alleys or skating areas.

Likewise, the demands for more information to the administrations, and in this case to the City Council, are very significant. Thus, it is requested “to put in La Marina a suggestion box” [G3], “more information on the Town Hall twitter” [G3], a “radio station in which young people participate” [G3] and the “representation of young people in the Town Hall and in plenary sessions” [G3]. As can be seen, these measures are very easy to implement and, nevertheless, they can not only mean an explicit recognition of the opinions, in this case, of childhood and adolescence, but also that their implementation would be transmitting a message to all citizens about the importance of participation in the life of the city, including children and adolescents. All of them would be, therefore, actions that would reinforce the awareness of a much more active and participative citizenship, in line with the provisions of the aforementioned Convention on the Rights of the Child and its General Observations.

6. Discussion and conclusions

The global vision of childhood and adolescence in Zamora is positive, highlighting intangible values of a social and community environment characterized by tranquility, security and freedom. It is also very significant to note that when children talk about the different resources existing in the city (public services, parks, leisure, etc.) they are aware of the difficulties of access for the most vulnerable groups or depending on the place of residence. And the same when they recognize some problems of childhood in general, such as school failure or the emergence of problems linked to the misuse of new technologies.

Regarding children’s rights and their recognition, although they must be guaranteed by the

families themselves and the rest of the institutions, it must be pointed out that these are not always sufficiently covered in the city of Zamora, despite the fact that different entities and social agents, such as schools and some NGOs, work on them.

Generally speaking, rights related to child survival tend to be differentiated, taking them as priorities, as opposed to rights linked to the development of children’s capacities in different aspects, which are equally vitally important. Nevertheless, practically all the interviewees, regardless of age, have shown an interest in preserving and ensuring the rights of children and adolescents in Zamora, and it is therefore essential to work on these rights and to have a special impact on the most vulnerable groups (gypsy groups, children with AD/HD and other different abilities, minors who infringe the penal norm or are protected, among others). Therefore, these perceptions are a very important step whenever new initiatives are undertaken in favour of the infancy in Zamora, applied to the general principles of the Children’s Rights Convention in different scope of action: education, mass media, development cooperation, etc. (Monclús, 2001; Vega, 2013).

It has also been observed that most of the initiatives that have been carried out in favour of childhood and adolescence in Zamora are especially focused on the educational sphere, other spheres having been neglected, such as leisure. In this sense, the importance given to the need to increase the supply of public and accessible leisure for all ages and groups, as well as the convenience of articulating tools and spaces to collect and work on the own opinion of children and adolescents, is highlighted. On these questions, it is worth recalling the objectives of the International Charter for Education in Leisure, published by the World Association for Leisure and Recreation-WLRA (1993) which, despite being considered an essential educational need and beneficial for human development, does not seem to have permeated. Let us remember the first of them: “To train and empower the person so that he can improve his quality of life”.

With regard to the most vulnerable children, the analysis carried out shows some lines of action that are particularly recommendable. For example, it would be advisable to carry out a detailed follow-up with the trajectory and life history of each young person who leaves the protection centres at the age of 18. This could be enough to detect in time a number of vulnerabilities that can lead these people to situations of social exclusion, for which multidisciplinary approaches are required from different fields: social, legal, psychological,

school setting, sanitary, etc., (Rodes, Monera and Pastor, 2010). Other initiatives that are in line with the philosophy of Child Friendly Cities should also be implemented; in particular, programmes that disarm the typical division between formal and non-formal education (Gómez, Jiménez and Cornejo, 2017). In this sense, schools should open their doors to the community and carry out activities that seek intergenerational coexistence. This also achieves the objective of fighting against the vulnerability of the elderly and eliminating the prejudicial gazes of each of these two vulnerable groups, adolescents and the elderly, with respect to the other. The institutionalized organization of shared activities would reduce their vulnerability. Today's youth lack "stories" to guide their moral culture after secularization and cultural relativism. At the same time, older people lack interlocutors who can reduce their feelings of loneliness and ineptitude. Therefore, programmes related with intergenerational education should be stimulated and developed, taking as a reference the numerous experiences, which already exist in this matter (Martínez, Moreno and Escarbajal, 2017) and the so profitable lessons of debate among generations (Martín, Sánchez and Pérez, 2008). Although, in a particular manner, rehearsing participative methodologies which allow a better mutual knowledge and contribute in breaking false myths and stereotypes among different generations (Martínez and Bedmar, 2018).

It is also proposed as an improvement a greater health coverage, not only physical but also includes psychological and mental health.

Teenagers themselves request specific prevention programmes and psychological and socio-educational intervention in areas such as anxiety or depression, either at specific moments in their lives or continuous over time, in order to improve their quality of life. They demand it as a right to health and wellbeing, and so UNICEF also proposes it as an objective of sustainable development for children in Agenda 2030.

This new vision forces all social actors to recognize the new role of boys and girls in Zamora's urban ecosystem and, therefore, to implement and practice a new way of thinking the city (Tonucci, 1993). If for the Zamora children "a Child Friendly City is a city for children; that if someone comes from outside, they want to stay; that if children come from other countries, they do not have to go again" [G1], in view of the results presented, achieving a "Child Friendly City" in Zamora is possible and reasonable, as long as actions of prominence of childhood and adolescence are arbitrated in order to participate in the identification of the problems, already exposed, and in decision making. This final conclusion can be deduced from the analysis of the encounters held with children and adolescents, as well as with the rest of the groups involved in improving the quality of life of children; but also by the degree of consensus that has been observed in the identification of current problems and the possibilities for improvement that can easily be assumed with effective social policies for childhood and adolescence, integral, communitarian and participative.

Notes

- ¹ This work is part of a broader research and development contract between Zamora City Council and the University of Salamanca's GIR-SEVIN Recognized Research Group. Reference: Art. 83-2018/00390/001.
- ² AROPE: At-Risk-Of Poverty and Exclusion. European indicator that groups three sub-indicators that measure poverty, material deprivation and low labour intensity in the household.

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RESEARCH

SOCIAL INCLUSION AND LIFE SATISFACTION OF CARE LEAVERS

INCLUSIÓN SOCIAL Y SATISFACCIÓN VITAL DE LOS JÓVENES EXTUTELADOS INCLUSÃO SOCIAL E SATISFAÇÃO COM A VIDA DOS JOVENS EX-ACOLHIDOS

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<p>KEY WORDS: residential care care leavers transition into adulthood social inclusion life satisfaction</p>	<p>ABSTRACT: The need to accord attention to care leavers has gained recognition in legislative terms, given that research has proven that this group faces a high risk of social exclusion. The aim of this article is to deepen knowledge of social inclusion and life satisfaction of youngsters who abandoned residential care resources and reached the age of majority. For that purpose, phone interviews were conducted to 117 youngsters who had formerly been provided with residential care and were between 18 and 26 years old at the time of the survey. The outcome showed that the majority returns to their families, which are their main source of support. On the other side, it has been proved that this group of people present low qualifications, employability and incomes. Moreover, their life satisfaction is also very low. The results are discussed with regards to previous research and legislative initiatives which are implemented in order to cater for this group.</p>
<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: acogimiento residencial extutelados transición a la vida adulta inclusión social satisfacción vital</p>	<p>RESUMEN: La necesidad de prestar atención a los jóvenes extutelados ha recibido reconocimiento a nivel legislativo, debido a que la investigación ha demostrado que se trata de un colectivo con un alto riesgo de exclusión social. El objetivo de este trabajo es profundizar en el conocimiento de la inclusión social y de la satisfacción vital de los jóvenes que han abandonado los recursos de acogimiento residencial, y que han alcanzado la mayoría de edad. Para ello se realizó una entrevista telefónica a 117 jóvenes que habían estado en acogimiento residencial y que en el momento de realizar el estudio tenían entre 18 y 26 años. Los resultados indican que la mayoría vuelve con la familia de la que fue separado, siendo ésta su principal fuente de</p>

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	<p>apoyo. Por otro lado, se comprueba que se trata de un colectivo con una baja cualificación, con una pobre inserción laboral y suelen tener ingresos muy bajos. Además, tienen un bajo nivel de satisfacción vital. Estos resultados se discuten en relación a la investigación previa, y a las iniciativas legislativas que se implementan para atender a este colectivo.</p>
<p>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: acolhimento residencial exprotegidos passagem para a vida adulta inclusão social satisfação com a vida</p>	<p>RESUMO: A necessidade de prestar atenção aos jovens ex-acolhidos recebeu reconhecimento no nível legislativo, dado que a evidência empírica veio mostrar que se trata de um grupo com alto risco de exclusão social. O objetivo deste trabalho é aprofundar o conhecimento sobre inclusão social e satisfação com a vida de jovens que abandonaram os recursos de acolhimento residenciais e atingiram a maioridade. Para tal, foram conduzidas entrevistas telefônicas com 117 jovens em atendimento residencial e que na época do estudo tinham entre 18 e 26 anos de idade. Os resultados indicam que a maioria deles retorna com a família da qual foram separados, sendo esta a principal fonte de apoio. Por outro lado, verifica-se que é um grupo com baixa qualificação, com baixa inserção laboral e, geralmente, com rendimentos muito baixos. Além disso, eles têm um baixo nível de satisfação com a vida. Esses resultados são discutidos em relação com investigações anteriores assim como com as iniciativas legislativas que se implementaram no que diz respeito ao atendimento deste coletivo.</p>

1. Introduction

In Spain, according to official statistics referring to 2017 (Childhood Observatory, 2018), 17527 children and adolescents were living in residential care facilities given that they had been declared in great difficulty and lacked of an alternative family (extended family or family foster care), even noting a slight increase of the figure in recent years. Residential care (RC from now on) in Spain has historically held a significant role regarding the child protection system. Del Valle and Bravo (2013) examined the importance of RC in different countries when assisting children who had been separated from their primary families and observed that Spain presented the highest percentage of young people in RC, 43,9%, when United Kingdom, Ireland or Australia ranged between 5 and 11%, given that family placement is more common in these countries. Analyzing the profile of cases in RC, we note that approximately 70% of individuals are adolescents and half of them over 15 years old (Childhood Observatory, 2017). It is also important to highlight that the people entering RC come generally from a complex social and family situation, displaying a higher predominance of emotional and behavior problems compared to adolescents who are cared for in foster families, and consequently they require more specialized attention (Dregan & Gulliford, 2012; Leloux-Opmeyer, Kuiper, Swaab & Scholte, 2016; Portwood et al., 2018). A recent study focused on Spanish population, González-García et al. (2017) used a screening test (CBCL) with a sample of 1216 individuals between 6 and 18 years old living in residential care centers and found that 61% were in clinical range and therefore were susceptible of receiving some kind of therapeutic care. These data are similar to others obtained in researches carried out in other countries (Jozefiak et al., 2016). Moreover, this group presents academic problems such

as school failure, lag, dropout, isolation and stigmatization (Jariot, Sala & Arnau, 2015; Montserrat, Casas & Malo, 2013; Martín, Muñoz de Bustillo, Rodríguez & Pérez, 2008). If we add to this the fact that a high percentage of young people in RC is forced to leave child protection system when they reach the age of majority, it is not surprising that the transition of former foster adolescents into adulthood is one the growing interests and concerns among professionals and researchers (Bello, Santana & Feliciano, 2018; Dixon, 2016; Dumart, Donati & Crosto, 2011; Goig & Martínez, 2019; Jariot et al., 2015; López, Santos, Bravo & Del Valle, 2013; Sulimani-Aidan, 2014).

Care leavers are understood as those who lived under the tutelage of public administration during a specific life period that has already ended because they have returned to their families or have reached the age of majority. This group of people must accomplish the transition into adulthood more rapidly than the rest of population, burdened by problems that make the process even more difficult. On the one hand, the cases of individuals with the most serious emotional and behavior problems, which already hinder their social and labor inclusion, are led to the absence of attention when they left the child protection system, worsening the situation (Butterworth et al., 2017). On the other hand, their low academic qualification results in difficulties having access to the labor market (Arnau & Gilligan, 2015; Dixon, 2016; Dumart et al., 2011; Jariot et al., 2015; Montserrat et al., 2013). As if the above were not enough, these adolescents receive deficient social support, both qualitatively and quantitatively (Cuenca, Campos & Goig, 2018; López et al., 2013; Martín & Dávila, 2008; Melkman, 2017).

Even when there is no reliable data on the specific number of adolescents leaving RC after reaching the age of majority, given that national statistics classify more than half of the leaves

under the term “other causes”, which can include a wide variety of cases, the fact that almost the half of the cases are over 15 years old (Childhood Observatory, 2017) gives us reason to believe that the number of adolescents leaving RC after reaching the age of majority is truly considerable.

For all these reasons, there is broad agreement in recognizing that former foster young people leaving RC after reaching the age of majority need the interventions focused on them to be continued after they have turned 18. This need has been stipulated in EQUAR, the quality standards for residential care published by the Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality (Del Valle, Bravo, Martínez & Santos, 2012). At the level of legislation, although diverse initiatives were implemented in some regions (Comasòlivas, Sala & Marzo, 2018; Melendro, 2011), it is not until the adoption of Act 26/2015 of 28th July, on Modifications of Childhood and Adolescence Protection System, when autonomic public administrations are requested to perform programs of transition into adulthood on every adolescent over 16 without prospects of family reunification, as well as to attend the individuals who leave the childhood protection system when they reach the age of majority without a family support that can enable their transition into adulthood with minimal guarantees of success. Furthermore, the Act also defines the contents of the programs to develop on this group, which must include aspects as educational monitoring, housing, social and labor inclusion, psychological support and financial aids. Understanding the actual situation of the group of care leavers becomes a previous step that can ease the design of initiatives for public administration to implement. In this respect, our attention is drawn to the fact that since the research by Del Valle, Bravo, Álvarez & Fernanz (2008) there have not been studies analyzing, with larger samples, the situation of the former foster young people. Two aspects of the results obtained in this study are particularly relevant for our goals. First, it was found that the higher the age of the individuals, the easier their social inclusion was, which evidences the greater difficulty that this group of population finds in the transition into adulthood

at such a young age. A second remarkable result is that the variables negatively related to social adjustment in the monitoring refer to adjustment problems during the care placement. This way, variables as behavior problems, escapes, violent conduct and drug consumption foretell scant social adjustment after leaving foster care (Del Valle et al., 2008). If we assess the situation recently found in the population hosted in RC by González-García et al. (2017), which noted a high prevalence of this kind of problems since over half of the study population were in clinical range in the scale of external problems, we hypothesized that the difficulties to achieve social inclusion nowadays have not decreased.

2. Motivation and objectives

Up until now, the aim of this article is to deepen on the actual situation of youngsters who abandoned residential care resources and reached the age of majority, a decade after the research by Del Valle et al. (2008). Specifically, we set two objectives. First, understanding the current social and economic situation of care leavers regarding cohabitation situation, sources of social support, academic qualifications and economic and employment status. Secondly, analyzing their current levels of life satisfaction.

3. Methodology

3.1. Participants

The sample consists of 117 care leavers: 62 girls (53%) and 55 boys (47%). During their care placement, they were on average in 2.4 centers (DT=1.2). Regarding age, the average is 19.5 (DT= 1.4) years old at the time of the survey (February 2017). Table 1 shows the distribution of the sample according to the current age of the individuals, the entry age into the childhood protection system and the exit age. As shown, almost 80% of respondents ranges between 18-20 years old, and over 85% left the protection system in an age of range between 16 and 18.

Table 1: Distribution of the sample according current age, entry age in the protection system and exit age

Current Age	N	%
18 - 20	93	79.5
21 - 23	22	18.8
24 - 26	2	1.8
Entry age		
0-6	8	6.8
7-10	10	8.5
11-14	52	44.4
15-18	47	40.2
Exit age		
< 12	3	2.6
13-15	15	12.8
16-18	99	84.6

3.2. Instrument

In the framework of this study, we conduct a semi-structured interview based on the dimensions commonly assessed in outstanding international studies on this subject, such as the research developed in Chapin Hall Center at the University of Chicago (Courtney, Dworsky, Lee & Raap, 2010) and adapting them to our targets. Particularly, the dimensions assessed in the interview were:

1. Demographic characteristics: data on gender, age or place of residence.
2. Vulnerability record: this dimension gathers information on the entry age into the system, exit, length of the stay and numbers of centers where they were inscribed.
3. Current network of social support: we included a question referred to the functional dimension of assistance, in order to get to know who they turn to when they need help. Particularly, the question asked whether they had somebody to turn to if they were to find themselves in trouble, and if the answer was yes, they were subsequently asked who such people were.
4. Academic status: questions on the academic status were included, asking them if they were undertaking some type of study at the

time of the survey, and which was the academic level achieved.

5. Employment situation: information on their current work situation was gathered.
6. Economic situation: we included data on monthly income, the amount and the autonomy and financial independence of the adolescents.
7. Life satisfaction: apart from the previous dimensions, an extra question on life satisfaction was included, which was implemented using the single item of Overall Life Satisfaction (OLS) by Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976), which aims to measure the extent to which these adolescents were satisfied with their lives at large. This item is still frequently used today in order to study wellbeing of youth, in both the general population and RC (Casas et al., 2013; Llosada-Gistau, Montserrat & Casas, 2015), and it was chosen in this research given that the interviews were performed via telephone.

