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Travel as an educational resource.
Case study of the Tahina-Can Expedition

El viaje como recurso educativo.
Estudio de caso de la Expedición Tahina-Can

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Abstract

The work analyses the possibilities of travel as a resource and innovative educational method based on the case study of the Tahina-Can Expedition, a travel journalism project promoted by the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB). Since 2004, it has allowed about 700 students to participate in an academic expedition that brings together content production workshops in the field of digital writing, television, photography and radio. The initiative has obtained the first prize by the Telefónica Foundation in the category of "Learning on the Net". The study proposes the conceptualization of the trip as a constructivist practice that assumes the challenges of the 21st century student profile. Through the methodology of the case study, the article describes the particularities of the travel project, as well as it analyses its results and its impact. This is done through the technique of focus groups, which are developed with the participation of the expedition members who have taken part in the trips of Tahina-Can. The study concludes, among other aspects, that the trip is considered as an active learning practice and that constitutes a stimulus for the students. The experience enhances the commitment of the participants with their own learning process and it allows the advanced development of different professional journalistic roles and competences.

Keywords

Journalism, education, travel, communication, internet, learning.

Resumen

El trabajo analiza las posibilidades del viaje como recurso y método educativo innovador a partir del estudio de caso de la Expedición Tahina-Can, un proyecto de periodismo de viajes impulsado por la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (UAB) desde el año 2004 y que ha permitido a cerca de 700 estudiantes participar en una expedición académica que aglutina talleres de producción de contenidos en el ámbito de la redacción digital, la televisión, la fotografía y la radio. La iniciativa ha obtenido el primer premio por la Fundación Telefónica en la categoría de "Aprendizaje en la Red". El estudio propone la conceptualización del viaje como práctica constructivista que asume los retos del perfil del estudiante del siglo XXI. A través de la metodología del estudio de caso, describe las particularidades del proyecto de viajes al tiempo que analiza los resultados y el impacto del mismo a partir de grupos focales desarrollados con la participación de los expedicionarios que han hecho parte de los viajes de la Expedición. El estudio concluye, entre otros aspectos, que el viaje es considerado como una práctica de aprendizaje activo y que constituye un estímulo para los estudiantes. La experiencia potencia el compromiso y a la entrega de los participantes con su propio aprendizaje y permite el desarrollo avanzado de diferentes roles y competencias periodísticas profesionales.

Palabras clave

Periodismo, educación, viaje, comunicación, internet, aprendizaje.

Communication, education and travel

University and, therefore, education need to be the object of a deep reflection. The professor and researcher of Public Policies of Harvard University, Dan Levy (Amiguet, 2017), the director of the eLearning Center of the UOC, Lluis Pastor (Farreras, 2016), the innovation expert and member of Singularity University David Roberts (Torres, 2016) or the dean of the University of Paris -known as the Sorbonne-, Francois-Guy Trebulle (Fernández, 2018), among others, coincide in pointing out that universities are in danger of disappearing if they do not adapt to the particularities of the current scenario. This warning or prognosis -beyond its realization- results in the need to rethink education from the particularities and transformations of the different actors and processes that have a prominent role in it: the student profile, the teaching methodologies, the role of the teaching staff and the type of evaluation applied to certify the acquisition of skills and competences.

Since McLuhan predicted in 1960 the irruption of "classroom without walls", several authors, such as Stinson (1997), Prensky (2007), Piscitelli, Adaime and Binder (2010), Pastor (2010), Pérez-Tornero, Tejedor, Simelio and Marín (2015), among others, have influenced the need to reformulate the training processes with the aim of increasing the ludic, motivating and immersive component of them, especially in the framework of the so-called network society (Castells, 2003). This group of works has been developed in a society impacted by cyberculture (Lévy, 2007) and by the liquid essence (Bauman, 2003) of a scenario marked by the progressive prominence that the technological component has acquired and, especially, the social networks (Pempek *et al.*, 2009; Tuñez, & Abejón, 2010), which have generated new habits among netizens (Waycott *et al.*, 2010). This set of changes has been linked to the transformations of the web, which in its version 1.0 has gone up to the stages of social web 2.0, semantic web or 3.0 and web of objects or 4.0. The collaborative, social, participative and bidirectional idiosyncrasy of web 2.0 made a profound impact on the educational scene. As pointed out by Castaño *et al.*, (2008) this renewed version of cyberspace directly impacts (see Chart 1) on educational processes, while opening interesting and profitable innovation opportunities that affect the roles of different actors (teachers and students, especially), to the content and the methodologies, among other aspects.

Chart 1
Main transformations of the educational scenario

Individual content production	Teachers and students as active creators of knowledge.
Harnessing the power of the community	Learn with and from other users.
Architecture of the participation of services	Everyone can be active actors.
Empowerment of simple and intuitive tools	The user does not have to be a specialist technician.
Bet on open software	Philosophy of "openness" to non-proprietary standards.
Creation of learning communities	Users compromised by interests, themes, etc. shared.
Web Effect	From individual work to cooperation among equals.

Source: Castaño *et al.*, (2008).

In this context, the so-called "millennial" (Francese, 2003), whose profile approaches that of the "prosumer" coined by Toffler (1980), give shape to

a student body that, both in its access to information (Akter, & Nweke, 2016) as in their professional expectations and in their daily work confers great importance on technologies. This "Generation of the Millennium" or "Generation Y" is composed of users who stand out for their multitasking profile, for their intuitive capacity in the management of digital ecosystems (Ruano *et al*., 2016) and for having an attention that has been defined as "Floating" (Crenshaw, 2010). Several investigations have diagnosed a loss of interest or distancing of these students regarding the contents and work dynamics of the current education system. In Spain, according to a study by the professor of Sociology, Mariano Fernández Enguita, one out of every three students gets bored at school and leaves school (Fernández, 2016). This type of data occurs in a scenario marked by a set of technological changes that affect professional profiles (Lin, 2012).

In the field of communication, the training demands have been diverse. For Pavlik (2005), technological innovation has modified journalism studies in four major areas: the way of teaching and research; the content of what we teach, the structure of the departments of journalism and the faculties of communication and the relationships between teachers and their audiences (students, funders and competitors). Authors such as Pavlik (2005), Tarcia and Marinho (2008), García Avilés and Martínez, (2009), López (2010), Roblyer (2010), López García (2012), Silva (2014), Singh (2015), Pérez -Tornero y Varis (2012), Pérez-Tornero (2016), Sánchez, Campos and Berrocal (2015), Tramullas (2016), Sánchez-García (2017), Tejedor and Cervi (2017), Tejedor, Giraldo-Luque and Carniel (2018) have proposed in different works the importance and urgency of rethinking the focus of the curricula (both in their curricular offer and in their methodologies) of the communication scenario. In the field of journalism, a study conducted in mid-2006 in Spain concluded that most faculties failed to meet the training needs demanded by the industry (Tejedor, 2007).

The Tahina-Can Expedition is a project that, since 2004, organizes an academic trip to different enclaves of the world in which university students of the field of communication predominantly participate. Organized in press, photography and television teams, the expedition members participate in workshops to produce content, debates and other activities that, in all cases, are based on the methodology of learning by means of a close link with everyday life and life stories of the locals of the countries visited. The project was born as a response to the need to devise new scenarios and new learning

methodologies, especially in the field of journalism and communication where the contents have been transformed into portable, personalized and participatory units (Matsa, & Mitchell, 2014).

Starting from this scenario, the research, based on a case study, has analyzed the possibilities of travel as an educational resource from the fourteen editions (2004-2018) of the Tahina-Can Expedition, a project organized by the Department of Journalism and Communication Sciences of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, through the research group of the Communication and Education Cabinet. The study answers the following research questions with a descriptive scope:

- What are the strengths of the expedition as a training project?
- What are its weaknesses or aspects to improve?
- How do the participating students (from the field of communication) value the experience at the training level?

Travel as an educational resource

The idea that travel is a source of continuous education and can be understood as a constructivist practice (Vygotsky, 1978). The systematization of travel as a curriculum is manifested through various initiatives that not only reflect the formative value of cultural exchange, but also propose an education in values based on responsibility, commitment and understanding towards other countries and cultures. A vital experience integrated by interdisciplinary teams in which there is a very intense before, during and after.

Under the paradigm that knowledge is constructed, the constructivist model interprets travel as a learning process based on the autonomous construction of knowledge. On the one hand, it allows the assimilation of new knowledge with exercises in which active subjects give meaning to new experiences (Blashki, & Nichol, 2008). On the other hand, the learning process generates states of imbalance -in its confrontation with new contexts in which the traveler faces unknown scenarios- that demand from the subject moments of readjustment that favor changes in the structures of thought and promote the assignment of meanings through experiences (Medina Gallego, 2003, pp. 115-162).

Piaget (1973), Kohlberg (1992), Ausubel and Sullivan (1983) and Vygotsky (1978) agree that the construction of knowledge is made from

individual cognitive structures. Constructivist theory points out that this structuring is propitiated from everyday spaces such as home, school, society. On the journey, daily life takes the form of continuous coexistence, during a period of time, with the daily space of the experience that is lived. Constructivism takes up the direct experiences of the traveler and reorganizes them to, with the experience of travel, generate a conceptual change that favors meaningful learning (Ausubel, & Sullivan, 1983). By confronting hypotheses and methods of solving problems and their observation the individual constantly makes a diagnosis between their own level and the potential level of development, the diagnosis being the scope of application of the "zone of proximal development" (Vygotsky, 1978). The relationship established as a learning framework towards a higher level of knowledge reinforces the traveler's own contributions in their cognitive development. During travel, the acquisition of knowledge will be a process in which the new information will be incorporated into the preexisting structures, modifying them.

At the same time, constructivism points out that knowledge is not a faithful copy of external phenomena. It is a construction of the human being. The aim of the learning framework is to organize the experience in such a way that its sequentialization allows a distinction to be made between the external and the internal -the individual or the group- to create a new reality (Medina Gallego, 2003, pp. 163 -189). Constructivism recognizes that there is an active subject that comes to the educational process with a worldview that influences their way of acting. Therefore, it gives learning a need for the production of individual change (attitudinal, methodological, axiological, aesthetic) and a projection towards the construction of scenarios that facilitate these changes.

Constructivist learning is concerned with the development of useful knowledge, not for learning for learning sake. According to their logic, new knowledge must be able to be applied in the world in a practical way (Doolittle, & Camp, 1999). Constructivist learning thus finds, in travel, an authentic context to be able to show the students the absolutely practical application of what they learn. In addition, students need to work as a team and interact with their peers in order to understand concepts through the construction of knowledge obtained through experiences of the journey itself. The practices related to reflection will increase the metacognitive skills of the students.

Constructivist theories assume, therefore, that learner-travelers create mental representations of their environment using their knowledge in real contexts (Doolittle, & Camp, 1999, Driscoll, 2005, Mayer, 1999). Through personal experiences, social interactions and metacognition, the participants of the journey acquire the ability to think critically, to reason and to develop understanding (Driscoll, 2005). In travel, the constructivist model proposes a conceptual change in two dimensions: a semantic change, because knowledge is broadened by producing a crisis in the previous ideas of travelers with the intention of being re-evaluated, and a theoretical change, due to the review of previous knowledge that produces a change of ideas about the phenomena object of knowledge. Constructivism promotes dissatisfaction with initial theories or previous ideas and promotes the integration of new explanatory theories based on experience, travel, which will serve to distort the previous theory (Medina Gallego, 2003, pp. 275-323) and overcome it.

The described constructivist framework, within an educational scenario of the 21st century, can also be encompassed under the conceptualization of a competence understood as the ability to solve problems. For Cano (2008), proposes a series of characteristics that encompass the concept of competence from a review of more than fifty definitions of different authors, a competence a) is composed of skills or abilities related to know-how (actions) of an individual, b) requires a process of reflexive action on the part of the subject that performs them (action + reflection), c) is acquirable through different processes (learning) and, in that sense, is updatable, d) allows to solve problematic situations in a specific context in an efficient, autonomous and flexible way, and e) has in its execution, according to the previous factors, individualized or diverse responses taking into account the specific contextual factors.

Methodology

The development of the article has been proposed as a qualitative case study focused on a specific object: The Tahina-Can Expedition as an example of an educational trip. At the same time, the analysis complements its qualitative approach through the development of a focus group that allows corroborating the theoretical approaches with the vision that participants

of the Expedition have about their own conception of travel, lived as an educational experience.