3.3. Procedure

The Autonomous Administration provided contact information of former foster young people who had left the protection system and were between 18 and 26 years old at the time of the survey. Foreign unaccompanied minors were not considered for having remarkably different characteristics and personal and family circumstances from the rest of foster adolescents. The population reached 1357 individuals, avoiding those cases that displayed family placement as their only source of assistance and those which lacked a phone number. Adolescents were contacted via their educators or, in their absence, via the contact person listed in the form (parents). The interview was finally performed on 117 adolescents. The rest of interviews were unable to be performed due to many reasons, such as rings with no answer, wrong numbers, or cases of adolescents who presented disabilities, legal detention, had gone abroad or simply refused to participate. Before conducting every interview, the purpose of the call and the target of the survey were explicitly stated, requesting voluntary participation and ensuring the confidentiality of personal data provided. The interviews were conducted via telephone while the interviewer brought the responses together. The average length of the interviews were 15-20 minutes.

3.4. Data analysis

With the aim of understanding social inclusion of care leavers we used descriptive statistical analyses; to get to know the variables involved in life satisfaction we used Student t-test and one-way analysis of variance; post-hoc analyses were made using DMS.

4. Results

The first objective proposed in this paper was the comprehension of the social and economic situation of care leavers. Table 2 shows the outcome obtained. We can check that almost half of the individuals in the sample returned to their families, while over 30% lives alone or with a partner and 15% shares an apartment. The cases living with extended families or others do not reach 9%.

Regarding social support, almost 14% claim to have no one to turn to. The most common source of social support is the birth family (over 60%); extended families and others (friends, teachers, etc.) are the source of social support for slightly more of 20% of the sample. Only 5% state to turn to their former caregivers back in the system.

When asked about their academic situation, it was found that approximately one in five participants in the survey studying, but 64.1% had not yet completed compulsory secondary education at the time of the survey.

In relation to employment situation, one in four reported to be working, but only one in five declared to be economically independent. The answer on incomes showed that almost half of care leavers has no income or the amount is lower than EUR 400 per month. Less than 8% earns more than EUR 1000 per month.

Table 2: Current situation of care leavers

Who do they live with today	%
Nuclear family	47
Extended family	5.1
Other family	3.4
Alone	12.8
With a couple	16.2
Sharing an apartment	15.4
Social support: functional dimension of assistance	
Has somebody to turn to when they find themselves in trouble	86.3
Turns to nuclear family	60.7
Turns to extended family	23.9
Turns to educators	5.1
Turns to others (friends, teachers, etc.)	23.9
Academic situation	
Currently studying	22.2
Completed compulsory secondary education	35.9
Economic situation	
Claims to be economically independent	22.2
Currently working	25.6
Monthly income of those who work	
< 400	46.3
400-800	36.6
800-1000	9.8
>1000	7.3
Note: in the responses related to sources of social support, percentages can add up to more than 100, since they can point out more than one person.	

The second target of the raised objectives in this study was the analysis of the levels of life satisfaction that care leavers in the survey have today. The outcome indicate an average score of 6,6 (DT = 2,03) in a scale of response from 0 to 10- when examining the relation between life satisfaction and age (table 3), it was revealed that no significant differences were found in the scores of this variable regarding their current age [F = 0,814

(13), $p > .05$]; however, contrasts can be found regarding the entry age [$F = 3.1$ (13), $p < .05$] and the age of exit [$F = 3.2$ (13), $p < .05$]. Post hoc contrasts conducted with DMS showed that scores in life satisfaction of the group of care leavers who entered the system between 0 and 6 years old are substantially lower than the people in the group who joined RC between 11 and 14 years old. Regarding the exit age, contrasts a posteriori indicated that the average of the group that left the protection system after turning 16 is significantly lower than the average from the group of adolescents who left between 13 and 15 years old.

Table 3: Differences in the scores of life satisfaction according to variables current age, entry age and exit age

	Media	DT	F	p	Contrasts Post hoc
Current age					
18 - 20 years old	6.6	2	.22	.8	
21 - 23 years old	6.8	2.2			
24 years old or above	6	0			
Entry age					
0 - 6 years old (a)	5.1	1.5	3.1	.031*	c > a
7 - 10 years old (b)	5.8	2			
11 - 14 years old (c)	7	1.8			
15 - 18 years old (d)	6.5	2.3			
Exit age					
9 - 12 years old (a)	7.5	1.3	3.2	.045*	b > c
13 - 15 years old (b)	7.7	1.8			
16 - 18 years old (c)	6.4	2			

Note: * $p < .05$

We did not note a significant difference while examining the possible relation between life satisfaction and the existence of providers of social support, even when the average scores of care leavers who turned to different providers are, in almost every case, higher than of those who

do not (figure 1): - has somebody to turn to [$t = 0.471$ (114), $p > .05$]; - turns to nuclear family [$t = -0.699$ (114), $p > .05$]; - turns to extended family [$t = -1.219$ (114), $p > .05$]; - turns to educators [$t = -0.564$ (114), $p > .05$]; - turns to other people [$t = -0.646$ (114), $p > .05$].

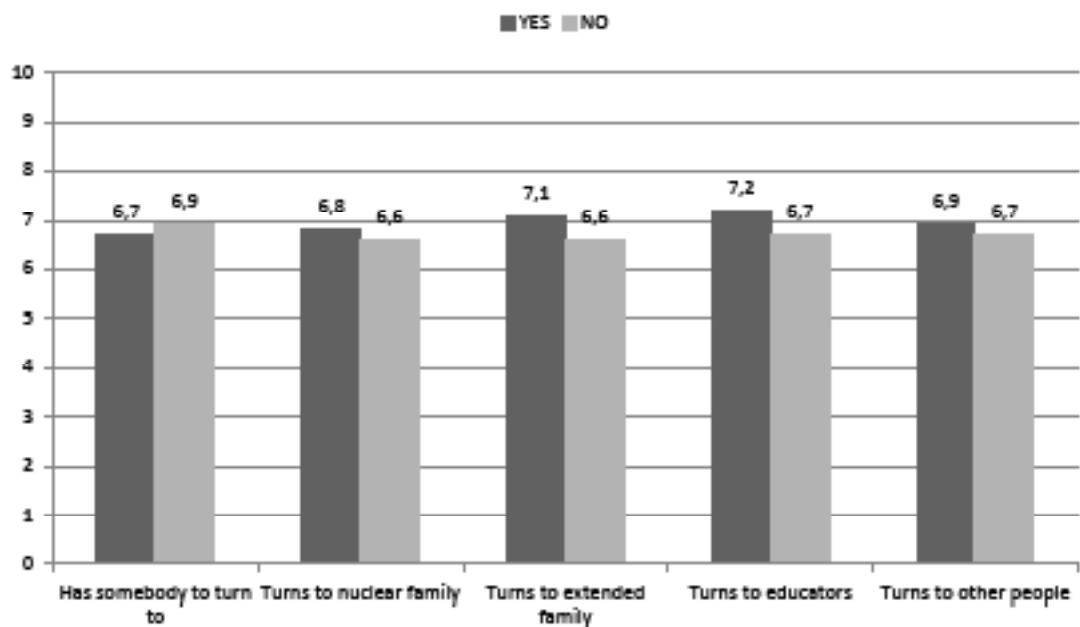


Figure 1. Average scores in life satisfaction according to whom they turn to for help.

In the analysis of the relationship between educational level and life satisfaction, we found that the average score in life satisfaction of care leavers who completed compulsory secondary school ($M = 7.1$, $DT = 2.2$) are significantly higher than the

score of those who did not ($M = 6.3$, $DT = 1.9$) [$t = -2.04$ (114), $p < .05$].

Lastly, it was found that there are significant differences in the scores on life satisfaction depending on whether the individual has a job ($M =$

7.5, $DT= 2.1$) or not ($M = 6.3$, $DT = 1.9$) [$t = -2.7$ (114), $p < .01$]. It also transpired that the average score in life satisfaction of that group who claimed to have incomes is significantly higher ($M = 7.4$, $DT= 1.9$) than those who do not ($M = 6$, $DT = 1.9$) [$t = -3.8$ (114), $p < .001$].

5. Discussion and conclusions

The first target of this article was the analysis of the social and economic situation of care leavers. The data collected provide some interesting facts. First, half of the participants in the survey return to the families that they were separated from when they were sent to the system in order to be protected. These families appear now as their main source of social support, circumstance that is not necessarily positive. According to the results by Cuenca et al. (2018), adolescents raise positive expectations regarding the role of their families in the process of transition into adulthood before leaving RC, and these expectations often collide with reality when they turn back and found themselves again immerse in their family issues (Samuels & Pryce, 2008). Cooperation of professionals along with families of adolescents in RC becomes a key issue (Martín, Torbay & Rodríguez, 2008), not only for the plans on family reunification but also for the plans on emancipation, because data tell us that many individuals go back to their families. In this respect, the adoption of a collaborative approach regarding the work with families (Balsells, Pastor, Matos, Vaquero y Urrea, 2015; Martín y Suárez, 2018) can help to generate positive alliances that will stand once the kid has left the protection system.

Apart from the prominent role of the birth family, two other aspects stood out when asking about the sources of social support. Firstly, the low percentage of participants who point their educators in RC as their source of support. These answers could be explained by two reasons: either adolescents leaving care centers want to conclude that stage of their lives breaking every bond that ties them to RC, educators included, or educators are not actually considered as a source of social support for them. This idea is supported by some researches developed in our country. Bravo and Del Valle (2003) found that educators were marked as adolescents in RC as providers of help in the dimension "help", but not in "trust and affection". Martín and Dávila (2008) found for their part that when educators were considered as providers of trust and affection only had a positive impact in school adaptation, but their support was not connected to personal or social adjustment. In any case, it seems logical that the

figure of the educator tends to grow apart from minors once they have left the center (López et al., 2013). The last result that we want to highlight regarding social support is that approximately one third of care leavers claim to turn to people outside their family or residential contexts. Regarding the results of those researches that recommend promoting networks of social support during the care placement (Martín & Dávila, 2008; Melkman, 2017) we can state that further work is needed in this sense so that a higher percentage of care leavers can have these reference figures in contexts outside the protection system.

Regarding academic qualification, the findings are worrying, given that slightly more than a third finished Compulsory Secondary Education and only one in five continued studying, situation that will certainly handicap a proper social and labor inclusion. The academic problems of the group of foster adolescents placed in homes and residences is a well-known matter (Dixon, 2016; Dumart et al., 2011; Jariot et al., 2015; Melendro, 2011; Montserrat et al., 2013) so it is a key issue if we want to better the process of transition into adulthood. In view of the above, the poor economic situation of care leavers should not surprise us, since approximately one in five claims to be economically independent, one in four claims to have a job, and almost the half present incomes under EUR 400 per month. This situation widely justifies the initiatives undertaken in order to improve the process of emancipation of foster youth.

Even when the current economic reality may entail the very same situation for adolescents of the same age living with their families, the fact is that in the case of care leavers it is even more appalling, given that their families are not, in most of the cases, an adequate source of support.

The second target of this paper was to analyze life satisfaction of adolescents who leave residential resources and reach the age of majority. The average score of the responses to the single item of Overall Life Satisfaction is 6,6, below the mean score of adolescents remaining in residences, which is in turn below the normative population, which were respectively 7.1 and 9.1 in the research by Llosada-Gistau et al., (2015). It does seem clear that living in RC (along with the problems caused by family separation) has a negative impact in the welfare of adolescents, but leaving the protection systems causes a higher reduction of life satisfaction of care leavers, possibly due to the loss of the support that the centers bring. However, life satisfaction is conditioned by some variables. This way, concluding compulsory secondary education, relying on incomes and having a job improves satisfaction of this group. The entry age and exit age

from RC also influences life satisfaction. Thus, adolescents who entered the system at less than 6 years old have a lower life satisfaction than those who entered when they were between 11 and 14. The former had longer stays so, joined to the attachment issues derived from family separation at an early age, it occurs that stays of up to three years may produce an involution in some of the dimensions related to social inclusion (Martín, Rodríguez & Torbay, 2007). Regarding the exit age, the fact that those who leave the centers at an age close to majority have a lower life satisfaction than those who leave between 13 and 15 may be due to the fact that the latter may leave RC because their problems which triggered separation have been solved. Meanwhile, the adolescents leaving RC between 16 and 18 years old might be immersed in their transition into adulthood, and lack an adequate family support. This result highlights the importance of the work with families in the programs of transition into adulthood, even after the age of majority has been reached (Balsells et al., 2015; Cuenca et al., 2018; Martín et al., 2008).

It should be pointed out that we did not find significant differences in life satisfaction between those who have someone to turn to in case of need and those who do not. A possible explanation might be the methodological limitations that phone interviews present, since we cannot ask about every factor of social support, and consequently only enabled us to ask about structure and functional dimension of help, avoiding questions on the size of the network, dimensions of trust and affection and quality of the support, which is possibly the dimension in direct relation with life satisfaction (Melkman, 2017).

The main conclusions emerging from this article are three. Firstly, efforts should be increased in order to work in the transition into adulthood of foster youth involving families, given that most of adolescents return to them, even when they are not able to become the best support. Secondly, and from a quantitative approach, the indicators related to training, labor integration and economic incomes confirm that this group of people is at risk of social exclusion and needs help even after reaching the age of majority. Thirdly, and on a subjective basis, care leavers are a group with low levels of life satisfaction, even lower than when they were in RC. The population in RC displays a high prevalence of emotional and behavior problems (González-García et al., 2017), and when they fail to receive therapeutic care after reaching the age of majority, the risk of social exclusion increases (Butterworth et al., 2017; Dumart et al., 2011). Psychological care must play an essential role in the programs implemented by public administration to this group.

We do not wish to end without commenting the major obstacle in this paper, which refers to the challenges involved in the researches on the situation of care leavers. Even when the population under study were care leavers between 18 and 26 years old, 80% of the participants in the survey were between 18 and 20, being the number of participants over 24 very low. It would be advisable to use updated datasets with contact details, which could ease the tracking of former foster adolescents and implement a system of assessment of results permanently reliable.

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**PARTNER VIOLENCE IN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS.
 A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN CAREERS AND SEMESTERS**
**VIOLENCIA DE PAREJA EN ESTUDIANTES UNIVERSITARIOS. UN ESTUDIO
 COMPARATIVO ENTRE CARRERAS Y SEMESTRES**
**VIOLENCIA DOS PARES EM ESTUDANTES UNIVERSITÁRIOS. UM ESTUDO
 COMPARATIVO ENTRE CARREIRAS E SEMESTRE**

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<p>KEY WORDS: violence psychological violence college students control blackmail</p>	<p>ABSTRACT: This study analyzed perception and psychological partner violence perpetuation indexes by means of control conducts and blackmail in college students. Specific differences among majors and semesters are described. Non-experimental design, cross sectional, descriptive study was used. The sample consisted of 2607 students from the Facultad de Estudios Superiores Iztacala of the State of Mexico, to whom the School Violence in University level Education Scale, which included items on psychological partner violence was applied. Results indicate significant differences in the control factor depending on the semester and major. Regarding the former, results show an increase in control behavior perception exerted by the partner as they progress their studies in semesters. Regarding the major, Psychology student population identified control actions with more frequency. The findings of this study show the importance of studying partner violence in an academic context, as there may be contextual variables encouraging or decreasing the presence of this type of violence.</p>
<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: violencia violencia psicológica estudiantes universitarios control y chantaje.</p>	<p>RESUMEN: El presente estudio analizó los índices de percepción y perpetuación de violencia psicológica de pareja a través de conductas de control y chantaje en estudiantes universitarios. Específicamente se describen diferencias por carreras y semestres cursados. Se utilizó un diseño no experimental, de corte transversal y descriptivo. La muestra estuvo conformada por 2607 estudiantes de la Facultad de Estudios Superiores Iztacala del Estado de México, a los cuales se les aplicó la Escala de Violencia Escolar en el Nivel Universitario que incluía reactivos de violencia de pareja de tipo psicológico. Los resultados indican diferencias significativas en el factor control en función del semestre y la carrera. Con respecto al primero,</p>

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	los resultados revelaron un aumento en la percepción de conductas de control ejercidas por la pareja conforme aumenta el semestre cursado. Relativo a la carrera, el estudiantado de psicología reportó identificar con mayor frecuencia acciones de control. Los hallazgos de este estudio muestran la importancia de estudiar la violencia de pareja en un contexto académico, dado que podrían existir variables contextuales que fomentan o reducen la presencia de este tipo de violencia.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: violência violência psicológica estudantes universitários controle chantagem	RESUMO: O presente estudo analisou as taxas de percepção e perpetuação da violência psicológica do casal através do controle e do comportamento de chantagem em estudantes universitários. Especificamente, são descritas diferenças por carreiras e semestres. Utilizou-se delineamento não experimental, transversal e descritivo. A amostra foi composta por 2607 alunos da Faculdade de Estudos Superiores de Iztacala, no Estado do México, aos quais a Escala de Violência Escolar foi aplicada no nível universitário, incluindo reagentes da violência por parceiro psicológico. Os resultados indicam diferenças significativas no fator de controle, dependendo do semestre e da carreira. Com relação ao primeiro, os resultados revelaram um aumento na percepção dos comportamentos de controle exercidos pelo casal à medida que o semestre estudado aumenta. Em relação à carreira, o estudante de psicologia relatou identificar ações de controle com mais frequência. Os achados deste estudo mostram a importância de estudar a violência por parceiro íntimo no contexto acadêmico, uma vez que podem existir variáveis contextuais que incentivem ou reduzam a presença desse tipo de violência.

1. Introduction

Violence in a couple –or partner violence– is an exercise of power, which through actions and or omissions, as well as any conduct, passive or active, one damage, hurts or controls, against their will, the other, with whom they have an intimate bond, such as marriage, courtship or “free” (Cienfuegos, 2010). In the called partner violence we find different types of aggressions: psychological, physical, sexual, economic and patrimonial.

Most of the studies regarding partner violence, include only female population, excluding males, but there are figures indicating that both genders can be prone to becoming a victim of violence, for example, in 2006 in Mexico, the Domestic Violence Attention Center (CAVI for it’s acronym in Spanish), reported that 14.1% of the claims of domestic violence, were reported by males, while the rest were females who suffered violent acts. (Trujano, Martínez & Camacho, 2010).

Partner violence is a social problem that affects both women and men who hold or held a couple’s relationship, marriage or cohabitation, nonetheless, it is also found in other romantic bonds as courtship, which is understood as an affective relationship between two people, generally established between the young and teenage, but it can be held between adults as well, without a conjugal bond. (Castro & Casique, 2010). This relationship is meaningful, mainly for teenagers and young adults, because they are learning to relate with another in an affective and intimate manner, from the used other relationships as friends, schoolmates and family members; however, many partner relationships at an early age are permeated by violence.

In regards to the violence between young partners in a relationship, in the United States indices report alarming physical violence, where aggressions are more frequently committed by men against women. An interesting fact of these figures report that the violence indices reduced as the age increases; 55% of women who reported violent acts, were between 18 and 24 years old; in comparison, 35% were women between 27 and 33 years old reported as victims. (Halpern, Oslak, Young, Martin, & Kupper, 2001).

In Mexico, the courtship violence National Survey, (ENVINO), conducted back in 2007, that included young people, (women and men between 15 and 24 years old, who have had at least one relationship), reported that the majority of these sampled population had experienced partner violence once. The most frequent was psychological violence, 76% of the sample reported suffering it, while sexual violence was reported by 16.5% and physical, 15% (IMJ, 2008).

These facts and figures allow us to understand that psychological violence is very frequent in courtship relations between young subjects. The different definitions and assessments of this type of violence, reflect a lack of consensus among the theoretical and investigators, as there is a diversity of behaviors amongst the different approaches. According to Echeburúa and Muñoz (2017), in psychological violence, the aggressor or abuser builds a distorted reality for the victim, equating the violence inflicted as part of the relationship dynamics, convincing the partner that the violent acts are necessary for them to “improve” in their role as partners. Another way of inflicting psychological violence is through control and harassment. Control is manifest through behaviors that

limit the social development of a person, such as prohibitions that one establishes for their partner not to have contact with others, or to hold certain activities; they also would supervise their partner's conversations, who they talk to over the telephone or submit them to extensive interrogation regarding their activities. Besides control, psychological violence is inflicted through blackmail, defined as those actions that force the victim partner to be submitted to perform determined behaviors, while assumed that it is their fault: the victim is to blame, instead of the aggressor. (Cienfuegos, 2010)

Cyberbullying is considered a form of control. It is exercised through electronic media (computers, tablets, cellular phones), and "apps" and social media and networks associated with these devices. These aggressions seek to control the partner too, by approving or disapproving their friendships in social media, supervising, monitoring the partner through calls or text messages. Jean-Cortés, Rivera-Aragón, Reidl-Martínez, and García-Méndez (2017) have reported indices of behaviors of control, intrusive monitoring, and cyber-surveillance much higher than verbal and sexual violence. About it, García-Carpintero, Rodríguez-Santero, and Porcel-Gálvez (2017), highlights that an important component for the execution and identification of these behaviors, is perception by identifying and guessing, when a person is performing cyberbullying, they can assume those acts as part of the courting, while if they receive them, those behaviors could be taken as actions of surveillance, thus, violent.

Given that psychological aggressions can be useful and subtle, and their consequences are not as obvious, they are rarely acknowledged as violent, by both victims and aggressors, (Heise & Garcia-Moreno, 2002; González-Ortega, Echeburúa & Corral, 2008), for which an essential element in the assessment of violence is the perception that the young have regarding which behaviors they consider to be violent, and which they don't.

Perception of violence is made up of the characteristics of the violent episode, the type of relationship held (whether steady or temporary) (Hirigoyen, 2006), as well as for the beliefs, justifications or tolerance to violence itself, according to the established social standards (Kaura & Lohman, 2007). Then, studying partner violence becomes a complex task due to not only come together with individual factors (impulsivity, anger, mistrust, alexithymia, social skills deficit, personality disorders, and depression), that have been reported by other investigations (González-Ortega, Echeburúa & Corral, 2008), but also social factors.

Violence during courtship in the young population has been assessed mainly through the frequency of violent acts when those have already happened. College and University student's perception of partner violence has been little studied. Some studies report that the majority of students are capable of recognizing different types of violence, nonetheless, when indices of violence in their relationships are evaluated, a considerable presence of it is shown as a result. (Soriano, 2011; Vizcarra & Póo, 2011; Boira & cols, 2017; García, Romero, Garduño & Campos, 2016; Osorio, Reidl, Reyes & Sierra, 2016), and reveal important relating factors to the context, that could favor the appearance of violent acts. The physical context could be an example of it; regarding this, García, Romero, Garduño, and Campos (2016), found indices of psychological violence suffered by female university students, depending on the campus they belong to.

In the academic context, they are considered in the educational level as a triggering factor of partner violence. For example, the study of Ortega, Ortega y Sánchez (2008), that, even when not including university students, they analyzed partner violence in subjects with two scholarships, one had junior high school levels and the other high school degree. Results revealed that subjects with a high school degree reported slightly lower indices in comparison with those at junior high. Rivera-Rivera, Allen, Rodríguez-Ortega, Chávez-Ayala and Lazcano-Ponce (2006), performed a comparison among students of high school and baccalaureate-University, on the relation with the index of violence the students of junior high showed lower violence indexes, both physical and psychological violence specifically, unlike those with baccalaureate-university levels, with whom indexes increased slightly. These facts might suggest that the partner violence in students vary depending on the academic level they attend, but it has not been identified as a specific pattern.

This evidence can be analyzed from the perspective of the Development Ecological Theory of Bronfenbrenner (1979), for whom human development is a progressive accommodation between the subject and their immediate environments, and is influenced by the relations that are established among those environments and by contexts of higher reach that are included in them. This author conceives the ecological environment as a concentric structure of serial disposition on which every one of them is contained within the nest. These structures are denominated micro, meso, exo and macro systems. Here briefly described: microsystem refers to interpersonal relationships that a subject establishes, relationships that are

built face to face; mesosystem is a network of relationships between the different microsystems that include the subject, and exosystem is formed by the relationships among systems on which the subject does not operate actively and his system. Macrosystem is the wider context; it is about the elements that exist in general culture or subcultures and keeps correspondence with the other systems (micro, meso and exo systems). In it are included, for example, different forms of social organization, cultural beliefs, lifestyles of a culture or social group. That is why it is considered that the behavior of people in a certain situation or context, corresponds to the ideology sustained by a determined social group, the macrosystem. In the microsystem, this model has been used to convey of the violence, for example, it has been found that the structure, familiar dynamics, relationship status, and partnership satisfaction is associated with partner violence, while in exosystem there have been located institutions and social environments that encourage certain values and guidelines such as punishment and protection towards the victims. Other risk factors of such kind are economic status, unemployment, academic level, alcoholism, and social isolation. Finally, in the macrosystem, there have been found characteristics, political aspects, cultural values, and roles about the women and men, that relate with the idea of power and obedience (Saltijeral, Ramos & Caballero, 2013; Puente-Martínez, Ubillos-Landa, Echeburúa & Páez-Rovira, 2016).

In the present work, it is postulated that the attended career, as well as the level the subjects are in, can be contemplated as part of the macrosystem on which the subjects are immersed. The educational institution adjusts the curriculum design on which the students are formed and it provides elements to modulate their behavior to face the facts they have to deal with. In such a manner, that is considered that the disciplinary formation, and the accomplished level in it, contemplate in a very specific way, matters of violence and could be an influential element for the subjects to behave in a particular manner in their interpersonal relationships, such as partnerships. In other words, the disciplinary formation can be a macrosystem that could be leading a correspondence along with the microsystem in interpersonal relationships.

It could be presumed that as the academic level progresses, knowledge about many facts increase, which could contribute to students become more critical not only of the scholar contents, but also of their relationships, and in this case, of their partnerships; specifically in the perception of which behaviors are violent and which are not. University students have more knowledge

of facts of different nature and maybe as their skills improve and increase, as well as their academic knowledge, they can be more sensitive to identify violence in their relationships. For all that, it could be expected that the higher the academic level, or the more progress on the attended periods at university, the greater the perception of violent acts.

Regarding the study attended, there is not much information. In several investigations about the partner violence perception in university students, there were not found differences as of the study (career) attended, for example, between medicine and infirmary, psychology, tourism, and law. (Olvera, Arias & Amador, 2012). In the Superior Education Institutions (IES), violence is not necessarily a formative content. In a study performed in Mexico, a national survey, there is evidence that 93.4% of IES teaching medicine, includes violence-related content. Nonetheless, such contents are indirectly taught, for they are only mentioned (57%) and if they are directly discussed, (43%), it is through extracurricular activities, such as workshops, programs or broadcasting diffusion programs. In no case, they reported an approach of such matters for the curriculum (Díaz & Esteban, 1999) what makes us think that in this career there is a vision or particular conception of violence, that finds no place in a course where the subject is to be discussed. In other careers as psychology, it is well known that violence is an included content in some of the courses to curriculum, what could be a factor that modifies the perception of interpersonal relationships of students and in particular, the partnerships, influencing both the way they establish those relationships, being violent or not, in a different way to the partner relationships of students coursing other careers. In the case of Infirmary, the presence of these contents has been documented as poor and insufficient and even said that it must include partner violence elements on its curriculum (Sundborg, Saleh-Stattin & Törnkvist, 2012; Beccaria & cols., 2013). There is clear evidence of the differences in the violence content present in all of these careers analyzed in the present work. In the Medicine and psychology courses, there are contents regarding the matter to be discussed in a differential manner, while in the Infirmary, it's presence is insufficient.

In summary, the perspective present in this work assumes that the disciplinary formation understood as a Macrosystem, could be an influential element for the subjects to behave in a certain manner on their interpersonal relationships, specifically their partnerships, and contemplate matters of violence in a particular form. It is supposed that disciplinary formation and accomplished

level at it, can be part of the Macrosystem enabling correspondence with the microsystem in interpersonal relationships.

The purpose of the present work is to know the perception index ranks of partner violence, psychological type, exerted through control behaviors and blackmail, in students coursing different semesters of the taught careers in the public university. It was hypothesized that the perception of those behaviors was to vary according to the semester and career attended, which relate to the assessment they make towards partner violence, as well as the forms of manifestation of the phenomenon, (control behaviors and blackmail)

2. Method

Type of study.- It was a quantitative, cross-sectional study, carried out through a non-experimental design.

Participants.- The sample consisted of 2607 students enrolled in the Iztacala School of Higher Education of the State of Mexico, 34.7% of the sample were male and 65.3% female, who attended the following careers: Medicine (17.6%), Dentistry (14.6%), Infirmary (11.8%), Biology (4%), Optometry (3.8%), Psychology Presence (classroom classes) (32.6 %) and Psychology Virtual (15.6 %). Regarding the school semester, 27.3% were enrolled in second, 32% in fourth, 19.2% in sixth and 21.5% in eighth. As for the student's age, the average was 23 years.

Instruments.- To assess the partner violence on university students, we used the Scale of University Scholar Violence (Robles and cols, press) that included the following factors: violence inflicted amongst the students, violence by students against themselves and violence received by the students through their partners. The design of this scale went through every step to become an instrument. Finally, this instrument was composed of the five mentioned factors, obtaining alfa of Cronbach total of .811 and for the subscale of partner violence, a Cronbach alfa of .642, both considered as satisfactory. At the end of the present report, only a partner violence relative factor was analyzed as part of the violence experienced in the university environment. This cutback attempts to show how partner violence manifests in university students, to more deeply in future investigations.

Partner violence of psychological type was assessed, only through two elements; blackmail that included a reagent referent to the received

violence (reagent 12.- *it is hard for me to end the relationship with my partner, because she/he always says that she/he cannot live without me*), and the control that included both reagents, one of them imply to receive violence (reagent 13.- *it annoys me that my partner calls or writes to me constantly asking where I am at and who I am with*) and the other that assessed the perception of it (reagent 14.- *I consider it violent when my partner gets angry or mad because I share or talk with other people*). The three reagents, as all in the survey, had a format type Likert (1=totally disagree, 2= disagree, 3=indifferent, 4= agree, 5= completely agree), and the higher the score, the greater the psychological violence.

Procedure.- The implementation of the instrument was through electronic media. Students from different semesters were invited by the academic coordination of their attending career. They were informed that personal data would be guarded as confidential and that their answers would only be used for the present investigation. Those students willing to respond to the instrument were instructed to be present at the institution's computer room, where personnel in charge gave them instructions for login the platform to find the instrument. Once they did, they started to answer without a time frame or limit to complete it.

Statistical analysis.- Statistical analyzes were performed using the SPSS version 20 program for Windows. Variance of a single ANOVA factor was used to establish differences between the four semesters studied by the students and the seven careers. Finally, to determine specific differences between these groups, the Tukey test was used.

3. Results

The majority of students (59.4% y 17.8% respectively), indicated not to have difficulty to finish their relationship due to blackmail inflicted by their partner, as the reagent noted. As per the perception of control behaviors, students scored similar for reagent 13, being 28.2% and 11.3% of students answered not to be annoyed by the partner's question on their whereabouts, nevertheless, 22.5% and 17.0% confirmed to disagree with such behavior. As per the reagent 14, a great number of students (30.2% and 31.1%) did perceive as violet that their partners got angry for them sharing or talking to other people, compared to 6.5% and 18.7% of the respondents stating they did not perceive that action as violent (chart 1).

Chart 1. Distribution of the type of psychological violence “Blackmail Behavior Received” and “Perception of control behaviors” in university students.

Reagents	* Reagents												M
	Total		1		2		3		4		5		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
12 Blackmail	2607	100	1549	59.4	463	17.8	324	12.4	205	7.9	66	2.5	1.76
13 Control	2607	100	735	28.2	295	11.3	549	21.1	586	22.5	442	17.0	2.89
14 Control	2607	100	488	18.7	170	6.5	352	13.5	787	30.2	810	31.1	3.48

Note: * 1=totally disagree, 2= disagree, 3=indifferent, 4= agree and 5= completely agree

Regarding the attending semester, and partner violence indexes, results show that as the semester progresses, higher scores of psychological violence are found, both for behaviors of control as of blackmail, showing a pattern where average score is stable or increasing as the semester goes forward, at least up to the sixth semester (chart

2). With the ANOVA performed, there were differences found, statistically significant in all semesters, in the perception of control, for reagents 13 and 14. On the contrary, there were no differences found - statistically significant on the blackmail factor (reagent 12) on the four attended semesters.

Chart 2. Comparison between school semesters for types of psychological violence “Blackmail Behavior Received” and “Perception of control behaviors”

Semesters	Reagent 12 - Blackmail	Reagent 13 - Perception control	Reagent 14 - Perception control
Second	1.74	2.85	3.40
Fourth	1.76	2.85	3.38
Sixth	1.81	3.05	3.66
Eighth	1.76	2.84	2.58
F	.464	2.715	5.487
p	.702	.043	.001

*p<.05

Given the found differences amongst the four semesters, on regards to the control factor, the test *post hoc* of Tukey’s was applied. Results on the reagent related to control perception, (reagent 14), show important differences: a) between second and sixth semester, the higher score is of the sixth ($p = .015$) and b) between the fourth, sixth and eight semesters, ($p = .004$ and $p = .046$, respectively). These results suggest that the perception of control y partner relationships of students is related to the attended semester.

Violence presents differentially in the taught careers at FES Iztacala. In chart 3, blackmail was observed (reagent 12) is little present, has low scores and manifests itself in a similar way as at the other careers, for ANOVA does not report significant differences between them, while average score for reagents evaluating control (reagents 13 and 14) present higher scores, mainly in Psychology career, in the presence-based

modality, as well as in the virtual. ANOVA reveals meaningful differences along for those reagents and *post hoc* of Tukey’s, showed for reagent 13, differences between presence-based Psychology and Biology ($p = 0.023$), Medicine ($p = .049$), Optometry ($p = .004$), Dentistry ($p = .000$) and Infirmary ($p = .002$). The virtual modality reveal important differences with Infirmary ($p = .027$), Optometry ($p = .013$) and Dentistry ($p = .000$). For reagent 14, the found differences between presence-based Psychology and Infirmary ($p = .000$), Optometry ($p = .000$) and Dentistry ($p = .000$). While on virtual modality the the significant differences were found on relation to Infirmary ($p = .000$), Medicine ($p = .021$), Optometry ($p = .000$) and Dentistry ($p = .000$). These suggest that students of Infirmary, Optometry, and Dentistry are less sensitive to control behavior from their partners, to the point of not feeling annoyed by those behaviors.