The case studies are defined as a method to learn about a complex instance (US General Accounting Office, 1990), from the comprehension and description of it as a whole and its context, through data and information obtained by extensive descriptions (Mertens, 2005). Gillham (2000) points out that the case study details a unit related to human activities that take place in the real world, understood in its context, that exists in the present and that mixes with the context in such a way that it is difficult to specify their borders.

Gerring, for whom the research designs of the case may cover one or several units of study, (2007) appreciates the case study as a work whose method is qualitative and holistic, and which offers a complex and comprehensive examination of a phenomenon, which uses a evidence and that uses data triangulation. According to Hernández *et al.,* (2006) the method can be defined as a study that can use qualitative research processes and that analyzes in depth a unit to respond to the problem statement, test hypothesis or develop theories.

The case study applied to this research takes the Tahina-Can Expedition as a unit of analysis and is therefore defined as qualitative and synchronic. The analysis of the case uses the description as a methodological basis, which includes the contextualization of the program, the construction of the academic plan and the media impact obtained in its editions.

The case study is complemented and triangulated with the development of a focus group in which five students, who had participated in past editions of the Tahina-Can Expedition, participated. The development of the focus group had the objective of promoting a deep conversation about the travel experience of the participants in the described editions of the Expedition. The method is conceived as a space for interaction and dialogue between people who share a series of common characteristics and which leads to the group construction of meanings, based on the collective narrative of the participants (De Miguel en Berganza, & Ruiz, 2005, p. 269). The results of the focus group were used to verify the theoretical arguments previously presented, in which travel is conceived as a constructionist learning experience, meaningful and of high interest for its participants.

The Tahina-Can expedition

The Tahina-Can Expedition is a travel journalism project organized by the Communication and Education Office of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, directed by Professor José Manuel Pérez Tornero, with the aim of promoting a different and genuine way of understanding and carrying out trips. The project, awarded in 2004 with the first prize of the II International Intercampus Competition on Research and Teaching in the Network 2004 organized by the Telefónica Foundation, in the category of "Learning on the Web", aims that university students -of different careers and universities - embark on an initiatory journey that confronts them with socio-cultural realities different from their own and that "educates" their way of seeing and explaining what they have seen and what they have experienced. Within the framework of the Expedition, the participants organize themselves into press, radio, television and photography teams; and they must produce traveler reports who flee from the conventional or tourist in order to produce critical "messages" that invite reflection from otherness.

The project that began in 2004 aims to promote the interest of the university community for the culture and customs of the visited country. After fourteen editions, the initiative promotes strong bonds between the expeditionary and the students, institutions and means of communication of each destiny. It is, above all, a proposal that aims to establish a new conception of travel oriented towards commitment, understanding and analysis towards the destination covered. This approach to journalism, adventure and international cooperation takes the form of a set of thematic lines such as knowledge of other socio-cultural realities, knowledge of how the media of the country in question works and participation in development of different journalistic projects through the production, during the trip, of journalistic contents of different nature.

For almost two weeks, the expeditionaries travel a country of the world, studying the particularities of the cultural and media landscape through an itinerary that moves away from the traditional tourist circuits. Each year Tahina-Can convenes Spanish students of all university degrees with the purpose of creating a multidisciplinary profile.

Chart 2
List of editions of the Tahina-Can Expedition

Expedición	Año
Mexico: Travel to the Mayan world	2004
On the way to the equator: From Quito to the Amazon	2005
Dominican Republic: By land of taínos. The door to the new world	2006
Cuba: An island at its crossroads	2007
Peru: Towards the Inca world - Cooperation in the Andes	2008
Ecuador: From Middle the world to the heart of the Amazon	2009
Chile: Chronicle of the reconstruction	2010
Morocco: Journey to the kingdom of the distant west	2012
Thailand: Adventure in the Kingdom of Siam	2013-2014
Uzbekistan: To Samarkand on the Silk Road	2015
Dominican Republic: The adventure of education	2016
Colombia: Tribute to peace - In search of the lost city	2017
Yucatan: Treasures of the Mayan world	2018

Source: own elaboration

The academic program

The Tahina-Can Expedition revolves around an academic program produced by the team that directs the project, and whose preparation, prior to the trip, also has the advice of teachers, journalists and professionals from the world of communication in the country of destination. This experience of cyber-journalism is built according to the objective of strengthening cooperation relations between Spanish university students and students, institutions and media of the visited country, through the analysis and study of the particularities of the cultural and media landscape that it presents. In this sense, the expedition members delve into other socio-cultural realities, learn how their media work and participate in the development of journalistic projects. Throughout the trip, the program is articulated according to the planned activities, among which are talks, seminars, conferences and colloquiums on aspects linked to the current situation of the place and given by specialized journalists from different media, interviews with media

professionals, production of reports and other types of journalistic products. The participants, on the other hand, have the opportunity to inform about the course of the Expedition through the website of the project with their chronicles, interviews and other materials (See Figure 1). The expeditionaries learn from a country, its people, its history, its folklore, its gastronomy and its problems, its strengths, its needs, its contradictions. Especially, they learn the importance of placing themselves in the "other's" place. This means learning to "look" and process our environment and our world. They learn to reflect on their priorities and their scale of values and put them into question. They also learn from themselves and their professional and human vocation.

Figure 1
Website of the Tahina-Can Expedition
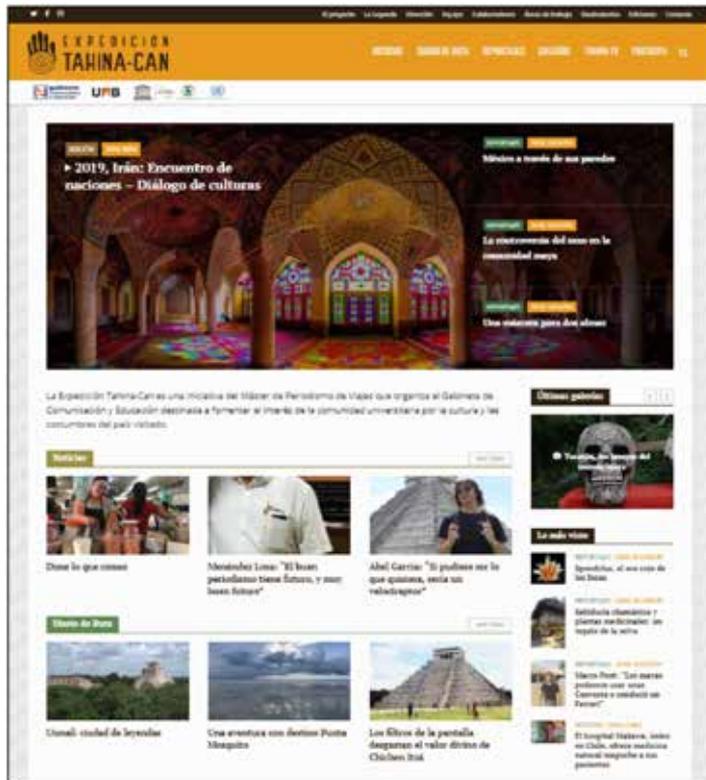
Source: www.tahina-can

There are different workshops that, in all cases, intend for the expedition members to practice in the field production of journalistic content based on the use of journalistic production techniques and routines and the use of the different information attributes they possess. (See Figure 2).

Figure 2
Example of report elaborated by expedition members

Source: www.tahina-can

After the trip, the team of the Communication and Education Cabinet organizes the presentation of the different journalistic works elaborated by the students in the press, photography, radio and television workshops. The event takes place every year and is celebrated in a Spanish university. As a complement, an itinerant photographic exhibition is also carried out in Spain, where the most representative photographs made by the expedition members themselves are exhibited. The project is completed with the creation of a travel book focused on the visited country and conceived with a different philosophy. It is a work that includes, mainly, the chronicles of the expedition members, the socio-cultural data as well as the articles of specialized travel journalists.

Figure 3
News about the project disseminated in the media

Source: www.tahina-can

Discussion

The description of the studied case, the Tahina-Can Expedition as an educational trip experience, demonstrates -both in the theoretical discourses about the educational construction model and the new type of student profile of the present, as well as in the students' own narratives, evidenced in the focus group carried out- an evident proximity between the educational program offered in the trip and the fundamental concepts that constitute the pedagogical change oriented to the formative needs of the 21st century.

In the focus group one of the students pointed out that "the trip made allowed me to get away from the comfort zone in which I normally find myself, causing a clash between my own reality and the new explored reality". The development of disequilibrium states or rearrangement between previous knowledge or imaginaries and the new contexts of learning is one of the axes of the constructivist exercise because it promotes the assignment of meanings and the construction of new concepts through living experience (Medina Gallego, 2003).

For students, Tahina-Can is an educational journey because "every day and every activity imply a learning experience", or because "we have an evolution from the first day of work and coexistence that is projected even after the trip". For some of them, the trip represents a point "beyond the academic level we have as an idea of education". The change of perspective on their own learning experience, and the change internalized by the travelers, denotes the confrontation of previous hypotheses from an experience and the individual and group daily diagnosis on the scope and overcoming of the "zones of proximal development" defined by Vygotsky (1978). The new information, linked to a reception that is also emotional and not only rational, incorporates -not without a cognitive rearrangement- the structures and schemes previously constructed in the student. In the process of the trip, as shown by the students participating in the focus group, the previous schemes end up being modified. Travelers, therefore, attend the two dimensions of conceptual change presented by Medina Gallego (2003). On the one hand, they make a semantic transformation by reevaluating their own imaginaries about a reality that they end up knowing directly and without intermediaries. On the other hand, they generate a theoretical change by propitiating the own revision of their explanations. The trip demonstrates dissatisfaction with initial theories or previous ideas and facilitates the creation of new explanations and social descriptions of the lived reality.

At the same time, the need to conceive the student as autonomous subject of the learning process (Blashki, & Nichol, 2008) is present in the experience as a framework of possibilities to give meaning to new experiences: "The Expedition was presented to me as an opportunity to meet and discover my own curiosities. To learn from my own interests ", indicated another of the students participating in the focus group. McLoughlin and Lee (2008), as well as Robinson (2006), point to the concepts of curiosity and creativity as active principles of the student's interest towards their own learning context and towards the resolution of the problems proposed in the educational process.

Some students also mentioned that the journalistic practices developed during the Expedition:

> They were not understood by us as a formal work of the University. In the travel experience we forced ourselves to look for stories and really ask questions. We were aware that the products we made would come out of the classroom, which would be published. We had an extra motivation in the conception of our journalistic exercise as a real practice.

The testimony also implies a very clear connection with the practical sense and with the real application of knowledge to a particular context defined by the constructionist model (Doolittle, & Camp, 1999). The students manage to develop a good part of the seven competency needs described by Nightingale and O'Neil (1994) through an absolutely practical work. At the same time, the relationship between the curricular objectives and real projects developed during travel is palpable (Trilling, & Fadel, 2009): "In the Expedition we managed to improve our skills in technical aspects of journalistic production, while we made our own the productive routines of each of the media in which we work," said one student.

Knowledge constructed in the real context, through practical experiences (Doolittle, & Camp, 1999; Driscoll, 2005), helps students to better understand their own reality. Each of them creates a mental representation based on their life experience. Its proximity to context and reality, guided by the approach of problems and by collaborative work, also allows the formation of critical thinking and the development of more complex processes of understanding and rationalization (Driscoll, 2005).

Conclusions

The fourteen editions of the Tahina-Can Expedition project allow us to extrapolate a series of conclusions about the potential of the trip as a constructivist practice that assumes the challenges of the student profile of the 21st century. The analysis of the particularities of the project, through the methodology of the case study together with the results derived from the focus groups, leads to the following conclusions:

Travel as an adventure of exploration and discovery: The study developed, and the experiences derived from the different editions of the project allow us to affirm that the trip constitutes a solid experience of

exploration and discovery for the expeditionaries that is not limited to the Expedition but is projected in the post travel. The expeditionaries state that after the experience they have a greater interest in aspects of their daily life that had not previously been of interest.

The experiential component as an outstanding stimulus: The combination of an academic program together with the experience of visiting a country (through different visits: cultural, environmental, sports, etc.) is a great encouragement for the participants who, according to what has been stated in the research, especially highlight the important to carry out a journalistic coverage in the field establishing a direct contact with reality. The participating students confessed to be stimulated by the orders they received during the expedition, while demonstrating a great motivation to strive in order to generate content that would be published on the project website and that would be viewed and commented by their own colleagues.