**Chart 3. Comparison between school careers for types of psychological violence
“Blackmail Behavior Received” and “Perception of control behaviors”**

Careers									
Violence Reagents	Biology	Infirmary	Medicine	Optometry	Dentistry	Psychology Presence	Psychology Virtual	F	p
12 Blackmail	1.68	1.66	1.80	1.64	1.67	1.84	1.79	2.02	.059
13 Perception control	2.61	2.72	2.84	2.52	2.62	3.09	3.06	8.41	.001
14 Perception control	3.38	3.22	3.46	2.84	3.15	3.69	3.78	14.35	.001

*p<.05

Intending to identify whether the reagents of control and obtained scores on each career formed a pattern concerning the semester attended, a descriptive analysis was performed, revealing differential trends between careers. At Infirmary and Optometry, it is noted that the

higher the semester, the less control is inflicted on the partner, understood as violent behavior. As per Biology, Medicine, and Psychology, the trend is inverse. The higher the semester, the higher the score identifying partner violence at control manifestations.

**Chart 4. Scores for the type of violence “Perception of control behaviors”
depending on the semester in each of the careers**

Reagent 14 (Perception control)							
Careers	Semesters	Second	Fourth	Sixth	Eighth	F	p
Biology		2.74	3.74	3.36	3.75	3.70	.014
Infirmary		3.62	3.16	3.20	2.89	1.57	.196
Medicine		3.36	3.46	3.53	3.53	.39	.760
Optometry		3.36	3.16	2.56	2.77	1.03	.379
Psychology Presence		3.29	3.59	3.93	3.90	10.5	.000
Psychology Virtual		3.84	3.65	4.11	3.56	1.95	.120
Dentistry		3.08	3.08	3.49	3.23	1.06	.364

*p<.05

By performing an ANOVA with the scores shown on each career, the significance of differences found only on reagent 14 between careers presence-based Psychology ($p = .000$) and Biology ($p = .014$) (chart 4). To say is that on those two careers, the level of schooling is important, as they progress in their course, they can more clearly perceive control as violent behavior.

4. Discussion and conclusions

Data generated by the present investigation show that psychological violence translated into control behaviors are the most reported by students in comparison to blackmail behaviors. The fact that these actions of control are more than the blackmail ones, matches the results of Soriano (2011), who found that the type of violence that most

affected students of the university, was psychological, specifically, control actions.

As per the differences were shown between semesters attended and partner violence, they were only important for the perception of control behaviors, making it clear that as they progress in the course attended, the higher scores they get. These data states that students coursing the last semesters have a different perception of control as psychological violence, than those at the beginning semesters; this strengthen the idea of the greater knowledge of a discipline, there is a direct association with the perception of psychological violence, but it is more clear, according to performed analysis, for students of Psychology career, on which curriculum they approach violence matters as curriculum content. The trend is also strong in Biology's career, so there is still to be analyzed those factors that played in this trend. Data prove that there are significant differences regarding which behaviors are assumed as violent and which are not, these, depending on the career attended, which matches results obtained by Osorio, Reidl, Reyes & Sierra (2016) and strengthen the idea of the curriculum that forms professionals can be considered as Macrosystem. This way careers program, it's explicit and implicit values towards violence in general, can be reflected in the interpersonal relationships of students, enabling them to identify, to a greater or lesser extent, their partner's violent behaviors, especially those behaviors that aim to control the partner.

About partner violence, there is very little literature to include in the curriculum of a determined career. Some evaluate the schooling level and its relation to partner violence indexes Rivera-Rivera, Allen, Rodríguez-Ortega, Chávez-Ayala, & Lazcano-Ponce (2006) finding that the violence levels slightly increase from junior high to baccalaureate and University. From it, it's been suggested to continue investigating if the course level can be a variable that affects the perception of psychological violence and/or its perpetuation and whether it functions by gender.

It should be noted that as per not finding significant differences between blackmail behavior and the semesters attended by students, it is not feasible to generalize, so future investigations could enrich these data by including new reagents which study blackmail, because, in the present work, it was only included one reagent regarding that matter, what suggests that it would be prudent to analyze blackmail more thoroughly, as an expression of psychological violence. The usage of only three reagents to measure psychological violence, results to be limiting of study, if taken as

a fact that there are other actions such as denigrate, critic, humiliate, intimidate, over-blame, act indifferent and minimize situations (Álvarez & Hartog, 2005) involved in that type of violence, which makes impossible to make known what other behaviors are perceived or not as violent acts. Another restriction of the present investigation, was the type of design, because it was line transect survey, and as proved, there might be a trend to the perception of violence, while progressing at semesters, that increase or at least remains stable, then, a longitudinal study could provide more accurate evidence that can prove or refute these findings.

Despite the inherent constraints, it could be assumed that two of the used reagents to measure violence perception emphasize important aspects of romantic relationships in the young, such as control use, restricting physical encounters with other people, but also through another communication tool widely used these days: telephone.

Findings of the present exploratory study, even with its limitations, can inform our hypotheses to design subsequent studies, taking the framework of the Ecological Model of Bronfenbrenner. The present work provides the opportunity for future investigations about partner violence on university students, to take up contextual factors that could be favoring or stopping the phenomena. For the particular case of this investigation, academic semesters and the attending career can be conceptualized as constituents of the Macrosystem of students, while analyzing it from the ecological Model. From such perspective, students are immersed in systems that enforce values, beliefs, behavioral norms and knowledge in the academic community. Likely, these elements will rule their behavior in different sceneries such as academic and professional, but also in other spheres of their life, as family and partnership. For that reason, it is suggested to consider some relevant views of the intervention construction to face partner violence, while attending university, career and semester must be taken into account at deciding to apply the interventions. Interventions must be designed not only for the students but must include other academic actors, such as teachers, for them to be capable convey out useful tools for the students to identify and avoid violent behaviors at their partnerships. It is advised to take into account the values and beliefs of teachers and students of each career have, (maybe for their disciplinary formation), towards general violence and in particular, partner violence, to be able to critically analyze it and question all those that make it impossible to identify violent behavior.

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ABSTRACT: The transformation of the institutional model of care for people with intellectual disabilities to the community-based and inclusive model generates new professional roles and poses challenges related to their training. The objectives of the research were: to deepen the role of professionals who offer support to people with intellectual disabilities from the perspective of personalization and the rights model; and establish the training priorities that enhance the development of this role. Qualitative research was developed based on interviews that were applied to 12 professionals selected for developing good support practices. The analysis was carried out through thematic content analysis. According to the participants, promoting social inclusion and connections of people with disabilities requires completely personalized support formulas and correctly managing the partnership with community agents, where the socio-educational work scenario is established. Regarding training, the participants defended the need to base the training on the person-centered model, and on basic values of the educational relationship based on respect, trust and confidentiality. The importance of having the testimony and experience of people with disabilities in the training processes was also indicated. From the study carried out, there is a need to involve in the transformation of the support to the organization as a whole, promoting training activities that incorporate

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	<p>the rights model to the perspective of disability, and to transfer the scenario of support to the community. Concerning the training, professional competencies to evaluate community spaces and establish social connections that contribute to enrich the social relationships of people with disabilities should be strengthened.</p>
<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: funciones profesionales personalización personas con discapacidad intelectual formación de profesionales de la acción socioeducativa</p>	<p>RESUMEN: La transformación del modelo institucional de atención a personas con discapacidad intelectual al modelo basado en la comunidad e inclusivo genera nuevos roles profesionales y plantea retos relacionados con su formación. Los objetivos de la investigación eran dos: profundizar en el rol de los profesionales que ofrecen apoyo a personas con discapacidad intelectual desde la perspectiva de la personalización y el modelo de derechos; y establecer las prioridades formativas que potencien el desarrollo de este rol. Se desarrolló una investigación cualitativa basada en entrevistas que se aplicaron a 12 profesionales seleccionados por desarrollar buenas prácticas de apoyo. El análisis se realizó mediante análisis de contenido temático. Según los participantes, potenciar la inclusión social y las conexiones de las personas con discapacidad requiere fórmulas de apoyo completamente personalizadas y gestionar correctamente el partenariado con agentes de la comunidad, donde se establece el escenario de trabajo socioeducativo. En cuanto a la formación, los participantes defienden la necesidad de fundamentar la formación en el modelo centrado en la persona, y en valores básicos de la relación educativa basados en con el respeto, la confianza y la confidencialidad. También se indica la importancia de contar con el testimonio y experiencia de personas con discapacidad en los procesos formativos. Del estudio realizado se deriva la necesidad de implicar en la transformación de los apoyos al conjunto de la organización, potenciando para ello acciones formativas que incorporen el modelo de derechos a la perspectiva de la discapacidad, y a trasladar el escenario de apoyo a la comunidad. Desde la formación se deben potenciar las competencias profesionales necesarias para evaluar los espacios comunitarios y establecer conexiones sociales que contribuyan a enriquecer las relaciones sociales de las personas con discapacidad.</p>
<p>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: funções profissionais personalização pessoas com deficiência intelectual formação de profissionais da ação socioeducativa</p>	<p>RESUMO: A transformação do modelo institucional de atenção a pessoas com deficiência intelectual para um modelo baseado na comunidade e inclusão ocasiona novas funções profissionais e desafios relacionados à sua formação. A pesquisa apresentou dois objetivos: aprofundar a questão do papel destes profissionais que oferecem apoio a pessoas com deficiência intelectual desde a perspectiva da personalização e do modelo de direitos; e estabelecer prioridades formativas que potencializem o desenvolvimento desta função. Desenvolveu-se uma pesquisa qualitativa baseada em entrevistas que foram aplicadas a 12 profissionais selecionados para desenvolver boas práticas de apoio. A análise foi realizada mediante análise de conteúdo temática. Segundo os participantes, potenciar a inclusão social e a conexão de pessoas com deficiência requer fórmulas de apoio completamente personalizadas e gerir corretamente a parceria com agentes da comunidade, na qual se estabelece o cenário de trabalho socioeducativo. Quanto à formação, os participantes defendem a necessidade de fundamentar a formação no modelo centrado na pessoa, e em valores básicos da relação educativa baseados no respeito, confiança e confidencialidade. Também se destaca a importância de contar com o testemunho e experiência de pessoas com deficiência nos processos formativos. A partir do estudo realizado, evidenciou-se a necessidade de um maior comprometimento na transformação dos apoios ao conjunto da organização, maximizar ações formativas que incorporem o modelo de direitos à perspectiva da deficiência, bem como trasladar o cenário de apoio à comunidade. Desde a formação, deve-se potencializar as competências profissionais necessárias para avaliar os espaços comunitários e estabelecer conexões sociais que contribuam para o enriquecimento das relações sociais das pessoas com deficiência.</p>

1. Introduction

Attention to people with intellectual disabilities has traditionally been determined in recent decades by organizing social care based on institutional approaches that have given users little control and have not sought personalized solutions (Duffy, 2011). The basis of this model is that users are passive recipients of the services and that professionals know what care they need, attention that is organized and offered in an institutional environment. The institutional model began to transform into community models a few decades ago, beginning in the Anglo-Saxon context, due to the

incorporation of the social model in the conceptualization of disability that prioritizes the organization of support in inclusive contexts (Mansell and Beadle-Brown 2010). However, although the presence of people with disabilities in the community has increased, along with the progressive incorporation of person-centered approaches, little progress has been made in increasing the participation of people with intellectual disabilities in the community, the neighborhood and in society in general (Bigby, Anderson and Cameron 2018). People with intellectual disabilities (ID) continue to have fewer social connections than the general population and other groups of people with

other disabilities (McCausland, McCallion, Cleary and McCarron, 2016). The support professionals seems to play an important role in creating opportunities to increase the social opportunities of people with ID; When professionals offer more attention to people, they develop more community activities and receive support to establish social ties (Amado, Stancliffe, McCarron, and McCallion, 2013; Verdonshot, de Witte, Reichrath, Buntinx and Curfs, 2009).

The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (United Nations 2006) constitutes a turning point not only in the vision of people with disabilities as subjects of rights, but also in raising the need to distribute support taking into account the needs and requests of each person, based on the right to individual decision making. Similarly, the European Strategy on Disability 2010-2020 (European Commission, 2010) underlines the promotion of participation and accessibility, among others, as areas of action, pointing out the need to promote the transition from institutional assistance models to community ones. With this, the need to rethink the way of distributing support is underlined, both from an organizational perspective and from the action of professionals responsible for socio-educational action. That is to say, the concept of more personalized social services that enhance social inclusion in all its dimensions suggests new roles for users and professionals and is based on a change in the relationships between policymakers and consumers of the services (Jacobs et al, 2013, Moriarty, Manthorpe and Cornes, 2014).

Spicker (2013) introduces three interpretations of the concept of personalization: the first refers to individualized evaluation and responses (the idea of "tailor-made" services); the second is based on the expression of user preferences, rather than an evaluation process. Here, the user's choice, their demands and preferences, acquire a preponderant role. The third model tries to reconcile professionals and users so that they work together in the management of risks and resources. In the three models there is a transformation of the traditional service distribution model based on a vertical relationship between organization-professionals and users, towards a model that has the person at the center and is oriented as a result the decisions this person makes. Although personalization can be criticized as being an individualistic philosophy, based on neoliberal approaches that place the "user" as an isolated individual and autonomous consumer (Williams, Porter and Marriott, 2014), authors such as Houston (2010) insist on the need to go beyond this conception and to recognize the value of social

connection, and the interaction of the environment in the configuration and construction of personal projects. The personalization fits, according to different authors (Sowerby, 2010), in the objectives of the professionals that are encompassed in the socio-educational intervention, among them the professionals of social education.

The new perspectives are incorporated into the social policies of different countries by configuring service / support models that tend towards or seek control by the person. Sowerby (2010) indicates that offering personalized support requires fundamental changes in the welfare system. It requires a transformation of the system at different levels: rebalancing objectives through the support of people so they can live the life they want; new financing and decision-making structures, openness regarding resources and opportunities, new partnerships with people who want support, and a wider and more flexible range of local / community options to choose from.

This transformation leads to a rethink of the role of support professionals. The professionals do not exercise their action within the framework of institutions and in group contexts, but rather, different social spaces (leisure centers, cafeterias, civic centers, training centers, the person's own home) are configured as new scenarios to implement personalized socio-educational actions. Social inclusion in its different dimensions (labor, relational, community participation, etc.) generates new, ambitious intervention objectives. Therefore, new professional functions are configured related to strengthening the connection with community spaces (Duggan and Linehan, 2013) and the domain of competences linked to the analysis of community contexts to identify sources of support and the design of strategies that allow people with disabilities to expand their natural support network (García Iriarte, Stockdale, McConkey and Keogh, 2016). However, rethinking the contexts, objectives and methodologies is not an easy task, but in fact rather a challenge for support professionals. As commented by García Iriarte, Stockdale, McConkey and Keogh (2016), the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities constitutes the framework for new professional roles that may conflict with institutional procedures and priorities, so it is necessary to transform the perspective at all organizational levels so that the personalized support model, in inclusive contexts, can be implemented. The support offered by professionals is linked to their perception of the role, and concerns about the risks associated with the assuming of autonomy can limit the empowering actions of professionals (Duggan and Linehan, 2013; Windley and Chapman 2010). The competencies

that professionals need to support people with disabilities from a personalization perspective have hardly been investigated (Jacobs et al 2013, Moriarty et al 2014). Along these lines, Van Asselt-Goverts, Embregts, Hendriks, and Frielink (2014) and Bigby and Wiesel (2015) indicate that research on community participation and social inclusion of people with ID should include study on the organizational and cultural context from which that support is offered (including the training of professionals and the management of support) to determine to what extent they enhance the development of social ties.

Therefore, it is necessary to address this issue in order to raise the possibility of training activities, both initial and continuing, of professionals who perform accompaniment functions for people with disabilities. The objective of the research presented in this article is precisely to go into greater depth regarding the role of professionals who offer support to people with intellectual disabilities from the perspective of personalization, the rights model and community inclusion, to establish the training priorities that enhance the development of this role. This issue is of special relevance in the Spanish context, where support for people with intellectual disabilities is organized according to Law 1/2013 on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and their Social Inclusion following a model that combines institutional care with some community-based initiatives. As Verdugo and Jenaro indicate in their report on independent living and community inclusion (2019), in Spain the emphasis has been placed on residential supports rather than those based on the community which foster people's independent living and social inclusion. The report indicates that little progress has been made in deinstitutionalization and recommends implementing resources to develop personalized support for all people with disabilities. Having more information about the functions developed by support professionals from models that prioritize inclusion and a personalized perspective will allow the training of these professionals to be properly focused, which should have an impact on the quality of support received by people with disabilities in their processes of social inclusion.

2. The role of support professionals for people with intellectual disabilities: research approach

Sowerby (2010) develops research focused on the role of support professionals in which he explores two dimensions: the type of relationship and / or support that allows people to gain control of their

lives, and the changes that organizations can make to incorporate actions based on customization. As for the first, it underlines the possibilities of the *Circles of Support* (Burke, 2015) that include people who are close and who appreciate the person receiving support in the distribution of informal supports, in a process led by the individual with disabilities. In addition, it argues that all people, regardless of disability, have preferences and should be able to express them, so it is a task of the support person to find a good system to ask the person what they want, help them understand, and be able to interpret the answer. It is necessary for the support person to spend enough time with the person receiving the support to get to know them and learn to communicate well with them. Along the same lines, the research by Williams, Porter and Marriott (2014), focused on people who receive support, highlights their need to be heard and that the support professional understands their needs. They value the fact that they spend time and help them think about alternatives and new possibilities.