Travel as a dynamic of journalistic roles: The project is consolidated as an ideal setting for the application by the students of the journalistic production routines of the press, radio, television and photography. In addition, a trend towards convergence among teams or workshops is detected, which is given not only by the exchange of content but also by the conception and collaborative development of information coverage and reporting based on the contributions of the members of different teams. In this way - it is observed - on the one hand, a familiarization and identification with the transmedia logic and, on the other, the efficiency of the Expedition is confirmed to enhance a decisive competence in communicators, such as teamwork.

Finally, the study of the project together with the students' reflections also warns of a series of aspects that should be remodeled or improved within the framework of this initiative or similar projects that locate travel as the driving force of a training process. Finally, based on this research, the importance of consolidating and projecting this line of research in which education, travel and communication converge due to their interest and relevance in the current educational scenario is considered.

Acknowledgments

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UNIVERSITAS

Travelling to learn and learning by travelling. Educational Strategies at advantaged social Argentinian schools

Viajar para aprender y aprender viajando. Estrategias educativas de sectores aventajados de Argentina

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Abstract

The article explores the repertoires and meanings that educational agents give to journeys in the institutional projects of their schools, considering that these organizations cater students that most certainly could travel on their own. In this sense, the basic proposition guiding this analysis is based on the fact that, due to the processes of universalization and school massification, educational institutions develop strategies of institutional differentiation to "capture" their public, and in those strategies, school trips take a fundamental place. Through a qualitative work nourished by interviews with institutional agents in international schools, that is, schools that adhere to the International Baccalaureate (IB) program or are binational institutions, where their degrees are valid for a second educational system, we study the main advantages and benefits represented by the inclusion of school trips in the curricula of these institutions. The analysis is complemented with institutional documents.

Keywords

School, international education, institutional differentiation, school trips.

Resumen

El artículo indaga los repertorios y significados que los agentes educativos le otorgan a los viajes en los proyectos institucionales en sus escuelas, teniendo en cuenta que se trata de establecimientos a los que concurren alumnos que podrían realizar esos viajes por sus propios medios. De esta manera, se sostiene que, ante los procesos de universalización y masificación escolar, surgen proyectos de diferenciación institucional que intentan "captar" públicos a través de diferentes estrategias, siendo los viajes uno de sus puntos centrales. A través de un trabajo cualitativo que se nutre de entrevistas a agentes institucionales en escuelas internacionales, es decir, escuelas que adhieren al programa del Bachillerato Internacional (IB) o bien son institucionales binacionales, con una titulación válida para un segundo sistema educativo, se indagan las principales ventajas y beneficios que representa la inclusión de los viajes en la currícula de estas instituciones. El análisis se complementa con documentación institucional

Palabras clave

Escuela, educación internacional, viajes, diferenciación institucional, competencias educativas.

Introduction: School massification and the new inequalities

The expansion of compulsory education, in the extension of coverage and years of mandatory nature, is a policy agreed by all social and political sectors, often anchored in the narratives of the "example" of advanced countries that have high levels of educational levels in their populations and with equally high standards of living and development (Saravi, 2015). In the Latin American continent, however, this expansion has not been developed homogeneously and itself over preexisting exclusions or inequalities - levels of household income, geographical location, educational environment of the home and belonging to ethnic and/or native groups, only to mention some advantages and disadvantages on the same processes of inclusion (Mayer and Núñez, 2016). These inequalities do not disappear because vast sectors of the population have been "included" (Saravi, 2015, p.11). In other words, the tendency to massify the secondary level, while sustaining the longings for inclusion and the constitution of more egalitarian societies -desires and postulates processed through education- does not eliminate social inequalities, but rather, on the contrary, in the continent in general and in

Argentina in particular, it tends to generate mechanisms for the development of new forms of social differentiation (Narodowski, Moschetti, & Gottau, 2017, Mayer, 2012).

In Argentina, the increase in enrollment at the middle level that manifested from the mid-twentieth century onwards (Southwell, 2011), and that has intensified since the nineties with the laws that establish the universalization and compulsory nature of secondary education[1], has its correlate in the creation and development of circuits and educational fragmentation. Braslavsky (1985), warned in the eighties that along with the "democratization" of the education system, there is a segmentation of it from the creation of educational opportunities that promote the breakdown of the educational monopoly in minority sectors. This process is deepened and modified in the nineties with legislations that point to the universalization of secondary education and has its correlation in the transfer of segmentation to educational fragmentation (Tiramonti, 2004 and 2008), a phenomenon related to certain ideas of what is a "good school" and the consequent diversification of the offer that supposed a growing expansion of the private sector.[2]

The process of privatization, or the development of the private subsystem, predates the rise of neoliberal discourses in the region (Morduchowicz, 2001). Although between 1940 and 1950 the private sector reached the lowest rate of schooling in its history, between the years 1950-2015 there is a process of sustained and progressive growth of enrollment to reach 30 percentage points. To this contributes a series of modifications introduced at the end of the 1940s in terms of regulation, financing and ratings that pave

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1   With the aim of guaranteeing equality of learning opportunities, supporting policies to improve the quality of education and strengthen scientific and technological research, the Education Financing Law 26,075 of 2005 established an increase in investment in education, science and technology by the National State and the 24 jurisdictions, until reaching in 2010 a 6% participation in the Gross Domestic Product. Then, in 2006, the National Education Law (No. 26.206) was passed, replacing the Federal Education Law. The same, among other important aspects, orders the educational system in four levels (initial education, primary education, secondary education and higher education), establishes the modalities of education and establishes the compulsory nature of the system from the age of four years.

2   Within the investigations there is consensus in affirming that, just as the universalization of basic education was the great transformation of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the second half of that century witnessed the tendency to universalize secondary education. In this sense, the analysis of Braslavsky (1985) pointed out the existence of segments that were shaped by differentiated circuits. The educational legislations introduced in the nineties and the reforms that derive from them -as well as from other social processes- will refer to the concept of fragmentation, as a loss of unity and then, of a burst field characterized by pro-ruptures, discontinuities and the impossibility of moving from one fragment to another, as well as the loss of unity and common references.

the way for this growth (Morduchowicz, 2002, Narodowski, & Andrada, 2001). In this regard, Gamallo (2015) argues that since the 1990s, when the name of "publicly-run public schools" has been incorporated into national legislation, private schools are more and more similar to public schools.[3] There is also the transfer of school management to the provinces - started in the seventies - and a system of social polarization and educational massification is consolidated, with an increasingly polarized system.[4]

In this sense and recognizing the higher levels of autonomy of private institutions in relation to those of public management (Morduchowitz, 2002), the former has greater margins to delimit their institutional project. In other words, although the institutions suppose a system of own rules and norms that intervene in the skills of the educational agents, the institutions, be it of the type of management scope that they are, are not reducible to the unthinking reproduction of such norms. Schools are spaces of struggle and power dispute (Ball, 1989), where thanks to the greater margins of autonomy of the private sector, projects can be deployed that distinguish the institutions of this sector. In this framework, many schools associated with the middle and upper middle sectors develop different trips as part of their curricula, which could be divided into two large groups: solidarity and volunteer trips, on the one hand, and academic and educational trips on the other. In the case of the first group, these are trips related to vulnerable communities in the country, as a culmination of solidarity initiatives that take place throughout the year: raising funds and resources needed to improve the institutions of these communities, providing food and clothing, among others. Students travel to the selected community and develop tasks to "help" their well-

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3 In this regard, Morduchowitz (2002, p.114) argues that along with the deepening and consolidation of state assistance and equalization, a clear expansion of the private sector emerged, in which the schools of that subsystem began to "resemble" the public ones, by enabling them to issue titles, the equalization of salaries and teaching careers, which had an effect on the enrollment, even when it was not established as a quasi-market.

4 In this sense -and supporting the idea of the sociological component of the population as a predominant factor in the choice of privately-run schools-, as of 2003, with the recomposition of the socioeconomic fabric, there is a sustained increase in private enrolment (Gamallo, 2015) in absolute terms greater than the public one, particularly in the most privileged sectors. In this sense, the analysis of Elias (1983) makes it possible to argue that, in the face of greater closeness and functional dependence of one group on the other, historically advantaged groups generate new forms of distancing - and differentiation - to operate on those possible contiguities. In other words, in the face of processes of increasing enrollment and entering new public schools, there is an increase in institutional differentiation (Southwell, 2011, p.53).

being and re-composition, such as painting a rural school. Those related to the second group consist of trips mostly abroad, linked to the educational proposal of the school, such as travel to countries of the second language taught in the institution. In many cases, the schools propose exchange stays of three to six months, where students attend part of their last year of high school. In other cases, it is about short stays, often of no more than a week, of cultural immersion.

This article aims to investigate and reflect on the role and place of travel in school. Although the movement of both groups are analyzed, the article focuses more on the academic or educational ones, considering them a central axis of the curricula developed by these institutions.

In this sense, and for the purposes of this work, we will refer to displacements or trips in an indistinct manner, as part of a constellation between movements, meanings, experiences, rhythms and practices (Cresswell, 2008), in addition to considering the movement at the center of social realities. The physical movement of people that implies an origin and a destination entails a set of phenomena that circulate as a satellite over the subjects, their interactions and meanings, perceptible from the individual level and also from a society scale (Mayer, & Catalano, 2018)

Methodological approaches

This study is based on qualitative work in five schools, four of them in Buenos Aires and one in Misiones, within the framework of research that analyzes the schools that adhere to international education programs, either because they are binational institutions, that is, that belong to a second educational system, in addition to the Argentine one, or they are schools of the network of the Organization of the International Baccalaureate (IBO), with headquarters in The Hague that certifies the validity of the baccalaureate worldwide through its Diploma Programme (DP) of the International Baccalaureate (IB). The main objective of the project is to analyze the ways in which international education (Resnik, 2012) develops, influences the determination of institutional projects and the establishment of a curriculum and job of a student (Perrenaud, 2006).

In this sense, within the framework of a qualitative theoretical-methodological strategy, during the years 2016-2018, twenty semi-structured

interviews were carried out with educational agents of these institutions (professors, coordinators and managers), understood as those in which there is previous planning about the topics to be discussed but that can be modified during the course of the interview itself. The research involved a descending strategy, that is, from the places with the greatest power down, beginning the interviews with the institutional authorities -authorities and active members of the directive commissions when pertinent- and then interviewing teachers and assistants.

The interest in investigating the diversity of institutional agents refers to the need to approach the perspective of the actor in its context, abandoning the "unique" point of view in favor of the plurality of coexisting points of view (Bourdieu, 1999), related to the place that is occupied in the institution and with the own work and institutional trajectory. The interviews should be understood as the framework of a joint theoretical elaboration in which there will not necessarily be total agreements or similar advantages; but interpretations that did not exist before the relationship (Saltalamacchia, 1992). In relation to our methodological design, we agree with Saltalamacchia when he points out that the individual is a place of "knotting" a determined set of social relations (1992, p.38), therefore it is very important to approach the knowledge of the trajectories of the actors as observable of the relational systems in which they are inserted. In this sense, we believe that each unstructured interview can be considered a true testimony of the situation experienced by the interviewee. As Saltalamacchia (1992) argues, by definition, every interviewee is an actor of the narrated events: he lived it and, in his story, he interprets it, both from material or symbolic interests that organized his participation, and by cognitive instrumentalities. Then, the data provided must be evaluated or considered, incorporating that construction.

The field work was complemented with observations of classes and school events, analysis of current and historical documents and web content of the institutions in question, which have a strong component of group travel framed in their educational and institutional projects.[5]

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5   The interviews were unstructured, understood as those in which there is prior planning about the topics to be discussed but which can be modified during the interview itself. In them, the trajectories of the actors were investigated and deepened to learn the changes in their structural position and the development of their social experience, trying to capture the particular political beliefs and sensitivities of these individuals. We are interested in approaching the perspective of the actor in its context, abandoning the "unique" point of view in favor of the plurality of coexisting points

Schools for insertion into the world

In an interview with representatives of one of the analyzed schools, when we asked him about the contribution of belonging to the different educational networks provided by the German agencies for education abroad, he told us:

> What the PASCH[6] Program allowed us was to insert ourselves in the world. From it we have developed an exchange program with a school in Germany and with a university with which we are making an agreement, but it opened the doors in general. It modernized us.

The General Director of School B, this time in Buenos Aires, also refers to these possibilities:

> We are an Argentine school. We accept everything to be it [he says, referring to the regulations]. But we are a bicultural school. The kids travel to Germany, they stay in family homes and then those kids come here. There are also

of view (Bourdieu, 2000). As is logical, the researcher contributed her analytical tools to the interviews, her training in the analysis of situations and a perhaps global knowledge about the process; knowledge achieved both through the previous study of secondary sources and other interviews. But, once in the relationship, that baggage is only one of the inputs. The interview should be understood as the framework of a joint theoretical elaboration in which there will not necessarily be total agreements or similar advantages; but interpretations that did not exist before the relationship (Saltalamacchia, 1992). The repertoires of the institutional agents interviewed were comprehensively addressed, that is, taking into account the specific contexts within which they are developed. From our perspective, every social actor in narrating a given situation produces it. Regarding our methodological design, we agree with Saltalamacchia when he points out that the individual is "... a place of" knotting "of a determined set of social relations" (1992, p.38), so it is very important to approach the knowledge of the trajectories of the actors as observable of the relational systems in which they are inserted. In this sense, we believe that each unstructured interview can be considered a true testimony of the situation experienced by the interviewee. As Saltalamacchia (1992) argues, by definition, every interviewee is an actor of the narrated events: he lived it and, in his story, he interprets it, both from material or symbolic interests that organized his participation, and by cognitive instrumentalities. Then, the data provided must be evaluated or taken into account, incorporating that construction.

6   The PASCH Program, for its acronym in German which means "The schools, partners of the future", interconnects more than 1800 German schools or with strong presence of the language in the world. The schools that belong to this initiative enjoy several benefits, both for their agents -such as pedagogical training in Germany and in their countries of origin, participation in world congresses-, and student exchanges and volunteer opportunities for the students of the member schools. The PASCH is coordinated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany, which supervises and finances this and other programs related to German education abroad.

German professors [like the General Director himself] and we celebrate the German festivities, for example the Day of German Unity.

Several authors elaborated (Castells, 2000, Urry, & Lash, 1998), based on the changes inherent in the processes of globalization, different analytical tools that allow us to think about space not only in terms of proximity -and territoriality- but in a relational way: space does not exist only because of its materiality, as a co-presence, but also -and mainly- as a cluster of relationships between individuals, groups and institutions that come into contact, not only in concrete or physical terms but also virtually (Beck, & Beck-Gernscheim, 2001; Sassen, 2007). These discourses manage to overcome the dichotomy between the local and the global as global experiences arise from specific local instances, where travel occupies a fundamental role in the definition of being considered and perceived, modern and cosmopolitan schools. Of course, in order to be considered in this way, other dimensions must be added to mobility. However, when we stop at this axis, it is interesting to analyze what dimensions these temporary displacements represent for the institutional proposal. These schools are highlighted by high monthly fees, so it could be said that a large part of the families that send their children there can afford to do so. While this may be true, the truth is that the meaning of travel with family or friends is different from that of educational trips. The institutional group trips acquire nuances that family or leisure do not seem to be able to contemplate and that we will describe next.

The trip as a mode of transmission of "values"

In a document, to which most of the analyzed schools adhere, the educational trips appear as elements of the curricula, on the one hand, but also as tools of transmission of values on the other. In particular, academic-educational trips are proposed as an alternative to the *trips of graduates*, which students take a few months before finishing high school as a closure of their compulsory education.[7] These trips are usually characterized

7 The "graduates' trip" is an end-of-studies or promotion trip, which in Argentina is usually to the Patagonian town of Bariloche, in the province of Río Negro. Since its foundation, the province has been established as a destination for student tourism, especially since the 1950s when it began to receive contingents of young people. This popularity -and tradition- was increased in the seventies when a television program brought together students in a competition of diverse games and the prize

by adventure tourism activities and nocturnal outings with exposure to "alcohol" and other substances that alert schools and parents. A document signed by several of the analyzed schools establishes the concern for trips of this type, and the need to replace them with others that do not expose students to the "excesses" and "consumption" of addictive and toxic substances, as stays in family homes where they would not be present. The proposed and developed option consists of replacing these trips with others that combine learning with recreation and that are carried out as institutional representation. It is not only about visiting and knowing new places, but about doing it as a student of the school institution. This often translates into a dress code, which may even include the use of the uniform during the trip.

Beyond this, the truth is that this institutional representation also supposes a dress code, codes of conduct that would refer to certain values proper to the school -which are previously agreed- and that are requirements to be able to travel. In this sense, educational trips do not only imply a transmission of values through the sites and memorials that are visited, but also a prior agreement of the modes of approach to them. Circulations not only serve to perfect certain knowledge but also to mark the distinction with other social sectors through behavioral expectations: students must demonstrate, the previous months through their participation in organizational meetings that they can make the trip.[8]

The trip as a pedagogical innovation

Secondly, these trips involve the improvement of certain competences (Perrenaud, 2000)[9] complementary to the school day, in particular, although

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for the winning team, consisted in the trip to Bariloche. At present, more than 100 thousand young people per year come to this town to celebrate the end of the educational cycle and although it is true that it continues to be the main destination for this purpose, many students choose others, including international ones, such as Cancun.

8   Although we extend ourselves in this point, it is interesting to highlight the disparity of existing criteria between the schools regarding the previous selection or not of the students who travel. Several of the analyzed schools leave these trips free to the decisions and possibilities of families, while others include in their high fees the costs of travel to promote their universalization. In others, selection criteria related to academic performance continue.

9   Perrenaud (2000), identifies a competence as an ability to act effectively in a defined type of situation, a capacity that is based on knowledge, but is not limited to them. To deal with a situation in the best possible way, we must generally make use of and associate several complementary

not exclusively, when it is a journey linked to the practice of a second language, which is learned at school. According to the principals of the interviewed schools, the experience is key to learning the language. In the words of a Principal, as they are not families linked to the taught second language -in this case German-, exchanges and trips are necessary and enriching:

> They travel there and then come the kids from the school where they were in Germany. Here there are also many teachers from Germany, so German is heard all the time, but it is not the same as being there.

Here circulations are highlighted as a *pedagogical innovation*. The educational trips are promoted and highlighted in the informative and admission meetings -and from the initial level- with the families that wish to send their children to these institutions, as a differential in pedagogical and teaching terms, as opposed to traditional classroom formats. Language - and culture - are lived, walked, enjoyed. In addition to being able to listen to the different native accents and the diverse origins, students can read, speak and listen in a variety of registers, including informal ones - usually absent in school everyday life and textbooks - emphasizing communication language, which leads them to increase the vocabulary. According to this, the trip is an extension of the curriculum: it becomes a mobile classroom that, from an informal environment, deepens and complements what has been done in the "conventional" classes. This extension of the curriculum is not only idiomatic, but also refers to skills and other knowledge related to the "general culture" that define what is an "educated" person and identity (Beech, 2009). According to the Director of International Relations of one of the schools:

> They travel or are starting to come German students here and have contact with another culture. For the past three years, instead of going to Bariloche on a trip of graduates, they go to Europe, [fundamentally to Germany] and they see another society, another culture, they go to the tomb of Bach, to the house of Goethe. In fact, we are the first Argentine school to have visited his home.

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cognitive resources, among which are the knowledge. The latter, in the common sense of the word, are representations of reality, which we have constructed and compiled according to our experience and our training. Almost every action sets in motion certain knowledge, sometimes elementary and disseminated, sometimes complex and organized in networks. The competencies that manifest these actions are not knowledge per se; they use, integrate, mobilize knowledge.

On the other hand, something that an educational trip evidences, is a change in the ways of relationship between teachers and students. Although it is not the only space where these modifications materialize, they do allow to observe in an emblematic way different approach way institutionally delineated.

In these schools, students are prepared to take exams. Elsewhere (Larrondo, & Mayer, 2018), we have referred to how, due to this, the teaching role is transformed to that of a coach who prepares his class to be evaluated by another. In the different interviews with educational agents of the institutions in question, the promotion of a socio-affective link in the teaching role is reported, which, although it focuses on the transmission of contents and development of the curriculum, develops other facets linked to post-traditional formats of the exercise of the role, such as contact through emails and sharing lunches to converse in the second or third language of the institutional curriculum. Ziegler and Nobile (2012), call this process as personalization, as an accompaniment and relatively permanent follow-up that establishes a pedagogical link in favor of schooling, in different ways according to the socioeconomic strata. For the case that occupies us that containment is done to invigorate the young student and empower him. The trips are an opportunity for this, insofar as the teaching role is transformed into a trip coordinator, with whom different moments and situations are shared, such as air travel, meals, visits to places of interest, which are then transform into anecdotes and can strengthen and contribute to personalize the student teaching link, beyond the dynamics of the classrooms and the school.

The trip as an institutional credential

Due to the high tuition of these institutions, it is legitimate to assume that most of the public to these schools can make similar trips by their own means. However, we will argue that the valuation of a trip or educational exchange acquires another relevance in the educational trajectory first and in the professional and professional biography afterwards: the displacements consist of a value in itself (Mayer, & Catalano, 2018). In this sense, the trips act as a kind of certification of "quality" and distinction of the schools. Nogueira (2004b) argues that, on the side of families, these trips are not only to consolidate privileged positions, but also to distinguish them from other social sectors. The same can be said at the institutional level, since

travel acts as an alternative proposal, which although it implies pedagogical innovations, also - and fundamentally - implies the production of agents endowed with a determined social competence, related to the expectations of how to behave in society, derived from specific experiences of international circulation, which both schools and families consider legitimate for their children (Nogueira, 2004a, p.60). These forms of circulation, which are transformed into guarantees of "quality" and distinction, are extended to agreements with universities abroad, where it becomes essential to have a second and third language management. This does not mean that students continue their studies abroad. On the contrary, the authorities of the analyzed schools affirm that, in general, the students who do not come from *nomadic* families (Resnik, 2012) "will not study abroad, but those who are of other nationalities", but these agreements continue the line of quality certification to which we referred above:

> We are now working on an agreement with a university in Germany, which if the students want to study there and do not have enough level, they provide them with leveling courses. And if when they finish, they cannot study there, they come back and they have the highest level of German, which is going to serve them here for their working life.

These same skills are valued for future job placement, since their acquisition is highlighted in the curriculum and in possible job interviews and act as knowledge that will allow them access to better positions. This, in turn, is linked to the particular proposal of cultural diversity promoted by these schools, since through the proposed modes of circulation, certain cultural exchanges are promoted over others.

In their analysis of educational reforms, Beech and Barrenechea (2011) argue that there are discourses -which are later materialized in institutional practices and projects- that can be encompassed as "pro-market education". Although for these authors in Argentina this perspective did not have the same insertion as in other countries of the region due to the dynamics of the actors involved such as the unions, elsewhere (Larrondo, & Mayer, 2018) we have analyzed how the margins of autonomy to which we refer to the beginning of the article allowed the development of these trends in the private management subsystem. With regard to this issue, it is important to point this out, since, although the laws currently in force promote cultural diversity, they do not quite specify what they refer to it. However, it can

be inferred that the diversity to which the regulations refer would be more regionally oriented according to the public policy guidelines from which these laws are based.

In this sense, it is legitimate to assume that the proposals for approaching "other cultures" and the cultural diversity promoted by these institutions, have an *instrumental* sense oriented to the world of corporations and companies, to the detriment of other experiences of contact with the "diverse". Mitchell (2003), argued that, under similar formats, multiculturalism was turning to ways of using culture for economic purposes, hence the instrumental sense to which we referred: exposure to "other cultures" and "intercultural dialogue" that tend to promote these institutions are those valued in the business world (Resnik, 2009).

Here it is pertinent to incorporate the analysis of Beech (2011) regarding the uses of cultural diversity and its resemblance to the concept of sustainable development, which recognizes the shift from a perception of cultural diversity of a more humanistic sense to a more economistic one. In times of uncertainty and individualization (Beck, & Beck-Gernscheim, 2001) processes derived from globalization, diversity is thought in instrumental terms, going hand in hand with discourses and practices related to the economy and the knowledge society.

The cultural diversity that is valued is that which would allow the preservation or improvement of a position, stratifying cultures and looking for a relationship with those identified with instrumental use, to bring students closer to forms of citizenship framed outside national borders, remitting to the currently surrounding concepts of global citizenships (Paz de Abril, 2007). This position assumes that even when necessary, the idea of border limits can generate exclusion and subordination, which must be overcome through premises related to the school's adaptation to the current world, which includes a vision of global and cosmopolitan citizenship, that, although it does not deny the local, tries to amalgamate contents of the national with diverse cultures, valued and worldwide hierarchized, leaving aside those that are not.

The trip as an extension of the local

Throughout the article, we have already given several examples of how the trip works as a mobile classroom space, where institutional objectives

can be expanded, although not in a unique way, while it is privileged. In this sense, to the "values" that these circulations assume to acquire, other aspects that are highlighted are added as an instrument of socialization. The lines above also described the opportunity to establish ties *in* and *from* another place with institutional authorities, but it is also an opportunity for particular socialization among peers.