As for organizations, their role cannot be ignored because it greatly conditions the actions of professionals. Sowerby (2010) points out the possibility that organizations do not give up control and experience resistance to changes, making it difficult for professionals to feel supported in the development of personalized support relationships. Some studies agree on this issue, highlighting the existence of tensions between organizations and professionals due to the difficulties for the institution to transform the institutional culture towards that of the personalized support model (Clement and Bigby, 2012; Duggan and Linehan, 2013; McConkey and Collins, 2010). Institutional concerns regarding the risks involved in assuming autonomy can limit the empowering actions of professionals (Duggan and Linehan, 2013; Windley and Chapman 2010). As shown by the research carried out by the European Union Agency for fundamental Rights (FRA) (2013), the paternalistic attitudes of professionals and organizations often erect barriers to the ability of people with intellectual disabilities to establish community networks and to advance in their social inclusion.

Brophy, Bruxner, Wilson, Cocks and Stylianou (2015) also highlight the need for the socio-educational professional to work in partnership with families and other informal agents, developing creative and innovative supports that respond to personal needs and demands. Establishing coordination processes with other formal and informal community resources is configured as a key strategy among their functions. From this perspective, personalization offers socio-educational

professionals the potential to establish relationships with people and work with them in a more meaningful way.

Few studies in our context address the analysis of the role of professionals in the socio-educational field linked to personalized support for people with disabilities. In the work by Oliveras and Pallisera (2019) a qualitative study is conducted aimed at deepening the perceptions of support professionals about their own role in supporting people with intellectual disabilities in housing contexts. The results indicate the willingness of professionals to advance in support practices based on the active listening to people and the commitment to respect their decisions. Professionals value the importance of professional skills linked to the educational relationship (empathy, listening, respect for personal differences) and the need to respect people's decisions and their lifestyle.

Pallisera et al (2018) analyze the role of support professionals in independent living contexts in research based on interviews with professionals responsible for the distribution of support and discussion groups with self-managers (people with intellectual disabilities). Both groups demand a central role for people in the support process; However, the former point out that there are numerous difficulties in transforming the institutional model based on care into a model centered on personalized support. Self-managers value, above all, the emotional support received by support professionals and, consequently, the professional skills most valued by them are patience, listening skills, respect, and availability.

This research aims to go into greater depth regarding the role of professionals who offer personalized support, through the narratives of professionals with proven experience, and which is recognized in their environment as good practice in the support of people with intellectual disabilities in social inclusion contexts. This will allow to look more deeply into the basic functions of the support professionals, as well as establish the basic training axes that prepare them for these functions.

3. Methodology

A study based on interviews with support professionals with extensive experience in facilitating social inclusion processes is carried out. The study is carried out in Ireland, a context where there has been a significant advance in the processes of deinstitutionalization of people with ID in the last decade and in the development of practices based on personalized and flexible support through the issue of institutional documents that

recommend them, based on individual needs and seeking the objective of full inclusion (McConkey, Bunting, Ferry, García-Iriarte & Stevens, 2013). In line with the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (United Nations, 2006), there has also been a transformation of the vision of people with disabilities recognizing their experiential knowledge and enhancing their inclusion in research processes and evaluation of the services and support. Ireland is currently one of the contexts in which there is a national network of inclusive research composed exclusively of people with intellectual disabilities who, with the support of researchers from different universities, act as researchers in processes aimed at analyzing and improving their lives. In this sense, the recognition of the rights of people with intellectual disabilities is generating a significant transformation of social policies, research and support practices (Salmon, Barry & Hutchins, 2018).

The intention is for the story and the reflection of the professionals themselves on the innovative practices that are being carried out in the Irish context allows the definition of both the new support roles and the training practices that can contribute to strengthening them in different territorial contexts. The study objectives are to:

- Explore the role of professionals in the personalized support offered to people with ID in contexts of social inclusion, from the point of view of professionals.
- Discover the opinions of the professionals about the necessary training to carry out these functions.

Participants

We are interested in deepening our understanding of the vision of professionals with proven experience in good practice of personalized support in processes of social inclusion of people with intellectual disabilities. Following Yurrebaso (2017), good practices can be defined as innovative, effective, sustainable, flexible and transferable actions that produce progress or improvement of results in a given area. In order to select professionals who can give an account of good practices of personalized support in inclusive contexts, a preliminary phase was carried out in which the objective of the research was reported to university experts in the field of intellectual disability, all of them with experience in applied research and therefore with knowledge of organizations, projects and professionals that provide support. These experts were consulted about projects, services and / or professionals that developed good practices in the field of study. Based on the suggestions of these

experts, contact was made with the 12 people who participated in the research. These are 9 women and 3 men, who work in different support organizations (7 in total) except one of the participants, who is hired directly by the person receiving the support through a pilot program. 11 people have a work experience of more than 15 years working with people with disabilities, and one of 7 years. The contact with them was initially made by email, briefly indicating the objectives of the project, and once the person showed their interest, a brief document was sent with information about the project and an informed consent form and finally a date for a meeting was set. The 12 people agreed to conduct the interview, which was carried out in person at a place where they suggested.

Instrument

The exploration of the objectives based on opinions and experiences of support professionals led us to design a semi-structured interview with open questions, considering that this strategy would allow us to go into greater depth on the subject of study by allowing participants to discuss freely (Seidman, 2006). The interview was organized into the following topics: functions of the support professional, role of organizations, training of support professionals and was based on the following script:

- 1) Functions of the support professional:
 - a. Indication of the main functions developed at present, and differences with the previous ones, if this is the case.
 - b. The role of the person with disabilities in the support process: current role and how the support materializes. Spaces, main strategies, facilitators and barriers.
- 2) Role of organizations:
 - a. Facilitators and barriers from the organization to offer personalized support.
 - b. Organization-professional relationship
- 3) Training of professionals:

- a. Appropriate abilities to offer personalized support
- b. Training strategies that they value as being appropriate

Procedure

The interviews took place either in the professional's workplace or in an alternative space chosen by the professional. Before beginning the interview, each participant was told of the objective of the investigation, and they were required to sign an informed consent form that guaranteed anonymity and the possibility of leaving the interview at any time they wanted. Two people preferred not to be recorded, but accepted that the interviewer take notes during the interview. The average duration of the interviews was approximately 80 minutes. The interviews took place between October and December 2018 in 6 Irish cities.

Data analysis

The interviews that were recorded were transcribed and analyzed through thematic content analysis, in accordance to Braun and Clarke (2006), to identify, analyze and report on the topics that appear in a data set based on patterns or topics that repeat and a coding process based on the analysis of the different topics was developed (Gibbs, 2012). Following the procedure indicated by these authors, and based on the initial topics, various readings of the transcripts were made by adding new emerging codes related to the object of study. Once all the data were encoded, the main topics and sub-topics that included all the codes and their relationships with each other were established (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Table 1 shows the final list of subtopics used to thematically classify the emerging information of the 12 interviews:

Table 1: Topics and subtopics

Topics	Subtopics
1. Professional functions	-Relationship with the person: listen to their needs and support their decisions -Connection with the community -Make the community the work scenario -Risk assessment
2. Role of organizations	-Transform the vision / center the person -Support for professionals -Establish clear guidelines
3. Training of professionals	- Person centered model -Ability to plan personalized actions according to individual capabilities - Strengthen the connection with the community and social networks -Training throughout life

Results

The research results are presented in an orderly manner according to the thematic blocks mentioned in the table.

Topic 1: Functions of professionals

The first subtopic analyzed corresponding to professional functions could be briefly summarized in the following sentence: "All work really begins with the person" (P1). Participants agree that support must be absolutely *person-centered*, based on the preferences and requests made by each of the people to whom they offer support. The first step, therefore, is to ask people what they want to do; that is to say, "sit with the person, listen to their hopes, their dreams and ambitions" (P3). People's demands generally do not consist of attending day centers or services, but rather, they ask to work, or train for it, or participate in community activities. Therefore, professionals must constantly reflect on how to respond to these individual demands:

"Everyone has their likes and dislikes, everyone has strengths, and things they have never tried to do, or would like to do, so... we are constantly... Reflecting, thinking how to respond to this" (P4).

In addition, the need to enhance and support people's decision-making is highlighted: "Good support provides information, allows the person to make the decision, and supports them in their attempts" (P10).

Ingenuity and creativity come into play to answer each person's requests; in some cases, this will require thinking about forthcoming experiences, while in others the response may be more

direct by connecting with training or social opportunities in the locality, for example. Sometimes prior work with the person is required, through role playing or simulations; in others direct support consisting of accompaniment, or contact with an external person who acts as a point of reference. There is also insistence that "people should receive support when they need it" (P5). In this process, flexibility is essential both in hours and in work spaces.

With this, we connect with the second subtopic related to professional functions, directly referring to the need to make the community the work scenario: "We connect with the (educational) opportunities offered by the community" (P3, P5, P7, P8). The main strategy to answer individual demands is to *establish links with community entities and services* that offer training and learning opportunities: university, adult education centers, volunteer groups. This implies having enough knowledge of the community to assess the possibilities of participation and, once established, organize and distribute the necessary support to make it possible. It is also essential to know the resources that the person can have available to move into the community, and how they can access them. "We are constantly working in a network exploring what is around us, and we share this information, what is good..." (P7). Supporting the creation of social ties implies *moving the scenario of support to the community itself*, taking into account spaces where the supported person feels safe and comfortable. This has implications for the work spaces of professionals; as indicated by some of the professionals "I don't have an office" (P1, P6).

Working from personalization and in inclusive contexts requires significant dedication to *risk assessment*, which means prior work in the analysis

of situations that may occur in the processes developed by the person receiving the support, and to document widely to what extent the possible risks and the control measures implemented to avoid them have been taken into account. The professionals with more experience underline that this function has gained significant relevance in recent years, to the extent that community spaces have been the usual life scenario.

“You need to evaluate the risks, this does not mean preventing the person from doing things, but you must document that you have previously considered the possible risks and that you have taken into account the control measures so that if something happens, you are covered...” (P11)

Topic 2: The role of support organizations

Participants agree that the traditional support distribution system based on large organizations that offer all kinds of services to people with disabilities should be radically transformed. Some of these organizations have evolved, generating new support roles and work processes centered on the person. Alongside these services, new support services that are based on personalized approaches have emerged. Regardless of the organizational model in question, those interviewed are in agreement in raising the question of the need for the organization to understand that the person with disabilities and their rights are the focus of their work and that the organizational context must fully support professionals.

The organizational context is greatly valued by support professionals. Offering support that really enhances social inclusion requires transforming both scenarios and work methodologies, and it is essential that the organization makes it easier for the professionals to take initiatives, supports them and at the same time demands guarantees that the possible risks in the processes have been analyzed in inclusion processes. As one of the participants says: “I would never have been able to do what I do alone” (P3). In addition, “if you don’t feel supported, you’re not going to take risks” (P5).

Having good support in the form of supervision is another element valued by professionals, both for what it represents as a reflection on the intervention itself as well as a space for personal care.

It is important that the organization establishes a policy as a center in which the guidelines are clear and explicit, guaranteeing the rights of persons with disabilities and guiding the response of professionals in accordance to them. For example, participant P7 comments that the organization in

which she works openly recognizes the right to affective-sexual relations for her clients. In addition to proposing training activities aimed at people who receive support, the organization publishes the regulations that apply to make it possible for users to enjoy their privacy, in accordance with their wishes, in the independent life support services that manage on its intranet. These regulations are mandatory for all professionals, regardless of their criteria or opinion.

The organization also plays an important role in the in-service training of professionals. For example, on subjects in which professionals must be informed in order to offer good support, such as the use of ICT.

The organization must include the voices of people with disabilities in its operating structure, not just symbolically but really.

Topic 3: The training of professionals

The participants defend the need to base the training on the person-centered model, and on basic values of the educational relationship based on respect, trust and confidentiality. Training must be “absolutely person-centered”, contemplating the strategies and methodologies that facilitate the personalization of the supports, in addition to taking into account the involvement of people in the environment in these supports. In this sense, the importance of strategies such as “circles of support” is pointed out. It consists of a strategy to activate informal support, through setting objectives and delegating support, timing the follow-up of the actions and providing feedback for the process. “When I give support, I do it because it is my job, and I get paid for it, not because I really like the person, so for professionals this system (circles of support) is really sustainable, and has good results. Because it brings into play other people who are related to the person you support. And the professionals can position themselves in the background, allowing informal support to be activated”. (P1)

In addition, professionals must be able to differentiate personal needs and abilities, and to face the teaching of different capacities, by proposing strategies that can respond to different learning rhythms. In order to sensitize future professionals to the need to plan and carry out personalized actions, the relevance of using real stories is indicated, which makes students reflect on real needs and demands, as well as incorporating people with disabilities into formative processes.

Several people interviewed raise the importance of online social networks in youth relationships. The use of technologies as support to

initiate and maintain social contacts is essential, so it is necessary to know how to teach people with disabilities to use them safely. From another service they indicate with an example the importance of the person being independent to be able to contact the people they want, which highlights the role of information and communication technologies.

Several professionals highlight the need for tools that allow working in close connection with the community: knowing how to evaluate the services, the different spaces of the community (work, leisure, training, volunteering, etc.) to be able to link people with these scenarios.

Finally, the need to continue training once the initial training is completed, connected with the support needs experienced by the people they accompany, is not forgotten.

Discussion and conclusions

This research was oriented towards two related objectives: the first one sought to go into greater depth into the role of professionals in personalized support offered to people with intellectual disabilities in social inclusion contexts; and the second to explore the training necessary to carry out these functions. Professionals with recognized experience in offering personalized support in inclusive contexts that can be considered good practice in the field participated in this study, based on their opinions and reflections on their professional practice.

Regarding the professional role, the study participants highlight the need to organize the person-centered supports and take into account their needs and preferences. This coincides with the first two meanings of personalization indicated by Spicker (2015). It also aligns with the commentaries from Van Asselt et al. (2014), which indicate that the professional must take into account the needs of the people who receive support, as well as the preferences they show about desired activities and relationships. According to Houston (2010), participants indicate that it is necessary, in addition to focusing support on the person, to focus on social inclusion by enhancing connections in community settings. Planning and developing personalized interventions in these environments implies knowing what the training, leisure, labor, etc., resources are in the territory and being willing to work with community agents to build inclusive processes. The professionals interviewed have stressed the need to make the community the priority work scenario, coinciding with Bigby and Wiesel (2015) when they point out that these professionals play a key role in promoting

meetings that involve recognition and appreciation of the person with ID.

In summary, in relation to objective 1, the results obtained in the study coincide with the literature about the facilitating supports for the social inclusion of people with intellectual disabilities. Enhancing the social inclusion and connections of people with disabilities requires completely personalized support formulas and their development in community settings. Therefore, the emphasis, rather than on services, should be placed on individually supporting access to desired environments and building relationships in the community (Power and Bartlett, 2018). This implies a transformation of organizations; as indicated by, among others, Duggan and Linehan (2013), Sowerby (2010), and Windley and Chapman (2010), organizations play a fundamental role as facilitators and enhancers of the support exercised by professionals. The participants in the study have stressed the need to feel supported by the organization where they work to be able to make personalized support in inclusive contexts, enhancing connections and social interactions. In this regard, they agree on the need for organizations to promote creative support strategies for social inclusion, instead of restricting their work through the imposition of rigid standards (Hemrsen, Embregts, Hendriks and Frielink, 2012). What is made clear from the manifestations of the participants in the study is the importance of organizations in clarifying positions, thereby facilitating coherent actions by professionals, and establishing reasonable protocols for risk assessment, without impeding progress in inclusion processes in the community.

The second objective of the study was to explore how training processes can adequately prepare professionals in the socio-educational field so that they can develop support functions consistent with personalization and the creation of social connections in inclusive contexts. From the manifestations of the professionals it can be deduced that the specific training actions on personalization and social inclusion from the rights model should not be directed only to support professionals, but to all professionals responsible for managing support at different levels. Only in this way will the organization commit globally and develop leadership that leads to work methods based on personalization and aimed at promoting social inclusion (Clement and Bigby, 2012; McConkey and Collins, 2010; Pallisera et al, 2018). The balance between risks and opportunities, in the context of the rights model guided by the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and the European Strategy on Disability 2010-20, presupposes that support professionals receive

adequate training and are able to offer good personalized support that respects the right to make decisions of the people they help (Hawkins, Redley and Holland, 2011), building an educational relationship that respects the needs and demands of people (Salmon, Holmes and Dodd 2013).

Professionals are no longer the experts who make decisions alone about the actions to be designed or evaluated. They empower participants, and support them so that they can contribute with the value of their experience and hand over power to them. The change in the role of professionals implies the need to prioritize the competences related to the development of collaborative and partnership processes from organizations in their training. The incorporation of people with disabilities as teachers in the initial training processes, a strategy indicated by some of the participants in the study, constitutes a strategy formally recognized in some contexts such as in the United Kingdom. There are already several experiences that provide valuable insights on how these can contribute to promoting, through the creation of shared learning and growth spaces, the dialogue between professionals and users and sharing positions of power (Casey, 2018; Pendred and Chettle, 2006; Ward, Raphael, Clark and Raphael, 2016). Other studies indicate that participants in such training processes perceive improvements in skills such as empathy, understanding of individual particularities, and other competencies linked to personalized support (Unwin, Rooney, Osborne, and Cole, 2017).