Students "see the world" so this is expected to spark interest in future travel. The eagerness for new itineraries is usually enhanced when students verify that they can relate to the language, so in addition of being a "test" that certifies the "quality" of the institution, it is also an incentive to continue traveling, which as we developed it in the previous section, it is something valued and desired. Secondly, different teachers in schools state that travel acts as a way of "seeing other cultures" and adapting to new routines, from which attributes such as flexibility, adaptive capacities and tolerance to uncertainty emerge:

> So, it's good that they travel, see other cultures, things that are good and others that are not, that not everything can be planned, or everything can go as planned.

Here we find again, capacities and attributes that are valued positively in the workplace. The aforementioned skills, along with others such as intercultural sensitivity and intuition, are taken into account by teams of national and multinational companies, understanding them as *soft* skills.[10]

The trips involve exposure to other environments, the acquisition of a broad perspective of the world and communication with other nationalities. Here, the domain of a second language plays a double role, of communication with an alternative linguistic community, on the one hand, while it is the gateway to another form of conception and understanding of the world on

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10 Soft skills are the correlate - and complement - of what the business world calls hard skills. While the latter refer to the specific skills that a person is acquiring throughout their education and work, as specific skills of their field of dialogue and development, and are translated into qualifications and accredited knowledge, soft skills refer to those who serve to put into practice what has been learned: not only are they related to formal education, but also to non-creditable knowledge, which is learned in different areas of life. Here we highlight certain attitudes and "values" that are expected to be put into practice in everyday work. Among the skills of this most valued group, are the ability to work in groups and communication skills, hence we rescue the importance of travel in strengthening both, but especially in the second.

the other. Therefore, much of the multicultural proposal of these schools refers to communication skills for transnational interaction, seeing cultural diversity as the engine that generates cooperation and collaboration between people (Resnik, 2009). This would be consistent with the plans of the international agencies, on the one hand, but also with the projects of each school, which hold that the modern and 21st century world presents new global challenges, and that diverse knowledge tools are necessary to connect with "others". Thus, the Working Community of Argentine-German Schools (AGDS, for its acronym in German), states: "At school he learned German, English as well. But most important, he learned that his education has no borders" (AGDS, 2006).

This implies the awareness that the world is bigger than the community in which one lives, but at the same time the idea that the world is a handkerchief and that, beyond the differences, students can recognize themselves in their Foreign peers. Thus, a common goal in these schools seems to be to understand the other in their similarities and differences, and to perceive themselves as a "responsible member of their community and a global citizen" (Bhavnani, 2013, p.4). Here the concept of *global mentality* takes a fundamental place (Doherty, Luke, Shield, & Hincksman, 2012) which is set as an explicit objective of the institutional projects and international education programs in which schools are inserted, which support that this opening is necessary for the new generations and citizens of the 21st century (Bhavnani, 2013). Under this concept, it is understood the need of people who perceive that their perspective of the world is not the only one, and that they can exchange views and references of the world with others, so the learning of second and third languages occupies an essential place to engage the communication. In this framework, travel is an essential element to enable experiences in different ways of being and organize social life. In this last point, a remarkable axis in the global mentality is associated with social problems that do not have "borders". There, socio-environmental issues emerge. Again, travel is not the only way to inculcate sustainable practices and habits, but to see them in operation. As one teacher says: "there [he says referring to Europe] the streets are clean. Now at school, waste began to be separated in the way it is done there: there are three trash cans here."

Among many of its aspects, the global mentality is associated with problems and issues which have no borders and where the environmental issue occupies a fundamental place: the idea of being a global citizen

concerned about cross-border issues materializes, in an emblematic way, around axes related to the environment. Following what the professor says, but also from the observations made in the analyzed schools, this is not only about replicating practices - in this case recycling - of the Western countries, but also looking for channels that allow collaboration in the sustainability of the world. The narrative of the "example" of the advanced countries appears not only as an emulation of their practices, but also as a consideration of global problems that go beyond the border limits, but that have an impact and a local dimension.

Shrinking distances (and increase others)

Throughout the article, we have analyzed the ways in which travel tries to generate an approach between societies for future exchanges, as well as the transfer of policies, practices and discourses (Ball, 2012). At this point is where more differences are found among the projects related to solidarity travel or volunteering, that we described at the beginning of the article, and educational trips. The trips of the second type - educational and academic - promote the encounter with the other and a learning through the societies that are visited. As we saw in several of the mentioned fragments, the proposed learning is reciprocal or mutual, since they know peers (students) abroad with whom they live or perform different types of activities and local youth can realize that they have a lot in common with others from different latitudes (Mayer, 2009). In turn, in many interviews emerges the idea that you can learn from these societies. This was stated by the Director of International Relations of one of the schools in an event in which the students of the last year of high school told and detailed their experience to the rest of the students:

> Europeans have better habits: they do not peck food all day, they drink water instead of soda, they do not throw paper on the floor, they are things that are learned. Not only is perfecting and practicing the language after so many years of effort. It is not the same to go to Bariloche [on a trip of graduates] than to Europe: there you learn.

While this "other" appears as a desirable subject with whom to share experiences, moments and even accommodation, other population sectors

appear, but in another key: as subjects to whom we visit, attend, or include them and in this case, so that they learn from the institution:

> We have the Solidarity Action Program since long before being an IB school, which requires this type of activities. What allowed us to incorporate it into the CAS[11] is to give it more shape. Not only go to the Formosa school once a year, but also add hours that students must meet in neighborhood institutions [where the school is located].

> The fourth-year boys have been going to a rural school for a long time: they paint, prepare and do other kinds of tasks. It also helps them to see everything they have. That has been done for a long time and it is not questioned. On the contrary, the boys hope to reach the fourth year to do it.

Regarding solidarity actions and trips, we can highlight them with "altruistic" actions that arise in parallel with the deepening inequalities of the last decades, particularly from the shift of the Welfare State and the intensification of forms of exclusion present in the national reality (Mayer, 2009).

As Tiramonti and Ziegler (2008, pp. 124 and 125) argue, unlike the beneficent actions of wealthy women of the first half of the 20th century, the asymmetries in social relations resulted in a sustained growth of inequalities, the deepening of exclusion and poverty, which resulted in new patterns of socialization for the higher sectors. In this framework, private solidarity is exalted, as a virtue of the moral conscience of each individual. In this way, regardless of the ideological frames of the institutions, while the "others" with whom it is socialized in the trips belonging to the second type are seen as peers or as part of a society from which one can learn, the sense of solidarity travel and/or volunteering acquires other meanings.

In the first place, they are highlighted from poverty, since the help and presence are in function of their unmet needs. Then, the visits, although they are as or more sporadic than the trips of the second subgroup, have as their purpose the help on the one hand, but also to contrast the existing positions on their differences, on the other. As mentioned in the fragments of the interviews, these trips and visits contribute to young people being aware that

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11 CAS refers to the service-learning area that must be developed as an IB school. The acronym means Creativity, Action and Service and supposes the solidarity activities that the students of the schools that belong to the IB world must develop, to then add points -credit- that are also taken into account for Issue the Diploma Program (Billig, 2013).

not everyone "has what they have", to "see other realities" and get a reward for the performed task. This gratification is reciprocal, since it supposes the appreciation for the help, but also the one of having helped and instilling, in the students, the private solidarity ethos to which we referred above.

However, while in educational and/or academic trips, a main objective is to strengthen links in the future, here what is invigorated is an ephemeral present of exchanges, but then social positions are restored. The visit to these enclaves allows to reinforce the identity and own position with social responsibility. In this sense, the documents of the IBO refer to the conformation of future leaders, aware of their privileges and their privileged education with the obligation to help the most destitute and to build this participation as a way of life (Billig, 2013). In this sense, the development of the global mentality also implies a tradition of moral universalism, which supposes universal rights and values and a morality that expands beyond national cases, with the individual as a "responsible" agent (Appiah, 2006; Doherty *et al.,* 2015). It fuses then, the processes tending to the internationalization and cosmopolitanism with an active citizen, occupied and worried, as much by global, as by local issues.

Conclusions: the place of travel in the accumulation of advantages

In our article, we have analyzed several of the dimensions by which in our opinion, travel is a growing trend in educational institutions, particularly those related to wealthy sectors that try to preserve and secure their privileged positions, or to position themselves in such sense. As already stated in other studies (Larrondo, & Mayer, 2018, pp. 11-21), in times when inequalities multiply and interact and where degrees of uncertainty prevail regarding the future, education occupies a fundamental place in the struggle -symbolic- to establish positions and advantages. Just as literature (Castel, 1997, Sen, 2000) has shown the process of accumulation of disadvantages, as one of accumulation of unfavorable situations, this phenomenon has its counterpart in the *accumulation of advantages*, as strategies developed by agents - and the institutions- to secure such positions. Here the connection between education, youth and social inequality is fundamental, since the cumulative process of advantages is based on the concept itself: on previous advantages. As Esping

Andersen (2002) argued, this combination of events, situations, experiences and processes, to the extent that the welfare conditions of a given moment presuppose previous ones and enable future ones, collaborates in the accumulation of favorable positions, allows the accumulation of goods and services desired and/or necessary, among which are the socially significant relationships. Within this framework is that the schools, through their institutional projects, try, in a sustained and growing way, to cover these areas and the trips, from the dimensions analyzed above, occupy a central role. These modes of circulation act on previous advantages, such as a varied or expanded curriculum, which then permeates other privileges, by enabling new connections and experiences, which are capitalized both materially and symbolically.

While the studied schools make trips that we have divided into two large groups, the solidarity and volunteering on the one hand and academic-educational on the other, the truth is that our analysis shows different institutional inclinations among these large groups. Beyond the nuances that can be established, the truth is that the displacements oriented to the first group are related from the "help", service ethic, what in other areas can be understood as social responsibility, while in the second group, prime, in several aspects the relational and learning. While these trips try to be bridges to other cultures and ways of perceiving the world, it is important to highlight the distinction they make depending on the choice of these, either in geographical terms (of the places to visit), or social, in relation with whom to share them. What this type of trips repeatedly tends to generate are processes of accretions of the previous positions: while they intend to increase contacts with the "diverse", to the extent that these trips start from several previous socio-economic filters, reinforce the restrictions that, from the beginning, have on diversity, anchored in the school selection criteria, sustained by high tuition fees. These trips reinforce the idea of globalization as a union between divergent points and a space of flows (Castells, 2000) that, although it unites, leaves vast sectors of local populations outside or at least contributes to establishing new -and deep-stratifications.

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Analysis of the trip as one of the transforming axes of the educational process

Análisis del viaje como uno de los ejes transformadores del proceso educativo

Raising people's awareness is the way to humanize the world Travel and Learn!
Óscar Pérez (Founder of Pola Social).

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Abstract

The association of the term "trip" to words such as amusement, erudition, journey, leisure, vacation…, being added in recent years to the entry of concepts as important as interculturality or social responsibility and new ways of sharing hobbies, ideas and sensations, provoke that this locution of a qualitative leap and broadened its meaning, including in the educational field (Aguerrondo, 2008).

The broad conception of tourism, as understood in our Western Europe, is born from the postwar World War II, accelerating its development from the 1960s (Salgueiro, 2002), although we have dates that between the end of the century 16th and the 17th-18th centuries there was a key approach: the use of the trip to train wealthy university students of basically private schools, who for one or two years embarked on the Mediterranean adventure to learn about the origins of Western European culture, located in Italy and Greece. This travel paradigm was called "The Grand Tour" (Katharina-Lau, 2012).

The present work makes an approximation to how the trip can be one of the transforming axes of the educational process, applying processes of proactivity and interaction that allow a better formation to the student for his later entry to the working world.

The methodology used has an exploratory character with a systematized analysis of multiple and varied scientific publications, which allow to support a constructive future on the educational journey.

Keywords

Education, trip, tourism, professional, learning, crocreation.

Resumen

La asociación del término "viaje" a vocablos como divertimento, erudición, periplo, ocio, vacación…, siendo añadido en estos últimos años a la entrada de conceptos tan importantes como interculturalidad o responsabilidad social y a nuevas formas de compartir aficiones, ideas y sensaciones, provocan que dicha locución de un salto cualitativo y amplié su significado, incluyéndola en el ámbito educativo (Aguerrondo, 2008).