In summary, the experiences of professionals coincide with the literature in terms of confirming that offering support in the community by creating inclusive experiences that have an impact on the establishment of powerful social ties implies developing new roles that enhance the connection with the community, as well as networks of informal support that professionals can complement (Duggan and Linehan, 2013). At the training level, together with the basic socio-personal skills related to the establishment of empathy and trust with the person to whom support is offered (Sowerby, 2010; Pallisera et al, 2018), there is an indication of the need to enhance skills of community development such as mapping local resources and networking with community resource professionals (Bigby, Wilson, Stancliffe, Balandin, Craig, and Gambin, 2014). Training is a key dimension for the transformation of supports, so we propose, based on the research carried out, axes that can articulate the training processes to provide professionals with the skills that allow them to support people with DI in their community participation and the improvement of their social ties:

- Axis 1: Knowledge about Personalization and Person-centered Planning concepts: origin, and development in the model of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (United Nations, 2006). This axis would include the work of communication strategies, as well as methods and work strategies centered on the person: Circles of Support, PATH (*Planning Alternatives for Tomorrow with Hope*), etc.
- Axis 2: Skills to establish connections with the community. The objective is to allow professionals to explore the local community, both known spaces and new places to observe their potential in relation to establishing new social and personal links. This axis would incorporate the skills for the analysis of the barriers and enhancers of social inclusion (with the objective of analyzing the role of the community and professional practices themselves to determine to what extent they enhance inclusion and to establish real support practices); skills to plan outings and meetings in the community (including risk analysis and management, as well as the provision of the necessary support at the level of communication, mobility or economic resources); and skills to assess the taking of initiatives in relation to the management of the meetings. At the methodological level, promoting direct contact with people with disabilities through their incorporation into training contexts is a priority strategy to enhance significant learning in future professionals.

Undoubtedly, the training of professionals, whether in the initial stage or in service, is a key element for the enhancement of their professional activities, from personalized perspectives, the community participation of people with intellectual disabilities, the strengthening of their social networks and definitive social inclusion. However, we cannot ignore the role that social policies play in the structuring of services, nor the power of the underlying institutional culture in the work of organizations in the disability sector. In our context, as we have pointed out, the current legislation has not promoted a significant transformation of the structures (Verdugo and Jenaro, 2019), so this transformation of the institutions both physically and with respect to the distribution of supports falls to the willingness and possibilities of the entities themselves and the professionals within them. From the field of social policies, there has not been an adoption of documents that clearly guide towards a transformation of institutions and support that advocate the need to work in and from the community, based on personalized

approaches, as has happened in other countries that have made progress in this regard, such as Ireland (Salmon, Barry & Hutchins, 2018) or the United Kingdom (Kaehne & Beyer, 2014). Without a clear position from the administration strongly supporting the inclusion of people with intellectual disabilities in the community, and proposing the organizational and professional strategies that can contribute to it, it is difficult to make the necessary

transformations, both at the institutional level and regarding the socio-educational action itself. The training in rights of persons with disabilities themselves is a key factor to help them claim the enjoyment of these rights, and thereby contribute to a necessary change of perspective of the administration in the establishment of clear guidelines that support, give economic help and urge organizations to promote personalized actions.

Note

- ¹. Specifically, 3 Disability expert teachers linked to Trinity College (Dublin) were interviewed; 1 professor at University College Cork; 1 professor at the University of Limerick; and 1 professor at the Dublin Institute of Technology.

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**DIGITAL COMPETENCE OF YOUNG PEOPLE UNDERTAKING
LEISURE AND FREE TIME TRAINING PROGRAMS**
**LA COMPETENCIA DIGITAL EN LOS PROGRAMAS DE FORMACIÓN DE OCIO Y
TIEMPO LIBRE PARA JÓVENES**
**COMPETÊNCIA DIGITAL NOS PROGRAMAS DE CAPACITAÇÃO DO LAZER
E TEMPO LIVRE PARA A JUVENTUD**

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ABSTRACT: Within an increasingly technological framework, digital competence has become consolidated in all educational settings as a key competence for guaranteeing the formation of active citizens. The objective of the present study was to understand the important role played by schools, teaching staff and students involved in leisure and free-time courses with regards to digital competence. The research centred on the impact of the dimensions of this competence and their relevance for the construction of a competence profile in the socio-cultural setting. A sample of 25 schools, 95 training providers and 350 students of supervised leisure and free-time courses distributed throughout Spain participated. A quantitative study was carried out which was descriptive and inferential in nature. Three ad hoc questionnaires were used to identify the extent of incorporation of digital competences, and to determine the knowledge and predisposition of professionals towards incorporating technologies into socio-cultural animation content and methodology. Amongst the main findings it is evidenced that, whilst the acquisition of digital competence is considered necessary at a general level, resistance can be seen to competency and methodological changes in the socio-cultural setting. Objection exists to the incorporation of technology through specific content and concrete methods, with the greatest resistance being seen on behalf of schools, followed by training providers and, finally, students on these courses.

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<p>PALABRAS CLAVE: escuelas de animación ocio y tiempo libre competencia digital jóvenes ciudadanía activa</p>	<p>RESUMEN: En un marco cada vez más tecnológico, la competencia digital se ha consolidado en todos los ámbitos educativos como una competencia clave para la garantía de una ciudadanía activa. El objetivo de este estudio fue conocer la importancia que otorgan escuelas, profesorado y alumnado de los cursos de monitor de ocio y tiempo libre a la competencia digital. La investigación se centró en la incidencia de las dimensiones de esta competencia y su relevancia para la construcción de un perfil competencial en el ámbito de la animación sociocultural. A partir de una muestra de 25 escuelas, 95 formadores y 350 estudiantes de los cursos de monitor de ocio y tiempo libre distribuidos por todo el territorio español, se llevó a cabo un estudio cuantitativo de tipo descriptivo e inferencial a través de tres cuestionarios ad hoc destinados a identificar el grado de incorporación de competencias digitales y determinar los conocimientos y la predisposición de los profesionales para incorporar las tecnologías en los contenidos y metodología sociocultural. Entre los principales hallazgos se evidencia que, aunque se considera necesaria la adquisición de competencias digitales a nivel general, aparecen resistencias hacia un cambio competencial y metodológico en la animación sociocultural que incorpore las tecnologías mediante contenidos específicos y metodologías concretas siendo mayor la oposición por parte de las escuelas, seguido de los formadores y por último del alumnado de los cursos.</p>
<p>PALAVRAS-CHAVE: escolas de animação lazer e tempo livre competência digital jovens cidadania ativa.</p>	<p>RESUMO: Em um contexto social cada vez mais tecnológico, a competência digital se consolidou em todos os campos da educação como uma competência essencial para a garantia da cidadania ativa. O objetivo deste estudo foi conhecer a importância da competência digital conferida pelas escolas, monitores e alunos dos cursos de monitores do lazer e tempo livre para jovens. A pesquisa enfocou na incidência das dimensões dessa competência tecnológica e sua relevância para a construção de um perfil profissional no campo da animação sociocultural. De uma amostra de 25 escolas, 95 monitores e 350 alunos dos cursos de monitores do lazer e tempo livre distribuídos por todo o território espanhol, foi realizado um estudo quantitativo do tipo descritivo e inferencial por meio de três questionários ad hoc para identificar o grau de incorporação das competências digitais e determinar tanto o conhecimento como a predisposição dos profissionais para incorporar as tecnologias digitais aos conteúdos e metodologias da animação sociocultural. Entre os principais resultados, se identificou que, embora a aquisição de competências digitais de forma geral seja considerada necessária, há uma resistência a uma mudança metodológica e de competência na animação sociocultural para que as tecnologias sejam incorporadas aos seus conteúdos específicos e metodologias concretas, sendo maior a oposição por parte das escolas, seguidas pelos monitores e, finalmente, pelos alunos desses cursos.</p>

1. Introduction

There are a number of approaches that enable youth and technology to be unequivocally connected (Ferreiro, 2006; Gisbert & Esteve, 2016; Romero & Minelli, 2011), and drive the need to recognise digital competence as a key aspect within the active citizenship framework (Bolívar, 2016; van Dijk & Hacker, 2018). Digital literacy is found to be one of the factors of youth socialisation that is most linked to digital capital (Gordo, Rivera, Díaz-Catalán, & García-Arnau, 2019). It provides a methodological strategy to activate the mechanism of youth empowerment (Fuente-Cobo, 2017; Soler, 2017) together with the development of social skills in digital contexts (Alvermann & Sanders, 2019).

Nonetheless, despite the tight relationship between digital technologies and young people in social environments with leisure and free time (Muriel & San Salvador del Valle, 2017; Rodríguez & Ballesteros, 2019; Viché, 2015), research in recent years on the implications of this youth-technology relationship has focused more on the effects of the integration of digital technologies in the formal educational system and technological

training of teachers (Area, Cepeda, & Feliciano, 2018; Area, Hernández, & Sosa, 2016; Colás-Bravo, Pablos-Pons, & Ballesta-Pagán, 2018; Gisbert, González, & Esteve, 2016; Gros, 2015; Sánchez-Antolín, Ramos, & Santamaría, 2014). Research has taken this focus rather than examining the application of digital technologies within the context of social education and the specific training of relevant professionals (Alonso Sáez & Artetxe, 2019; Cabezas & Casillas, 2017; Castañeda, Gutiérrez, & Román, 2014; Sampedro, 2015; Santiago & Santoveña, 2012). In addition, there is evidence of learning in diverse circumstances, situations, contexts, and/or school, family, social and informal ambits (Almeida-Aguilar, Jerónimo-Y, Arceo-M, & Morcillo-P, 2017; Torres, 2013).

Through the advance of digital technologies, alongside the opportunities and risks presented through this transformation (UNESCO, 2017), socio-cultural animation adapts to a new socio-technological paradigm from a grounded theory approach. This paradigm fits the ideological framework of globalisation, network communication and citizen participation (Castells, 2009; Reig, 2016; Rivas, Cisneros, & Gértrudix, 2015; Soler, Trilla, Jiménez-Morales, & Úcar, 2017). It is characterised

by ubiquity and cyberculture in socio-educational action (Viché et al., 2018), alongside the evolution of daily involvement of young people with digital environments and devices during their free time (Muriel & San Salvador del Valle, 2017; Rodríguez & Ballesteros, 2019).

Digital competence is still being questioned from a more traditional methodological standpoint on educational leisure. Generally speaking, the formative training processes employed in this setting typically make use of technological resources in a merely instrumental way, rather than promoting the incorporation of more socialising technological content in educational action (Vasco & Pérez-Serrano, 2017; Viñals & Cuenca, 2016).

The cause of this problem seems to be the position occupied by leisure time education within the context of social education (Alonso Sáez & Artetxe, 2019) and the fear of losing essential values given that technology can magnify many traditional social deficits (Alva, 2015). Thus, it is necessary to remember that leisure pedagogy is framed by educational practices. These in turn must be capable of innovating in response to the demands of each moment, whilst never losing sight of the socio-educational action perspective (Sarea, 2019).

On the other hand, the 2018 foresight report on the detection of training needs (SEPE, 2018) indicates that during 2017, one of the most sought after occupations and one with positive inter-annual variation, is that of monitor of recreational and entertainment activities. This job produced 407,076 contracts, placing it amongst one of the occupations with greatest perspective of educational activity (CNAE: 85), whilst also having a strong perspective or sporting, recreational and entertainment activities (CNAE: 90-91-92-93). This indicates the importance of the activity of these monitors in the area of leisure and free time. Specific training is required for this occupation, with this being dictated by schools' dedication to education in leisure time.

These schools impart official qualifications for the training of monitors. These qualifications cover as one of their main contents all traditional pedagogy of educational leisure, national and regional norms, and more general socio-cultural animation content, alongside specific training content which is promoted in each specific school. Currently, regional norms co-exist with dates of instigation that are two decades apart. Only two of them (Aragon and Canarias) explicitly reflect the importance of technologies or digital competence in the training of monitors.

From an international and supra-national perspective, educational standards of digital competencies have been elaborated for the formation

of students and educators (Ferrari, 2012; ISTE, 2016, 2017, 2019a, 2019b; Parlamento Europeo, 2006; UNESCO, 2008). The European Union has conducted an important theoretical project to develop a common framework for the dimensions of digital competence (Carretero, Vuorikari, & Punie, 2017; Ferrari, 2013; Vuorikari, Punie, Carretero, & Van Den Brande, 2016). This responds to the need to guide development of this key competence in citizens who may be able to benefit from internet use in the social, economic, political, health or cultural sphere (Van Deursen, Helsper, & Eynon, 2014). In Spain, these supra-national standards have been used as a reference for the development of the country's own common framework, for the diagnosis and improvement of digital competencies in all professionals within the educational and training ambit (INTEF, 2017).

From these standards, the six dimensions of digital competence that are most relevant for interventions in leisure time educational training can be extracted: Creativity and innovation; communication and collaboration; research and information handling; critical thinking; digital citizenship; and, informational literacy.

2. Justification and objectives

Faced with an absence of research studies on digital competence applied to the training of professionals in the educational leisure setting, it is necessary to deepen knowledge around the need to incorporate this competence into the official training programs of free and leisure time monitors. It should be a key aspect within these programs to guarantee active and participatory citizenship of young people in current digital culture.

To this end, the main objective of the present research is to investigate whether socio-cultural animation through monitored courses is adapted to technological demands for achieving active citizenship. More specifically, it proposes to uncover the importance placed on digital contents and competencies by schools, teaching staff and students of courses within this specific type of training. Through this, the present study will be able to identify the most necessary aspects in relation to this competence when developing the professional tasks of monitors.

3. Methodology

The study employs a quantitative design that is descriptive and inferential in nature. The sample will now be described, alongside the instruments and procedure carried out.

3.1. Sample

The participating population is comprised of schools, training providers of monitored courses and the students enrolled on these qualifications. Participants came from 471 Spanish schools who were invited to participate in the study. Of these, preliminary contact was finally made with 54 schools, of which 25 agreed to participate. Intentional non-probability sampling was employed and, as a result, the final sample was constituted of 25 schools, 95 training providers and 350 students.

With regards to administration of the centre, 68% are private institutions, 16% are public and this information could not be identified for the remaining 16%. With respect to geographical setting, the largest proportion of the sample came from the autonomous community of Aragon (16%), followed by Andalusia, Catalonia, Castilla and Leon, Madrid, the Basque Country (12%), and Asturias (8%). A smaller representation was obtained from Castilla la Mancha, the Valencian Community, the Balearic Islands and Murcia (4%).

Participating schools were mostly autonomous (32%), 20% were local, 12% were provincial and 36% did not disclose this information. In relation to responsible entities, almost half of the schools came from associations (48%), 16% were religious schools, 4% came from the business world and 32% did not indicate their identity.

Analysing the sample of training providers, the majority were aged between 26 and 36 years old (57%), and were males of Spanish nationality (84%). Teaching staff possessed university titles, within which the most represented area corresponded to Social and Legal Sciences (84%).

Of these professionals, the majority had completed training as a monitor (81%), with a smaller percentage owning the title of coordinator in the area (57%), and only 18% holding the qualification of Social Educator (18%) or Technician in socio-cultural animation (5%). The majority of participating teachers had between 2 and 5 years of experience in the field (75%).

Finally, in relation to students, the majority reported ages between 17 and 21 years old (49%), within which 29% were females and were predominantly of Spanish nationality (95%). The highest level of study completed by participating students was CSE (18%) and Bacca-laureate (17%). In relation to those with university training, degree studies are represented in the area of Social and Legal Sciences (12%), followed to a lesser extent by Health Sciences (3%).

A total of 29% of the sample had recently achieved the qualification of monitor, whilst the

remaining participants were still undertaking training to obtain this title. On the other hand, 53% of students were found to have professional experience as a monitor. Of these, 33% had enrolled on the course voluntarily, whilst 26% were being financially compensated. A total of 35% of participating students had work experience, although only 12% were employed in an activity connected to socio-cultural animation.

3.2. Instrument

The instrument was conceived to gather information on the opinion of schools, training providers and students about the relationship between the design of training programs for monitors, and the relationship of these with digital competence. With this objective, three ad hoc questionnaires were constructed which were inter-related: Questionnaire A: Animation schools; Questionnaire B: Training providers; and Questionnaire C: Students.

This tool is structured in accordance with the following variables: Contents of monitored course programs, incorporation of information and communication technology (ICT) into socio-cultural animation, digital competence for the development of the tasks of a monitor, and knowledge in relation to ICT and the importance of its use. The instrument includes a series of closed questions in order to record opinions. It uses a Likert type scale which runs from 1 to 5 in order to systematise responses (1 being not at all important/totally disagree and 5 being highly important/totally agree) in relation to each one of the variables listed.

Questions related to the variable describing digital competence are grouped taking as a reference the dimensions associated with the educational standards of digital competencies for the training of students and educators. Specifically, the following dimensions of digital competence were used as a reference: Creativity and innovation, communication and collaboration, research and information management, critical thinking, digital citizenship, and informational literacy.

With the purpose of guaranteeing content validity of this tool, the opinion of five schools, eight training providers and sixteen students was considered. Following the process of content validity, we proceeded to perform factor analysis with the aim of examining construct validity of incorporated variables. This model attended to the conditions in which it was applied, determined commonalities, and used the extraction method and the rotation method.