La concepción amplia de turismo, entendida en nuestra Europa Occidental, nace a partir del periodo de la postguerra de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, acelerando su desarrollo a partir de los años sesenta (Salgueiro, 2002), si bien tenemos dataciones de que entre finales del siglo XVI y los siglos XVII-XVIII se produjo un planteamiento clave: el uso del viaje para formar a jóvenes universitarios adinerados de escuelas básicamente privadas, que durante uno o dos años, se embarcaban en la aventura mediterránea para conocer los orígenes de la cultura occidental europea, situados en Italia y Grecia. Este paradigma de viaje fue denominado "el Grand Tour" (Katharina-Lau, 2012).

El presente trabajo hace una aproximación a cómo el viaje puede ser uno de los ejes transformadores del proceso educativo, aplicando procesos de proactividad e interacción que permitan una mejor formación al estudiante para su posterior entrada al mundo laboral.

La metodología empleada es exploratoria con un análisis sistematizado de múltiples y variadas publicaciones científicas, que permitan sustentar un futuro constructo sobre el viaje educativo.

Palabras clave

Educación, viaje, turismo, profesional, aprendizaje, cocreación.

Introduction

In our wide human trajectory, many and varied have been the forms of movement of man, both short and long distance. In the case of Western Europe, the evolutionary history of the trip itself has gone through different phases and conceptions (Moreno Garrido, 2012).

If we are transported to classical antiquity (Greeks and Romans), travel did not occur solely for reasons of survival, trade or power, but there were other origins that enabled movement for a specific period of time, groups of people with some fixed needs. So, among the main motivations that we can list are: leisure with the Olympics, religion with the festivals dedicated to the gods and finally the learning of new theories of both social and scientific subjects, which prompted the trips to meet the great of humanistic thought and learn from them. It was, precisely, this last reason that gave the trip a new meaning, understanding it as an instrument that allowed to reach the places where knowledge was imparted (Cloe-Sampaio, 2004). Although, in those moments, it had not yet been reached the case that the trip itself was the axis of the educational process.

In the Middle Ages, the journeys based on faith were maintained, so pilgrimages or holy wars were key elements in the movement of certain social communities or individuals. Thus one of the privileged classes, such as the ecclesiastical one, had the capacity to travel to learn, although the trip did was not understand itself as a tool for learning, but it did serve as an instrument to reach the places where there was the possibility of training, even if it was restrictive (Jafari, 1992), we also find the figure of the *compagnon*, an apprentice who, in order to practice the profession in the builders' guilds (García-Vergara, & Ortega-Sanz, 2011), had to travel various places studying the cathedrals and other relevant buildings, an aspect that entails the beginning of a training trip to visit different cities.

With the advent of the modern stage, which we can establish between the beginning of the 15th century at the end of the 17th century, a time considered to be that of the Scientific Revolution, we could assume that the conception of travel as a generator of learning could acquire a new meaning - but despite the entry of new ideas, knowledge and symbols, the trip continued to be seen as a form of transfer to reach a destination, and not as an end in itself and, in this case as an educational trip (Moreno Garrido, 2012).

And the generation of a new conception of the world of travel intertwined with the world of education will not occur until the beginning of

the twentieth century. The change is provided in Great Britain, where public education began to gain popularity and where group learning was beginning to be considered a highly positive factor against the private tutoring that had prevailed until then (Katharina-Lau, 2012). It was no longer just an approach on how to learn, but how to do it. Thus, and thanks to the discoveries of the Italian archaeological complexes of Pompeii and Hercolano (like main centers), to study abroad next to other companions began to acquire a force that in previous periods it had not had and where the trip itself also generated learning (Jafari, 1992). This trip was known as an initiatory journey, calling it the *Grand Tour* (Salgueiro, 2002) and it became an active and experiential form of knowledge.

The Grand Tour, therefore, can be understood as a youthful, initiatory journey that will extend over time to different areas of the academic and where the trip itself will be part of learning for this segment of the population (young people), being considered - besides- by some authors, such as Suárez Huerta, an initiatory journey to acquire "a cultural background that is fundamental for his personal and professional development" (Suárez-Huerta, 2011, p 256). At this moment, exactly when the idea of travel as a training element will begin to not seem strange and will eventually become, for certain social classes, something habitual.

If initially the Grand Tour included, part of France, Paris, Italy, Florence, Rome, Naples and part of Switzerland, from the nineteenth century, a new country will become part of this concept of educational trip: Greece, and with it, the humanistic umbrella that shaped the classics was completed.

In short, this tourist product; let's call it that way with these terms, since it included various elements that, at present, we understand as tourist offer, such as accommodation, transport, heritage resources, and some complementary services such as guides; pretended that the young students obtain an experience related to their continuous academic training, over two years and with a tutor who was not only their teacher but also their guide, in this way we are facing the realization of a trip with learning adapted to the needs of pupils (López-Martínez, 2015).

The explosion in the Industrial Revolution of steam engines, both by land and sea, the construction of new road infrastructures, universal exhibitions, the exploration of new territories, among other elements, gave rise to a new perspective on the concept of travel (Barrow, 2008). First, it was extended to other social classes for which, until then, it was unthinkable to travel, and

second, the trip ceased to have that educational concept of the upper classes going to find a new meaning, it basically leisure and entertainment, as well as the consideration of the tourism industry as an economic activity after 1911. (Scutariu, 2009).

In the twentieth century and, more specifically, between the 50s and the 80s, tourism had a characteristic far removed from what could be understood as an educational trip, given that the motivations of demand were basically those of leisure and entertainment, appearing what is known as mass tourism, even if it is a term, as Bertram points out, "problematic" (Bertram, 2002).

Traveling, therefore, is part of our personal and worldly baggage (Salgueiro, 2002) and allows broadening horizons, in a clear sense of learning, if the traveler underlies a discoverer, observer, thinker or reflexive character it will be the signal in which the trip is achieving not only that ludic part but cognitive one as well. We must not forget, on the other hand, that as it is contemplated by the UNWTO in its article 7.2, tourism, where the inherent and primordial element will be travel as an experiential, memorable axis (Coelho, Gosling and Almeida, 2018), that not only meets certain needs but has become part of the rights that citizens have (UNWTO, 1999), becoming an important phenomenon for countries at economic, cultural and social levels, where a segment of its tertiary or quaternary sectors exploits the central elements of production and consumption.

The educational trip

When we talk about tourism, the axis will be travel and this is what allows us to break with the daily routine, discover new places, meet people, open our minds, stimulate our senses and in some cases make it a way of learning more (Barrow, 2008) to which we can add traditional models and virtual models, which is not always easy or evident (Ferrés, 2008). We can travel alone or accompanied; in high, medium or low season; near or far from home; for completely different reasons such as enjoying "dark tourism" (Séraphin, 2017); the sun and beach; the extreme trip or the adventure, among others. But, in short, the trip allows us to escape for a few days from the closest reality and scape or dream with elements that mark the different traveling motivations. But what if the trip was not an escape route but a learning tool as it had been in previous and disparate times? It

would probably give us the ability to try a set of experiences that we would not have considered, possibly at the beginning of this (Sperano, Roberge, Bénech, Trgalova, & Andruchow, 2019).

The first condition for the trip to be an educational trip is for the traveler to have a positive attitude, an open mind and to accept that the trip will bring knowledge, so it is advisable that before starting an educational trip there is adequate and analogous planning (García-Vergara, & Ortega-Sanz, 2011). The second condition is that there is a clear will to improve, an educational trip is of no use if the traveler who is going to do it believes and thinks that his learning has already closed the corresponding cycle. Therefore, we have that the idea of experience wrapped in a certain pragmatism where necessarily there is a relationship between being able to do, experiment and learn. In other words, you learn while the trip is made (Larrosa, 2011).

With all the aforementioned premises, it is necessary to consider the journey from two perspectives that a priori may seem very different, but that have elements that are common (Mandelli, & La Rocca, 2014). In the objective that occupies us culturize, educate and travel are three verbs that make up the fundamentals of travel as a tool for change in the educational process. So, we cannot break from one of them without breaking the fragile balance that they maintain, since we are establishing that the trip will be our transforming axis. The perspectives analyzed in this article are: the tourism perspective and the educational perspective.

The tourism perspective

The educational trip would be in a phase considered larval, as we have seen, although there is a set of tourist sub-typologies that include educational parts, in most cases, the trip continues being an instrument to start and reach a determined point, while we perform in a closed space, an apprenticeship (García-Vergara, & Ortega-Sanz, 2011). In fact, what is transferred is a concept of physical space where a series of established teaching hours are taught, although we believe that in educational trips there would be an added value, which is the use that people who demand this product can make at tourism level, since it is reliable the transfer to the chosen place, the realization of expenses and the outline of an experience with a product, a system or a service, through the travel maps (Kalbach, 2016).

But, evidently, the educational trip can be analyzed from a prism of production, with its results being the following:

- Some authors, such as Pawlowska, Martínez-Roget and Pereira-López, talk about academic tourism to describe those trips that students from specific universities make to other universities with the aim of continuing their learning in another educational center with a different sociocultural perspective. In the European case, these academic trips are mostly supported by the European Union (EU), through different programs, the best known being the Erasmus program, which was awarded a few years ago with the Prince of Asturias Award in recognition of its work for its development of Europe-, where students and teachers can access it. In this case the perspective of the trip is finalist, and not during the trip or is the trip itself considered (Pawlowska, 2011), (Martínez-Roget, Pereira-López, & Pawlowska, 2013).
- For their part, authors such as Marrero-Rodríguez, Abdul-Jalbar, Orduna and Urpí point out that cultural tourism can be understood as educational tourism due to the motivation of tourism demand, as well as the patrimonial resources they access, even if, at the same time, they are on business and leisure (Marrero-Rodríguez, & Abdul-Jalbar, 2012). In this case, the ludic activity that is the trip becomes an activity that allows the growth of each one of the travelers and, that helps to forge their personality through the experiences which the trip represent (Orduna, & Urpí, 2010).
- A work of researchers from Russian universities points out that there is a series of educational technologies implemented by Dr. Shogan and Dr. Storozhakova as a factor of axiological development of the personality of students in the context of spiritual and moral education in the field of tourism (Frolova, Polenova, Khoruzhiy, & Budaev, 2018), in which the experience of developing the project of "contemplative trip to the city of St. Petersburg" is presented, applying the above methods in excursion activities.
- If we look for specialization in educational tourism, we find what is known as idiomatic tourism, a typology that shows a double way of proceeding, on the one hand, learning a language while tourism is being done in a city, cases of students who end of course trip

or passing through a specific territory decide to take advantage of all cultural activities to practice and keep learning a language, or those people who come to our country to learn Spanish as a foreign language and at the same time take the opportunity to know the tourist resources of the area. But their learning is in a specific scholastic space and not in the fact of the visit, properly speaking. One of the best-known offers for this second way of proceeding are the Spanish as a Foreign Language courses, known as ELE, this being one of the most common forms of demand with an offer that goes beyond the 600 educational centers throughout Spain (Piédrola-Ortiz, & Artacho-Ruiz, 2011).

The educational perspective

One of the authors who has researched the relationship between culture and pedagogy is Trilla, which points out how cultural spaces can be educational and vice versa:

> All institutions called educational are, by the very fact of being, cultural institutions; and the same in reverse. If anything, the difference between one and the other is only a difference of emphasis: educational institutions put the accent on the transmission or acquisition of culture, while the cultural denominations put it in the conservation (material), creation and use of culture. But that is only a difference of emphasis, since in educational institutions, in addition to transmission, there is also elaboration and use of culture. And, on the other hand, no one will deny that in cultural institutions there is also transmission and learning. In short, the ones are fixed more in certain moments of the cultural process and the others in others, but the object with which both work is just the same (Trilla, 2000, pp. 135-136).

In the new trends of learning methodologies in the European sphere, new forms have been introduced in the last twenty years, as well as new attempts to approach the needs that both the professional world and the educational world require. The crisis of traditional teaching models shows the speed of changes in a world that is becoming more global and that as Aguerrondo points out, "since the beginning of the 20th century, science began to stop being an observation of the world and information to become the creation of the world" (2008, p.2).

As a consequence of these changes, a new educational formulation is produced, where producing and conceiving knowledge can be done not only inside the classroom but outside of it (García-Vergara, & Ortega-Sanz, 2011). This is how, in a certain way, the Grand Tour paradigm recovers, where tourism can help the traveler, whether student or not, to develop new ways, not only of learning, but also of acquiring skills that allow easier access to the job market. Obviously, a physical educational trip is advocated (Horey, Nicolacopoulos, Kashima, & Mathisen, 2018), that is, where the transfer of the subject is necessary and not only to be there, but to actively involve him/her through proactive actions and with direct contact with the agents involved (López-Martínez, 2015).