Internal consistency of the instrument was rated through quantification of the Cronbach alpha coefficient. Table 1 shows data relating to each

questionnaire. It must be highlighted that the value of the reliability coefficient achieved in relation to each questionnaire is adequate. This validates the inferences and conclusions reached in the present study.

Questionnaires	Alpha value
Questionnaire A: Schools	0.9542
Questionnaire B: Training providers	0.9346
Questionnaire C: Students	0.9346

3.3. Procedure

Informed consent was requested after informing participants about the purpose of the study in order to guarantee voluntary participation in the study. Firstly, 471 Spanish schools were contacted and invited to participate. Of these, preliminary contact was successfully made with 54 schools, of which 25 agreed to participate. The participation process was initiated after receiving commitment from schools to complete questionnaire A, and to

distribute questionnaires B and C amongst training providers and students participating on relevant courses. For this, these instruments were administered through electronic mail and a link was provided for participants to respond online.

Once data was collected for all questionnaires, responses were coded and we proceeded to data handling of the information through statistical analysis via the program SPSS.

4. Results

With regards to items which asked participants to evaluate ICT use as a content in training programs for monitors, it was verified that this appears as one of the least highly rated contents by all three groups. ICT use was least highly scored by schools (32%), followed by training providers (57%) and finally students (60%). Further, in relation to the other contents, statistically significant differences were found, being $\chi^2 = 14.2409044$ and $p=0.0025$.

In order to know the rating given by schools and training providers in relation to the incorporation of ICT as a methodological strategy in socio-cultural animation, student's t-test analysis for independent samples was performed (table 2).

Table 2. Comparison of means. Student's t-test for independent samples

Incorporation of ICT in SAC involves:	Subject	Mean	Standard deviation
More work	Schools	3.00	1.190
	Training providers	3.23	1.056
Having adequate installations/resources	Schools	3.60	.913
	Training providers	3.78	.947
Flexibility regarding spaces and times	Schools	4.16	1.068
	Training providers	4.36	.862
Professional ICT competencies	Schools	3.64	1.186
	Training providers	3.86	1.154
ICT experience amongst monitors	Schools	3.84	.943
	Training providers	3.74	1.002
Tener formación especializada	Schools	4.04	.935
	Training providers	4.04	.862
Competencias profesionales en TIC	Schools	4.04	.978
	Training providers	3.96	.910
Instalaciones/recursos suficientes	Schools	4.08	.997
	Training providers	4.06	1.009
Experiencia TIC de los monitores/as	Schools	3.88	.927
	Training providers	3.93	.789
Enriquecer los programas de OyTL	Schools	3.88	.971
	Training providers	4.16	.891

Both schools and training providers consider that the incorporation of ICT does not imply more work, with both agreeing that such incorporation could also be achieved without a greater budget.

Respondents do not give too much importance to the relationship between ICT use and achievement of higher student motivation towards learning, with schools rating this aspect lower than the other two groups. More specifically didactic aspects such as making spaces and times more flexible, appear to be less important than installations and the availability of sufficient resources. Specialised training and professional competencies in ICT are highly required by both groups.

A significant outcome can be appreciated in the case of incorporation of ICT in socio-cultural animation, in that it is considered by training providers to enrich leisure and free time programs. In contrast, schools do not consider this to be a priority aspect.

With respect to knowledge in relation to the role of ICT in leisure and free time, training providers' responses were found to be positioned relatively closely to those of schools, with a mean of 3.43, relative to 3.32 reported by schools.

When participants were asked about their knowledge regarding the incorporation of ICT resources into socio-cultural animation, differences

between two groups are observed to be minimal (schools: 3.24 and training providers: 3.28).

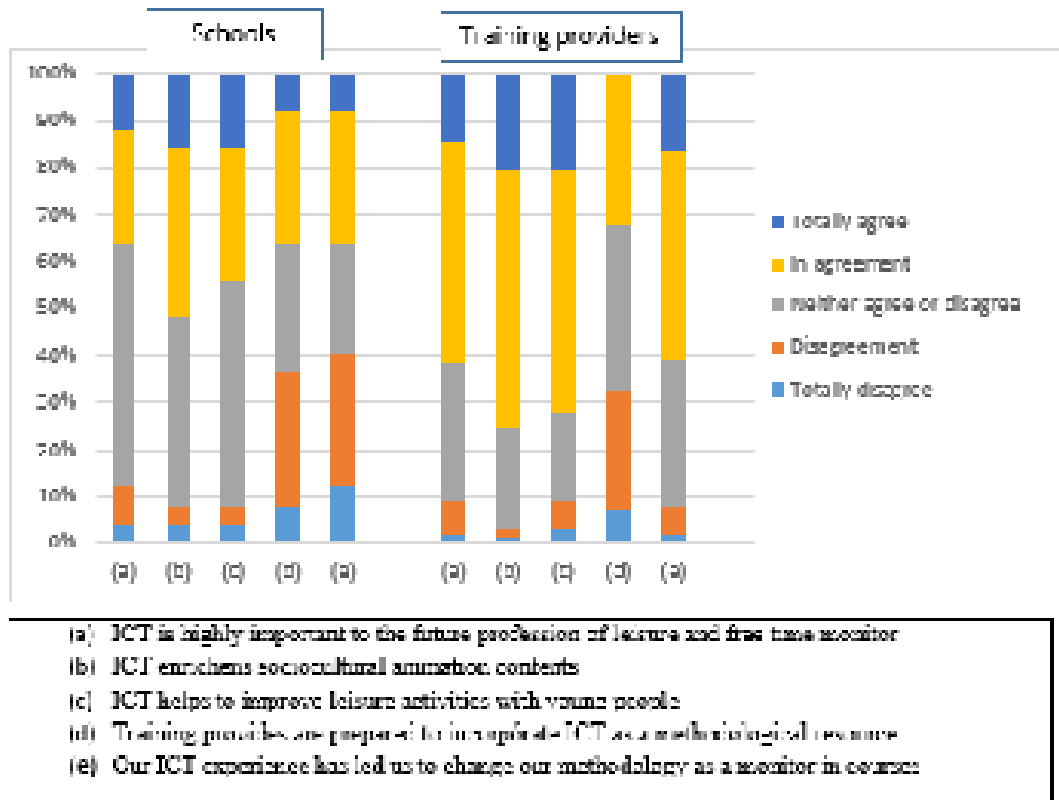
Further, in relation to knowledge of European policies regarding ICT use amongst young people, responses from training providers also stand out above those given by schools.

With relation to predisposition towards the incorporation of ICT, schools expressed responses which are concentrated around the mean in relation to items regarding the importance of ICT for the future monitoring profession. This is also true for items describing the support provided for the improvement of leisure activities with young people.

There is a trend towards considering that training providers are not prepared to incorporate ICT within courses as a methodological resource. Experience of ICT is also considered to oblige monitors to enact methodological changes in leisure

and free time activities. In contrast, there is a positive disposition towards the belief that ICT enriches animation sociocultural contents (graph 1. Schools).

Training providers reported agreeing or totally agreeing with the statement that ICT enriches SAC content, and helps to improve leisure activities with young people. They also consider, although to a lesser extent, that ICT will be highly important in the future profession of a monitor. Similar responses were found in relation to the statement that ICT experience urges methodological changes to be made in leisure and free time activities. Responses took an intermediate stance in relation to the statement about whether training providers are prepared to incorporate ICT into courses as a methodological resource (graph 1. Training providers).



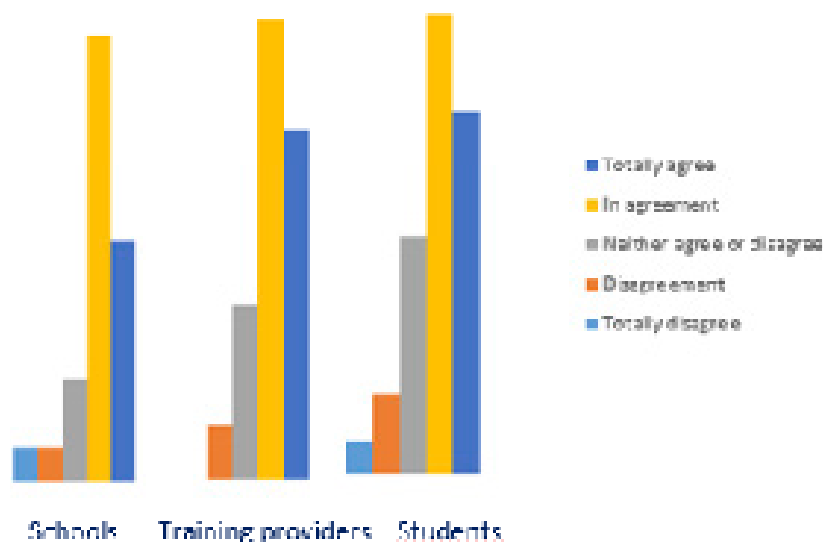
Graph 1. Schools and training providers. Predisposition towards the incorporation of ICT

4.1. Digital competence according to the dimensions of educational standards

Creativity and innovation dimension

In this dimension, the different participating groups were asked the extent to which they agreed with the statement that ICT use as a creativity and

innovation tool, broadened competencies of the monitor for delivering tasks with young people. The percentages assigned for each of the three groups can be observed in the following graph. Students and training providers largely coincide in that their responses were in total agreement with this question, whilst schools demonstrated less agreement with this statement.



Graph 2. Using ICT as a creativity and innovation tool

Communication and collaboration dimension

Communication and collaboration are understood as knowing how to communicate through electronic devices (76% schools; 74% training providers; 62% students), taking care of the quality of communication online (88% schools; 84% training providers; 58% students) and taking part in the informal learning of young people through digital tools (72% schools; 76% training providers; 64% students). All aspects were more highly rated by schools and training providers, and rated to a lesser extent by students.

Statistically significant differences were found for the item taking care of the quality of communication online ($\chi^2 = 6.50322343$ and $p = 0.038$),

with similar responses being given by schools and training providers (88% and 83.1578947%), and lower scores being reported by students.

Research and information management dimension

Another aspect concerned perceptions relating to internet use in order to access information and resources during leisure/free time. It can be observed that training providers generally fully agreed, or mostly agreed with this dimension. Values were highly similar between schools and students (graph 3).



Graph 3. Using the internet to access leisure and free time information and resources

Critical thinking dimension

This dimension reflects the items that comprise it and the percentages obtained for each one of the participating groups. These are: Management of the security of personal data and online information (80% schools; 89% training providers; 71% students); being able to evaluate the usefulness of online information (76% schools; 79% training providers; 64% students); using ICT in a reflexive and critical way (84% schools; 85% training providers; 65% students); working effectively with digital leisure and free-time content in virtual settings (50% schools; 61% training providers; 60% students); using ICT for leisure and free time projects (50% schools; 61% training providers; 62% students); evaluating the usefulness of ICT resources for leisure and free time activities (68% schools; 82% training providers; 63% students); carrying out projects and problem solving in digital and leisure time settings (72% schools; 72% training providers; 64% students).

Amongst these items, statistically significant differences were found for the item describing working effectively with didactic content in digital settings ($\chi^2 = 15.6240547$ and $p = 0.0004$). Specifically, interest was lower amongst schools (12%), whilst scores given by training providers (29.4736842%) and students (41.1428571%) were higher.

Statistically significant differences were found for the item describing ICT use for training projects ($\chi^2 = 17.2785776$ and $p = 0.0001$). Schools

reported only minimal interest (12%), whilst training providers and students considered this aspect to be of greater interest, with scores of 29.4736842% and 43.1428571%, respectively.

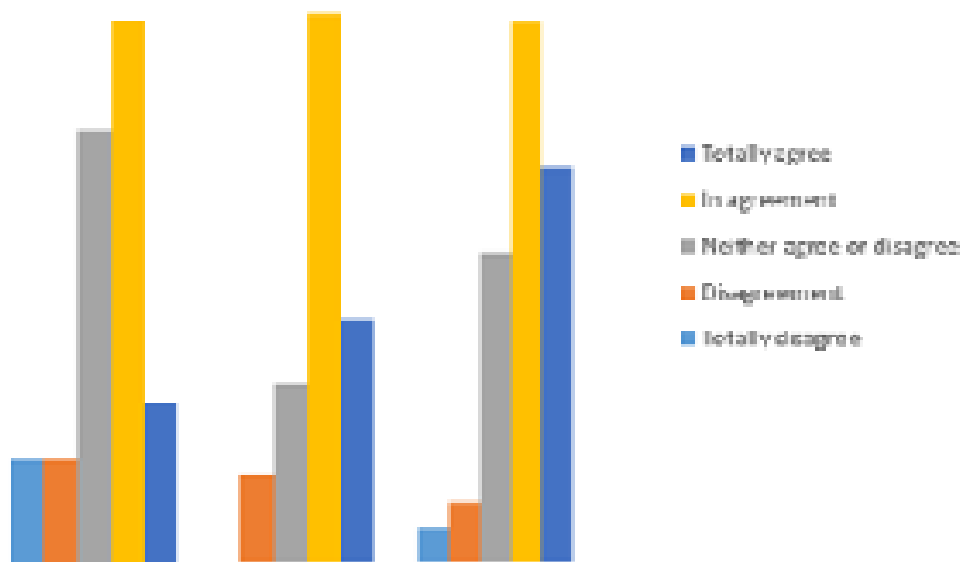
Digital citizenship dimension

This dimension is composed of the following items: Participating in virtual settings, social networks and collaborative spaces (84% schools; 59% training providers; 56% students); reflecting on the social and cultural dimension of the knowledge society (83% schools; 74% training providers; 67% students), and beginning the responsible exercise of digital citizenship (84% schools; 74% training providers; 61% students).

Statistically significant differences were found in relation to the item that describes reflecting on the social and cultural dimension of knowledge society ($\chi^2 = 10.1146247$ and $p = 0.063$); and the item that describes beginning the responsible exercise of digital citizenship ($\chi^2 = 7.89326384$ and $p = 0.0193$), with the score obtained being similar to that given in response to the previously discussed item.

Data literacy dimension

In relation to the competence of knowing about and knowing how to use ICT tools and resources, students are more likely to agree that this is important, followed by training providers, with least agreement coming from schools (graph 4).



Graph 4. Knowing about and how to use ICT tools and resources

5. Discussion and conclusions

Despite the opportunities and challenges posed by new forms of digital leisure as an educational tool with which digital inclusion, active participation (Ala-Mutka, 2011; Dussel & Quevedo, 2010) and empowerment of young people (Fuente-Cobo, 2017; Soler et al., 2017) can be worked on, the training programs available for monitors are currently found lacking. Such programs face difficulties in transferring concrete proposals for educational leisure, which are linked to digitalisation and oriented towards the citizenship of new generations (Alonso Sáez & Artetxe, 2019). This is mainly seen in the lack of incorporation of digital content into monitored courses due to this aspect being lowly rated by schools, training providers and students.

In order to address this challenging situation, schools for leisure and free time education must make the effort to identify the positive contributions offered by digital technology to individuals and communities (Sarea, 2019). They must facilitate improvement of citizen interventions in the public space (Muriel, 2018), being adapting to new lines of action and methodological renovation (Alonso Sáez & Artetxe, 2019). Improved installations and sufficient resources, in addition to encouraging training providers to undertake specialised training in these competencies, will also favour this process.

In broadening their general knowledge about the role of ICT in leisure and free time, and about national and supranational policies, schools can stimulate a type of training that strengthens active citizenship (Bolívar, 2016; van Dijk and Hacker, 2018). This, therefore, requires a rethinking of the training of monitors in order to respond to new competence needs which favour innovative experiences in digital settings.

With regards to the various agents at play, it is important to mention that although schools and training providers are predisposed towards the incorporation of ICT into social-cultural animation, this move is still not enough (Sampedro, 2015). Limiting beliefs must be debunked (Rodrigo-Moriche & Vallejo, 2019) as they pose a challenge to the introduction of a new methodological approach.

Thus, it is necessary to have pedagogical resources and strategies available which meet the learning demands present in the reality in which we live (Gros, 2015). On the one hand, these include new methods which fit within the framework of digital literacy (Pablos-Pons & Ballesta-Pagán, 2018), are adjusted to network learning, and take

advantage of the potential of digital technology (Area et al., 2016). On the other hand, these also refer to knowledgeable professionals about the risks of technology and cyberspace (Rivas et al., 2015).

With regards to the dimensions of the ICT competence, it is positive that schools, training providers and students agree when it comes to stating that ICT helps individuals to develop creativity and innovation in young people. This has also been noted by Valdemoros, Alonso-Ruiz, and Codina (2018) and Vasco and Pérez-Serrano (2017). There is also evidence of a predisposition towards taking care of the quality of online communication and collaboration of young people, through the educational capacities of digital leisure for the creation and development of inter-personal relationships and network collaboration (De-Juanas, García-Castilla & Rodríguez-Bravo, 2018; Rodríguez & Ballesteros, 2019; Valdemoros et al., 2018). Nevertheless, very diverse opinions were given by participants regarding development of the capacity for research and information management in leisure and free time activities. This aspect directly connects with the critical thinking dimension, which identifies difficulties when it comes to working effectively with didactic content in digital settings.

Moreover, recognition of the opportunity offered by digital settings to promote the participation of young people in exercising active digital citizenship (Van Deursen et al., 2014; Winocur, 2006) constitutes a large social contribution. This makes the usefulness of information literacy evident for the three participating groups, especially when it comes to developing the tasks to be performed by monitors.

Fluctuating opinions of schools, training providers and students on the different dimensions, calls for information to be broadened and further debate to take place about the stance taken within each school. This should seek to build on current learning standards for digital competence in the socio-cultural setting of leisure and free time.

It should be borne in mind that the leisure and free time setting is characterised by the generation of learning which can be transferred to other spaces (Soler, Trull Oliva, Rodrigo-Moriche, & Corbella Molina, 2019). This context also promotes integral education of digital competencies and adoption of improved socialisation practices, whilst also contributing to the empowerment of young people (Soler et al., 2017). For this, the digital transformation (Passarelli, Straubhaar, & Cuevas-Cerveró, 2016) demands training that is well beyond mere technological skills oriented

towards simply taking a better attitude to technology use (Ferrés & Piscitelli, 2012; Van den Bosch, Dekelver, & Engelen, 2010).

In conclusion, within an ever increasingly technological framework for the development of active citizenship, it is necessary to continue administering systematic and descriptive studies about the incorporation and development of digital

competencies. These should be applied to the contents, methods and competencies that are relevant to socio-cultural animation and, specifically, training courses for monitors. This will ensure that they are not only well adjusted to the working profile of these profiles, but also to the socio-educational influence exerted in the leisure spaces of children and young people.

Nota:

- ¹ From now on and in order to simplify the writing of the article, each time the words monitor, schools, training programs, courses appear this will always be in reference to the leisure and free time setting, and to courses which are monitored during leisure and free time.

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INFORMATION

BOOK REVIEWS

ONWARD: CULTIVATING EMOTIONAL RESILIENCE IN EDUCATORS

Aguilar, E. (2018). San Francisco, 372 pages.
ISBN: 978-1-119-36489-4-53495

"*Onward: Cultivating Emotional Resilience in Educators*" (Aguilar, 2018) is an inspiring book for any educator who is struggling with challenges, not only professionally but also personally. The author, Elena Aguilar, writes this book with a personal note and personal experience in each of the 12 chapters of this book. The essential word in this book is "resilience." Resilience in teachers is key for creating quality classrooms and schools. The opportunity for becoming resilient originates in how an educator makes sense of irritants, interruptions, and unexpected events, because interpretations dictate actions. By cultivating resilience, teachers can fulfill the intentions that brought them into the teaching profession.

Onward is a practical resource for cultivating resilience in educators and is based on the author's research on emotional resilience, psychology, systems thinking, and change management as well as 10 years of testing in schools and offices. This book outlines a conceptual framework with four parts: who we are, where we are, what we do, and how we are. The book identifies 12 habits and dispositions that can be cultivated in order to build resilience. Each habit correlates to a chapter and to each month of the year. The book also offers strategies and implications for leaders to practice with the school staff.

The book starts with a resilience manifesto, which is a public declaration of principles and intentions. I found principle six the most fascinating,

which states that "to help children build their emotional intelligence and resilience, we must simultaneously tend to our emotional intelligence and resilience" (Aguilar, 2018, p. 19). The first three chapters offer foundational approaches for building resilience and should be read in order. After that, you can jump to any chapter that best fits your habit and disposition. The first chapter is about knowing yourself and being purposeful. When you know yourself, you gain clarity on your purpose, emotions, core values, and personality. The second chapter is about understanding your emotions, accepting them and having strategies to respond to them. The third chapter deals with telling empowering stories. How you interpret stories can make a difference in building emotional resilience. According to the author being optimistic is a key trait of resilient people.

As a K-12 educator and member of my school leadership team, I found chapter four the most interesting. It is about how building community and empathy are pivotal elements in creating strong, healthy communities. All leaders should develop, articulate, implement, and be stewards of a shared vision of learning. They also should collaborate with students, families, and staff to achieve a shared vision of the school. Chapters six through eight address how to boost our resilience by learning how to be in the present moment, without judgment and finding humor in each situation. They also explain how to cultivate compassion for ourselves, as well as for others, as a way to help us deal with interpersonal challenges. The author describes how resilient people have positive self-perceptions and take care of themselves by exerting physical self-care and well-being. Aguilar focuses on honing the bright spots such as our

strengths, assets, and skills and consequently by doing so, boosting our levels of self-efficacy. The result is that we become empowered to influence our surroundings.

Subsequent chapters address seeing challenges as opportunities for learning through empowering our curiosity, which is a valuable way to overcome obstacles and find solutions. These chapters celebrate and appreciate individual and collective successes by practicing gratitude and trust. Aguilar states how creativity and play are good resources for creating resilience in educators and for fueling our courage. These assets make us more resourceful, and expand our connections with ourselves, and others. The author sees change as an opportunity to fuel our physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual energies. Patience, perseverance, and courage boost our resilience as educators and can help us manage change. I totally agree with Aguilar that when we

show appreciation and gratitude for others, it cultivates trust in ourselves and builds our resilience.

Onward is a practical guide for educators and leaders who wish to build resilience in themselves and in their organization. It offers invaluable scientifically based resources on how to boost the resilience of coaches, mentees, and school staff. This book also comes with an accompanying workbook designed as a curriculum supplement for professional development for a school staff or a central office team. Additionally, the chapter reflection sections are very useful for immediate application in fueling resilience in yourself and your organization. Overall, I think the author offers an indispensable guide and curriculum of hope for anyone involved in education who wants to cultivate trust, empathy, community, resilience, and compassionate schools.

Guillermo Iglesias Fernandez

Rodríguez Fernández, J. R. (2018). *El análisis político del discurso. Apropiaciones en educación*. Barcelona: Octaedro. 175 páginas. ISBN: 978-84-17219-84-0

This book remind us something important to keep in mind for those who dedicate ourselves professionally to educational *praxis*. This question is the recognition of the political nature of education as an inherent characteristic of it, despite the usual efforts to present education as a “neutral” or merely “technical” issue. With the intention of deepening this central idea, the author relies on a concrete methodological tool, the Political Analysis of Speech (PAS), whose historical review and practical exemplification will lead us to rethink the pillars of some epistemological approaches in social sciences and humanities, as well as to question some instrumentalization of the socioeducational professions within the framework of the neoliberal structures and relational forms characteristic of our days.

The first part of the book takes us to the linguistic turn experienced by the social sciences and humanities during the 20th century. Taking a tour of the contributions of various authors, we move from a conception of language as a representation of ideas to another position that recognizes the performative nature of language and places it, therefore, as a social practice that creates and recreates social realities and identities; understanding, of course, that “it is an evolution that should not be taken linearly or gradually” (p.33). On the other hand, it can be understood as a philosophical dialogue between paradigms, as

reflected in the postmodern critique of the foundations of modern thought that the author also develops in this first part. A postmodern criticism from social commitment, which will necessarily entail revisiting certain key concepts such as: *discourse, power, ideology* and *emancipation*, among others.

These terms, loaded with different meanings and nuances, will be retaken by the author in the second part of the book, which will respond directly to the subtitle of the work: “*appropriations in education*”. Here the differences between the Critical Studies of Discourse (CSD), closer to the basis of critical thinking and originally developed by Teun A. van Dijk, are contrasted to the proposal from the PAS, which is closer to the post-critical approaches, whose main references are Foucault, Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau, among a broader list of authorships. From this second perspective, it is committed to a complex thought to recognize, among other things, that there is no moral nature immanent to the human being, nor a linear path towards emancipation; as well as that the power is a relational matter and, therefore, it can adopt different forms, many of them subtle and diffuse, from where to produce frames of thought and *rituals of truth*.

It is also recognized that linguistic and extralinguistic intermingle in a single discursive action, while at the same time claiming the understanding of ideology as a suture, rather than as a false conscience, thus understanding that people try to sew the various fragments together. of the realities perceived from our ideological positions, in an attempt to provide intelligibility to the world

we inhabit. But far from ruling out critical studies in favor of post-critics, the author ends up warning that “the struggle for a more just and egalitarian society is such an extremely complex task that requires different approaches and multiple procedures” (p. 95).

And paying attention, precisely, to the possible PAS procedures, the author warns that “the broad methodological framework offered by discourse theory has given rise (...) to a certain relegation of methodological issues to the background” (p. 100). Consequently, the work ends with an example on how APD can be developed in the educational field, assuming that each context and researcher will involve a particular methodological sensitivity and strategy. This example, truly illustrative, is a case study of training courses for people benefiting from minimum insertion income. Through an orderly synthesis of what this ethnographic approach was, we are shown how triangulation between the APD with other techniques such as

participant observation and in-depth interviews, allowed the researcher to know and understand the decisions that the various agents involved took in this context through three dimensions of analysis: the technique (what is done?), the theoretical (why is it done?) and the metatheoretical (what is it done for?). The answers to these questions are glimpsed in the recognition of a pedagogy of the paternalistic cohort deficit that, while offering opportunities for the profitability of poverty, keeps the ‘poor’ entertained. Hard criticism, as we see, to a certain socio-educational intervention that challenges us directly and – perhaps this is the most important thing – invites us to dislocate certain discourses to explore educational possibilities that are more honest and committed to the generation of other social conditions for all.

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Prince T. (2019). *Mindfulness exercises for the class. 100 practical ideas*. Madrid: Narcea

This book is both, innovative and traditional. It is traditional because it recovers and activates a series of ideas and processes that were forgotten by the cognitivists and academicism. It is also innovative because it adapts and focuses those ideas and dynamics in accurate exercises for the classroom.

Mindfulness, (generally translated to Spanish as ‘atención plena’ o ‘plena consciencia’), is it a fashion? Is it a conceptual trend? Perhaps, as the analysis conducted by Ronald Purser suggests, it is a market manoeuvre disguised under the ruse of a new spirituality, focused on living in the present moment regardless of past or future. Is it a simple word to emphasize traditional processes such as concentration, meditation orientated to the self-conscience, emotional education, integral education, etc., that were abandoned for years? Is it a psychotherapeutic and educative resource needed in order to regain the internal balance and drive away dysfunctions and other vital issues (stress, existential dissatisfaction, anxiety, pain, sickness...) acquired due to the speed of events happening in the current world? A speed that forces people to change their life into some accelerated existential race in which we feel immersed in permanent competition.

Whatever the answer to these questions, and notwithstanding the naivety of those who defend mindfulness as a revolution, that is going to save

the world from a catastrophe, it is true that currently there is a need for ways and tools to not be dragged down by over-information that appears as fast as it disappears. This tormenting and dizzying peculiarity of the current world is generating situations that affect the normal development of infancy, producing stress, anxiety, emotional tantrums or attention deficit between others that affect not only the infancy, but also the rest of the population.

Those practicing mindfulness have reported improvements to their wellbeing because it supports the development of positive socialization processes that help people to be, instead of to have. These processes are necessary in order to activate in each of us, skills to defend ourselves from the thoughtlessness associated to the stressing race of having more, without considering how or when. In summary, when faced with this ‘Kleenex’ culture of using and throwing away knowledge, information, relationships, stuff, etc., practicing mindfulness offers ideas and tools to not be drawn into this tide. This is because it helps us to observe and use by ourselves our internal potential and the present experience. It also helps us to transform the external elements in positive energy that is valuable for the personal processes of humanizing self-realization and to act being aware of every single day.

The book introduces us to 100 exercises of mindfulness for use in the classroom. These exercises are structured into ten chapters that include: breathing, guided meditation, active meditation,

gratefulness, yoga, emotional intelligence, mindful colours and scrawl, calming down and relaxing, mindful walking and mindfulness for teachers.

How can I use the book? To be able to answer that question, it is important to consider the title of the book: 100 practical ideas. The mindfulness exercises developed in the book are focused and directly applicable while there are a source of ideas and processes than allow users to adapt it to other situations. Not in vain, at the end of each exercise there are two sections: a) Practical tips (b) further ideas.

The learners, the education professionals and teachers, the parents and anyone who is willing to learn the ideas, dynamics and strategies of mindfulness, will find this book a valuable and multivalent material. This works for both active learning and for emotional issue management. Using this book only as a vademecum would be a mistake, as the practical ideas of each exercise are as useful

as the exercise itself. This is why the book has a double value:

- a) *practical*: it develops specific exercises applicable in the classroom.
- b) *theoretical/practical*: extracts and adapts ideas and strategies of each exercise towards new situations of self-observation, knowledge, experimentation and calm control of oneself. This allows us to know and control ourselves and therefore the environment instead of it being the environment that controls us.

There are many voices that denounce the lack of educational content in the school, as it has been kidnapped by the dominant academicism exteriorized in endless curricula. This book takes one step towards offering tools of personal development that can be integrated in the school day.

José V. Merino Fernández

Marrasé, J. M. (2019). *La educación invisible: Inspirar, sorprender, emocionar, motivar*. Narcea Ediciones.

La educación invisible. Inspirar, sorprender, emocionar, motivar is a book that invites us to reflect on the need to revitalize our classrooms through the deepest and most authentic sense of education: to train good people who are responsible and creative. According to the author, José Manuel Marrasé, has a degree in Chemical Sciences from the University of Barcelona and a PhD in Sociology and Political Sciences from the Pontifical University of Salamanca, director and professor at the present time of the Hamelin Laie International School, located in Montgat, Barcelona, Spain, defends that the qualities and abilities of future generations depend fundamentally on values, behaviors and habits. Thus, it raises the need to generate an ideal environment that allows students to feel protagonists of their own personal growth. For this, he considers that the role of an inspired teaching staff is crucial, which, together with the support of families, manages to impregnate meaningful learning classrooms through inspiration, observation, listening, communication, motivation, persistence ...

Throughout 20 chapters divided into three blocks, the author defends and defines the invisible issues that he believes should guide our action

in the classroom. In the backbone of his proposal highlights his efforts to boost optimism in the classroom. "We need, more than ever, a deep humanism, which makes a desirable future possible; and education is the artisan who can slowly shape this future" (p.13). In order to inspire new proactive and optimistic attitudes, he urges teachers to leave permanent curiosity as a mark through sensitivity and assertiveness.

The conclusion is clear, teaching is an emotional work and teachers are the key piece, so it emphasizes the importance of addressing the need to encourage, boost and accompany the student in their full individual and social development. In this way, it is essential that teachers review their fundamental values and beliefs, carrying out a constructive and reflective criticism, in which the meaning of a holistic education is resumed through respect, freedom, creativity and solidarity.

Books like this represent for educational world professionals a reflection of the interest and need for reflection and improvement of teaching practice, inviting the reader to rediscover again the immense abilities to know and communicate, thus retaking elementary issues such as the management of emotions, passion, integrity and ethics.

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**MENTORSHIP OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH.
PRACTICAL GUIDE****Dolan, P. y Brady, B. (2019). Madrid: Narcea. 152 páginas. ISBN: 978-84-277-2086-2**

This work written by Pat Dolan and Bernadine Brady aims to provide a practical guide to all those people who work with children and young people, it is a useful tool for social workers, people in juvenile centres and shelters, as well as workers in community development, social educators and teachers.

Dolan and Brady analyse mentorship as a relationship of friendship between a young person and an older person, where there was no previously existing link. This relationship, between the adult and child, should be maintained at least for a year in which periodical meetings will be carried out. In this way, this friendship should be beneficial for the child, making the adult a support figure for the mentored child or youth helping them to prevent future difficulties.

Following the lineal argument made in the book, the authors defend that mentorship programmes should make an emphasis on children support with the purpose of achieving that they develop as well as possible before adversities in life, contributing positively in their social and emotional development.

This practical guide is made up of six sections; the first being an introductory chapter, followed by another five that look at mentorship from different perspectives, presenting at the end a chapter dedicated to final considerations. In the introduction of the work the reader is provided with different definitions, typologies, inconveniences and advantages of mentorship to youth. The authors also show the foundation, need and importance of mentorship programmes.

In the following chapter the concept of social support is examined, looking into how this aspect can play a relevant role in the life development of both in children and in the very contexts of mentorship programmes. Together with the analysis of different support networks and their definitions, the authors include social help and support sources, types (concrete, emotional, through advice, esteem) and their qualities (importance, quality). In the second chapter, with a more descriptive

character, Dolan and Brady provide the reader with a practical idea of how to facilitate that a young person can evaluate their support network with the objective of understanding how that network is working for them, because of this the authors describe and explain the use of two key evaluation tools of social support (Social Network Questionnaire -SNQ- y Social Provisions Scale -SPS-).

In the third chapter a general vision of different types of practices associated with efficient mentorship programmes is offered, examining aspects linked to programme design and to fundamental practices that accompany some of the mentorship programmes that stand out to because of their good practices. Other points are also covered such as; characteristics of mentors and mentorees, the mentoring relationships linked to better results, as well as the possible challenges and problems of mentoring and suggestions as to how to face them.

In the next chapter two types of mentorship in a school context are covered: mentorship between classmates of a different age and mentorship of adults in the school, highlighting in both cases the advantages, challenges and inconveniences that could arise in the development of them. In relation to the fifth chapter, it focuses on examining different collectives of children with which mentorship was carried out: children with mental health difficulties, with delinquent behaviour or with problems with courts, those staying at children homes, young asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants, youth with disabilities and intergenerational mentoring. Throughout this chapter the reader can find the basic principles of these mentorships as well as a series of examples of cases that can be applied to other contexts involving children.

This book concludes with a section of final considerations in which the most relevant aspects of previous chapters are presented, highlighting as a conclusion three aspects: the importance of informal social support, the role of investigation into mentorship of youth and the importance of these programmes for early prevention and intervention; analysing mentorship from a perspective based on rights.

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