The ease with which today you can travel, both physically and virtually, has revolutionized the human being and with it, the formative aspects that accompany him in a total or partial way throughout the different processes through which he passes his Lifecycle.

So, to consider possible future classrooms in this 21st century that allow not only a theoretical but practical knowledge can be a potentially realizable idea, through -on one side- all the tools that the internet allows us to do, and - on the other hand - the different tourist destinations, making the trip to them, understood in a global and seamless way. In other words, the trip is part of the educational process, which is understood as the learning tool and not as a mere vehicle that simply transfers you to a tourist destination (Henao-Álvarez, 1993).

One of these cases is reflected in the communication presented in UNIVEST11 by professors Marisa García and Yolanda Ortega of the University of Girona, which during the 2010-2011 academic year they mark the subject "Contemporary Architectures" (optional) linked to an experience outside of the classroom, which is a study trip to the city of Berlin, recovering the trip as an activity that facilitates learning in a cooperative way, through all the planning and realization of the trip combined with the study of the city and a selection analysis of its architectural works, these last activities carried out in the classroom. This experience poses a teaching based on the active construction of knowledge; self-management in the form of learning on the part of students and among students, since we must achieve shared objectives and work as a team; "Taking into account that these educational experiences represent a type of highly formative pedagogical activity for students", recommending the creation of networks for creative and university

cooperative training and activities based on the search, creation and use of these tools and resources (García- Vergara, & Ortega-Sanz, 2011).

Another case is the story that Julen Iturbe-Ormaetxe tells us about the wonderful experience of solo travel around the world and recorded in three books, Salva Rodriguez -professor of institute and traveler- stating that "the trip is a huge source of learning and these three books with good material to learn: Of the people, of the world, of humanity "and of the experience that is carried out by teachers and students in the LEINN degree of the University of Mondragón, in which" travel is used as one of the main stimuli of learning" (Iturbe-Ormaetxe Zamarripa, 2015).

Since the end of the 20th century, new didactic methodologies have allowed constant changes and advances, which allows us to affirm that the student is, in the 21st century, a potential active subject of learning. In addition, when the verb to teach is mentioned, it can be pointed out that this implies having experiences and organizing them so that the student can make the necessary constructions in their training models. The trip, therefore, can become one of the many ways of learning, where one can develop part of the skills required of students (Aguerrondo, 2008).

Therefore, closer ties between educational systems and educational or academic trips could become a need that not for peremptory, could not always be easily resolved. One of the possibilities is that the trip could be based on a model based on connected, interactive, social and ubiquitous components, with special emphasis on the expectations and specific needs of all the agents involved, where existing skills and personality allow to assume or reinforce new competences. In this way, it is intended that the student ceases to be a passive subject to become an active subject who seeks in the different actions that a trip can allow, can achieve the satisfaction of their learning needs and can make known the needs of the agents involved (Lévy-Leboyer, 2000). The most important part is to be able to achieve an experience of a global nature such as that of learning, where each of the elements in use can reinforce the potential of what we have been calling an educational trip. As Cantero points out, "the relationship between tourism and cooperation for development is called to propose new scenarios in which tourism collaborates with the objective of human development in the world" (Cantero-Medina R., 2012).

To do this, an educational trip will ask the traveler-adventurer, bohemian, wanderer, student, hiker, explorer, navigator, nomad, pilgrim, globetrotter, tourist, user, - of this, who has a systemic thinking, where the observation

of the objects will have to be carried out as if we were dealing with complex phenomena. Consequently, this type of travel will have to be given a new approach that allows the possibility of seeing a complex reality in its interrelations and various elements (Argudin, 2006). So that in the preparation of an educational trip it will not be enough to visit certain destinations, but to know why they are visited, what they involve in learning, if they are looking for objectives that allow to obtain the bases for a critical thought and if they allow a work in team. In short, an educational trip must have the ability to develop a set of skills aimed at personal and professional improvements.

At this moment it is suggestive to comment on the use of applications based on interactive and augmented reality to present the concept in higher education institutions from a pedagogical and technological approach in order to prepare new students for their educational trip (Nguyen, Muilu, Dirin, & Alamäki, 2018) or the introduction of tools such as travel maps, which are graphic and textual representations - visualization instruments - that aim to outline an experience over time with a product, a system or a service (Kalbach, 2016), which will help us as an anticipatory and collaborative design method to support the creation of pedagogical activities to be used by teachers and as a method of planning prospective and retrospective projects for academics (Sperano, Roberge, Bénech, Trgalova, & Andruchow, 2019) or the implementation of community development programs, methodology or educational trips to promulgate the concept of global citizenship in the development of the curricula of higher education students (Horey, Nicolacopoulos, Kashima, & Mathisen, 2018).

Finally, at present, talking about basic and specific competences that can place students in line with their best professional and personal development is not alien to either of these areas (De Miguel-Díaz, 2006) and therefore, there are that take advantage of the opportunities that a trip can offer them for their full growth, understanding that travel can be one of the integral tools of the considered new pedagogies and, therefore, for present and future, one of the transforming axes of the educational process.

Conclusions, reflections and challenges

Man, intrinsically speaking, has always felt and feels the need to socialize and travel, evidently the motivations have varied over time. Many are the

ways to understand and name tourism typologies, although in this study we have focused on educational tourism, which has been proposed as a new challenge, where one can rescue certain ideas from the past to be able to apply them with all technologies in the present, where globalization can make us lose certain aspects of the different idiosyncrasies that a trip is intended to know. Therefore, in this study we have tried to start a reflection from the two perspectives that unite research: travel and education, but at the same time, we are aware that there are many unresolved issues and we could even dare to say, even unexplored. Nevertheless, some preliminary conclusions can be drawn that may help in the future to follow this investigation. Among the conclusions we highlight:

- The existing dispersion in the subject matter of this research, without, at the moment, being an in-depth analysis that can provide a new conceptualization and methodology and be included in both the tourism and educational fields.
- The difficulty of providing guidelines and tourism-educational products appropriate to the reality of each of the trips that can take the conception of educational trips.
- The need to understand that, in a learning process, travel can open new challenges for the development of certain skills such as critical thinking, teamwork or acquired knowledge.
- The unknown about the ways of showing the idea that a tourist trip can be a tool that can bring added value to the educational world, if tourism is increasingly seen as an economistic sector and not as a humanist sector, where sometimes consumerism is encouraged more than its cultural, patrimonial and social character.
- The recovery of the meanings of the educational trips of the past from tourism and new educational methodologies, in which their contents are updated, that is, in part there is a co-creation and involvement of the student in the subject itself, not only for it to be attractive but so that they have a contribution in the own education of travelers-students, without they having the awareness that it is only an indoctrination, since they are participants and creators of the magnitude of knowledge, that is transferred in infinity of contexts and living spaces.

- The search for tools with the pretension that all involved agents consider the concept of educational travel from the fundamental essence of it, and not only as a useful instrument of transfer and arrival to a destination to perform an academic process in situ, leaving aside the trip itself.
- The need to promote learning in mobility, that is, the acquisition of knowledge can and should occur anywhere, thanks to the impact it has in our world, the so-called expanded education, which should be used among other elements axial and transformers, the concept of travel, in its wide significance.

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Travel in the european public sphere.
The case of the Erasmus Programme

El viaje en la esfera pública europea.
El caso del Programa Erasmus

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Abstract

The article combines the travel experience, the construction of identity and the European public sphere through the Erasmus Programme. The topic is interesting and original in order to know how the different variables interrelate in this vital experience. The study describes the attitudes and perceptions of Spanish students about the construction of their own European identity and the common public sphere under a comparative approach between those who have participated in the Erasmus Programme and those who have not. The core of the analysis is the data obtained through a closed questionnaire applied to a sample made up of students and university graduates from different Spanish universities. Thus, the article characterizes the results obtained in the whole of the sample and, subsequently, it offers an analysis of the subgroups of participants and non-participants in the Erasmus Programme. The article concludes that the Spanish university students, regardless of their participation in the Erasmus Programme, are global citizens inserted in a transnational public sphere, who frequently show interest in European news. However, the perceptions of the participants are more positive towards European feelings. They show more interest in the European Union, as well as more confidence in the European institutions. In contrast, Erasmus students tend to be more critical in other aspects.

Keywords

Public opinion, European Union, travel, identity, political attitude, university student.

Resumen

El artículo aúna el viaje, la identidad y la esfera pública europea a través de la experiencia que ofrece el Programa Erasmus para los universitarios de la Unión Europea, lo que resulta de interés y novedoso para conocer de qué manera se interrelacionan los distintos conceptos en esta experiencia vital. Bajo un enfoque comparativo se describen las actitudes y percepciones de estudiantes españoles que han realizado un Erasmus y aquellos que no lo han hecho acerca del programa, de la construcción de la propia identidad europea y de la esfera pública común. El núcleo del análisis lo constituyen los datos obtenidos a través de cuestionario cerrado aplicado a una muestra de estudio formada por estudiantes y egresados universitarios de distintas universidades españolas. Así, se caracterizan los resultados obtenidos en el conjunto de la muestra y, posteriormente, dividiendo la muestra en los subgrupos de participantes y no participantes en el Programa Erasmus. De los datos recolectados se concluye que los jóvenes universitarios españoles que forman la muestra de estudio, independientemente de su participación en el Programa Erasmus, son ciudadanos globales insertos en la esfera pública. Ahora bien, en las percepciones de los estudiantes Erasmus se reconoce una influencia positiva sobre el sentimiento europeo y el interés por la Unión Europea, así como por la confianza en las instituciones europeas. En cambio, los Erasmus tienden a ser más críticos en otros aspectos.

Palabras clave

Opinión pública, Unión Europea, viaje, identidad, actitud política, estudiante universitario.

Introduction and state of the issue

Travel has been a key element in the development of societies throughout history. From the migrations of the first hominids to the configuration of the globalized world, humanity has used travel as a fundamental piece to configure its worldview and personality. Currently, the different identities are traversed to a greater or lesser extent by the travel experience, whether in the form of migration, tourism or discovery.

The current globalized society - globalization understood as a phenomenon that exceeds the definitions offered by the European Commission (2002) and the World Bank (2002), which see the phenomenon as a trend towards greater integration and interdependence between countries and regions of the planet and as the fact that the economic activities that have grown fastest are those that take place between the countries, respectively- have travel as a capital element. Following the definition of globalization proposed by Held

and McGrew (2000), global integration is outside the economic sphere, since it refers to the set of interrelated processes that operate in the primary domains of social, political and cultural power. If the latter is admitted, globalization goes beyond the exchange of goods, capital and services and promotes a global culture, sponsored by planetary media.

The industrialization of Western societies allowed the development of increasingly efficient means of communication and transport. It became possible the rapid and economic transfer of a large quantity of merchandise, but also of human beings. This supposed the beginning of a new mentality, to which the newspapers first contributed, at the beginning of the 20th century, and the radio from the forties onwards. Later, in the welfare societies, television exerted a great influence on the configuration of lifestyles, in which tourism began to popularize. Thus, we arrived to the era of the internet and the information society and, with them, a kind of global subject. This process influences the configuration of personal and social identities, as well as the existence of a globalized public sphere.

For García (2016), the contemporary dalliance of personal identity makes us experience a way of life that oscillates from ascriptive to elective links, which transforms the sense of personal identity. As understood by Castells (1999):

> Identity, in sociological terms, is the process by which social actors construct the meaning of their action by attending to a cultural attribute (or articulated set of cultural attributes) that is given priority over other possible sources of meaning of action. There may be several identities in an individual, but such a plurality is always a source of tension. (p.7)

On a world of identities insists Touraine (1998), considering that, in reality, globalization does not exist, but rather it is an ideological construction. The tension of contemporary society between the global and the local questions what kind of identity is being forged. According to Bolívar (2001), the tension between the network society and the identity self-us, between civic values and cultural differences, must be explored.

Starting from the premise of the existence of the globalized citizen, that is, the person who enjoys the status of a citizen of a State that empowers him to exercise his duties and rights, but which is inserted in the global information society, infers the existence of a public sphere that also crosses the boundaries of the nation-state. The concept of public sphere is understood

as the place of social life in which public opinion can be created, with guaranteed access to all citizens (Habermas, Lennox, & Lennox, 1974). The global village (McLuhan, 1962) and the global public sphere (Habermas, 1962) begin to be part of the daily life of the middle class as technology advances. The western world is increasingly connected and, in particular, European integration forms a common space in which there are more than 500 million people.

The specificity of the European Union (EU). Towards the common public sphere

In Europe, the Treaty of Rome (1957) initiated the European Economic Community. Transformed into the European Union, the project has continued to this day. It is precisely here where Habermas (1962) locates the origin of the public sphere, in the European bourgeoisie of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and defines it as a place of debate and discussion that is transformed with the arrival of the mass media in the twentieth century. In recent years, the European Commission has promoted measures to prioritize the specifically European public sphere, such as the *Plan D initiatives for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate (CEC, 2005)* and *White Paper on a European Communication Policy* (CEC, 2006). It is understood that the existence of a public sphere is important as a precondition for the realization of popular sovereignty, since it allows the opinion of everyone without limitations (Eriksen, 2004).

In fact, following Calhoun (2003), the public sphere facilitates collective choice and allows the production, reproduction and transformation of the social imaginary, as well as being a means of social integration, a form of social solidarity and an arena for debate. The question is whether the public sphere can be established beyond the borders of the nation-state (Bellamy, & Castiglione, 2001, Calhoum, 2003, Eriksen, & Fossum, 2002), since the general consensus is that National spheres cannot be transposed at European level (Castells, 1997). However, for Bee and Bozzini (2010), the European environment in Brussels leads to the real establishment of a transnational public sphere.

There is an open debate about the existence of a European public sphere, about who shapes it and how it develops. Contrary to the European

public sphere deficit hypothesis, Koopmans and Erbe (2004) proved that the German media reflected the Europeanization of policy-making. On the other hand, Koopmans (2007) concluded that governmental and executive actors are, by far, the most important beneficiaries of the Europeanization of public debates compared to legislative and partisan actors, and even more in comparison with the actors of the civil society, which are extremely underrepresented in European public debates. According to Dahlgren (2006), the public sphere does not begin and ends when the media content reaches the audience; that is a link in the long communicative and cultural chains that include how media content is received, understood and used by citizens. Therefore, the public sphere, in a broad way, integrates the entire communicative process and, therefore, cultural.

The problem in the European Union is that it is a unique integration experiment in the world because of the level of shared sovereignty reached, in which it is debated whether there is a collective identity capable of creating a common public sphere. In this regard, Hepp *et al.,* (2016) concluded that far from blaming the fragmentation of European identity, the collective struggle to understand the recent euro crisis helped to cement a common identity, pointing out that there are more things that unite Europeans than those that separate them. The need to reconcile multiculturalism, citizenship and collective identity is signaled by Delgado-Moreira (2017), indicating that there are European policies on multicultural citizenship and that the EU institutions elaborate measures to create European identity and citizenship. However, it warns that there is a lack of substantive connection between European citizenship and the identity of the Union. Eriksen (2005) argues that European cooperation and problem solving create public spaces, but so far, they have not produced a single general European public sphere. Rather, what one finds are segmented, transnational publics that evolve around networks of policies constituted by the common interest in certain policy fields.

It should be noted, following the contributions of Scammell and Semetko (2018), that currently the hegemony of public life structured by the State and territorially linked by radio, television, newspapers and books s has been lost and the multiplicity of spaces of network communication distance the idea of a unified public sphere. Instead, what is given is public spheres of different sizes, superimposed and interconnected.

Mediated travel by the Erasmus Program

The Erasmus Program was born in 1987 with the aim of promoting academic and cultural exchange among university students from different training centers in the European economic area, plus Switzerland and Turkey. At the core of the experience is travel to another country of the European Union and the possibility of living and studying in an environment different from that of the country of origin between three and twelve months, with the guarantee that the studied courses will be recognized in the university of origin. In 2014, the Erasmus Program became Erasmus + within the European 2020 Strategy (Jones, 2017, Hubble, Bellis, & Bolton, 2018).

Erasmus + collects previous projects and has become the program of the European Union that supports education, training, youth and sport in the continent. It extends until 2020 and has a budget of 14.7 billion. Its main objective is to offer study opportunities, experience acquisition and volunteering to four million European citizens. Thus, it is not only aimed at students, but teachers, practitioners or organizations, among others, who can also benefit.

In this article the Erasmus Program and the Erasmus + variant have been considered only regarding university students and graduates. It is based on the foundation that, beyond the academic content, the pan-European journey mediated by the Erasmus Program (which entails academic and economic advantages) influences the participants' worldview about the construction of the European identity and the configuration of the European public sphere, since it broadens the cognitive horizons of the participants, already inserted in the global world. In addition, the program is related to the internationalization of higher education beyond European mobility (Haug, 2016, Villalón de la Isla, 2017).

The research aims to explore the role of the Erasmus Program in relation to travel as a performative element of the European public sphere. Therefore, in addition to the literature review, a survey has been conducted to university students and graduates of different Spanish universities.

The main objective of the analysis is to observe and describe to what extent the trip mediated by the Erasmus Program contributes to modify the perceptions of citizens in the European public sphere in the people who have had an opportunity to participate in it compared to those who have not

participated in it. In the same way, it is also intended to characterize how participation in the program alters perceptions about European identity.

The study starts from the hypothesis that travel as the main experience of the Erasmus Program, beyond its academic content, favors the creation of the European public sphere and positively influences the public perception of the European Union in Spain. In the same way, it is considered that the youngest layers of Spanish society with university studies are inserted in an incipient European public sphere. In addition, they are global citizens and fully integrated into the digital society.

The research relates descriptively and compares the perceptions about the phenomenon among the subgroups that make up the sample of analysis.

Materials and method

The study has been carried out under two research techniques: the literature review and the questionnaire. The review of the literature has served to refine the objectives of the research and for the subsequent elaboration of the questions that form the survey. Thus, the questionnaire contains twenty questions aimed at collecting relevant information to know the concepts that are related in the investigation. They are closed questions.

The sample has been limited to university students and graduates because they are the only ones who, until recently, have had the possibility of participating in the Erasmus Program. Therefore, it is a non-probabilistic sample, since its choice is given by the characteristics of the research (Hernández, Fernández-Collado, & Baptista, 2006). The total sample consists of 124 valid answers.

100% of the sample consists of students or former students of Spanish universities, of which 66.1% are women and 33.9% are men. 96% of respondents are between 18 and 30 years old, and 4% are over thirty years old, which indicates that all have been able to participate in the program created in 1987. Of these, 95.2% said know the Erasmus Program. However, only 24.2% have participated in the pan-European experience.

The comparative method is effective to be able to describe the object and check the hypothesis, since it allows to relate the attitudes gathered in the different data for the two subgroups.

Analysis and results

From the data obtained, it is observed that Spanish university students live in a globalized world, with ease to travel or carry out international transactions, especially with the European Union. The global citizen is reflected in the study sample, since 36.3% assures to travel abroad two or three times a year; 32.3% say they do it once a year; 14.5%, more than three times a year; 12.9% said that they travel outside of Spain once every two or three years; and, only 4% say never to do it. Therefore, 68.6% of the sample travels abroad between one and three times a year. The experience of travel and its ease in today's world is revealed. This is reinforced by living integrated in the European Union, the only territory in the world in which 28 States have large doses of common policies and in which a public sphere is shared.

Thus, 31.5% of people say that they sometimes do activities with another EU country, while 27.4% say they do not do it very often. On the other hand, 21.8% say that they do it frequently and 7.3%, very often, compared to 12.1% who never do it. Of the total sample, however, almost half, 49.2% say that they frequently inform themselves of what is happening in the European Union and 7.3% say that they do it very frequently. On the contrary, 29% say they do not inform themselves frequently about European issues; 13.7% say that they do it sometimes and 0.8% never.

From the above data it is clear that 87.9% have relations with other EU countries, although they may be sporadic and of a different nature, such as personal, commercial or business. 23.4% of respondents have worked or lived in another EU country other than Spain for three months or more. However, 49.2% have a relative who has lived or worked in another member state. It follows that the European Union is present in the collective imagination of at least half of the sample. At the same time, it is clear that the respondents are interested in the news, since the entire sample consults media daily (71%), weekly (21%) or sometime a month (8.1%). In addition, 63.7% think that the EU is presented in the media with positive and negative aspects; 31% believe that it only appears as something good and 4.8% as something bad.

60.5% of the sample maintains a favorable opinion on Spain belonging to the European Union, which coincides with the traditional Spanish Europeanism shown in different surveys; compared to 34.7% that is indifferent and 4.8%, which is unfavorable. 37.9% of respondents felt

that they were as European as their Autonomous Community and 30.6%, as European as they were Spanish, compared to 24.2% who did not feel European and 7.3% who It only feels European. Asked about their environment, respondents say that among their family and friends' feelings towards the EU are neither favorable nor unfavorable (58.1%), compared to 27.4% who consider them favorable and 4.8%, very favorable. On the other hand, 8.9% see them unfavorable. It follows that the relational context about the EU is rather indifferent in the study sample.

Likewise, of the total sample, 42% of the respondents consider themselves indifferent about whether belonging to the EU has benefited them, compared to 38% who believe that they have. In contrast, 53% agree that Spain has benefited from being part of the EU, while 16% is indifferent, like the 16% who strongly agree. On the contrary, 12% of those questioned disagree and consider that Spain has not benefited from European integration.

On whether the European Union interferes in Spanish political affairs, 29% of the sample is indifferent, 25% agree and 22% disagree. Indifference also wins among the respondents when asked if, in general, what is good for the EU is good for Spain, with 37% that is neither in agreement nor in disagreement, compared to 29% who disagree and 19%, which agrees. In fact, almost half of the sample, 49%, feel neither confidence nor distrust towards the European institutions, while 21% feel quite confident and 16% manifest feeling distrust.

The feelings of distrust differ when it comes to state institutions, according to the collected data. Thus, 49% of the sample feels great distrust towards the Spanish Government, 27% feel distrust and 16% are indifferent. As far as the autonomic government is concerned, the extreme levels of distrust are not so high, since 19% of the sample is very distrustful. 31% of the sample feels distrust for the autonomous government, 29% is indifferent and, again, 19% say they feel quite confident. On the other hand, the majority of the study sample, 81% feel very distrustful of the monarchy. It can be seen that the state institutions generate more radical opinions than the European ones.

The comparison of the subgroups allows observing how the travel experience influences those who have done an Erasmus. On the existence of a European public sphere, it is seen that those who stay very frequently informed about the EU are 17% among those who have done an Erasmus and 4% are among those who have not. Likewise, among the participants of the program, 3% say they keep informed at some time, compared to 17% who

say they ever do it among those who have not participated in the European program. This shows that those people who have participated in the European experience are more frequently interested in the information issues that concern the EU, which has an impact on strengthening the European public sphere. Among those who have participated in the program, there are more critical positions on how the European Union is presented in the media, since 37% of the participants consider that the Union is presented as something good, compared to the 30% that considers it among non-participants; 53% of the participants think that it is shown as something with positive and negative aspects, while 67% of the non-participants consider it to be so; but, 10% of the participants observe that it is presented as a bad thing, compared to the 3% who perceive it among the non-participants in the Erasmus.

Regarding the construction of their own identity, among those who have been part of the Erasmus Program, the feeling of being only European is more widespread, since 17% of them say they feel that way, while 4% of those they have not participated in the program claim to feel only European. The experience of travel mediated by the Erasmus Program influences the configuration of the own identity, especially if it is opposed to the opinion about the belonging of Spain to the EU that offers similar data both in the participants and among the non-participants in the program, in which more than half are favorable to integration.

The different perceptions about the European Union are more tangible between those who have done some Erasmus and those who do not regarding whether belonging to the Union has benefited them personally, since 27% of those who have participated are very great in agreement that has benefited them, compared to 9% of those who have not participated. Likewise, among the participants, 43% agree, compared to 36% of non-participants. Indifference falls among those who have lived the experience of the Erasmus travel, since 27% are not in agreement or disagreement in, while 47% of non-participants are indifferent to this issue.

Regarding the opinion on whether Spain has benefited from its membership in the European Union, it is clear that those who have done an Erasmus are very great in agreement (30%) compared to those who have not done so. (12%) To the contrary, those who disagree are 3% among Erasmus and 14% among those who have not done Erasmus. It is observed that participants see more advantages than non-participants in belonging to the European Union. This is reinforced by the perception of 34% of the

participants who are indifferent about whether the EU meddles in Spanish political affairs and 23% who strongly disagree, compared to 28% who are indifferent and 14% which strongly disagrees among non-participants. According to the statement is 20% of the participants and 26% of the non-participants.

The divergences between the subgroups are evident when considering whether what is good for the European Union is also good for Spain, since 10% of the Erasmus Program participants agree, compared to 21% of those who do not have participated. Disagree is 40% of those who have done an Erasmus, while 26% of those who have not done so disagree.

The discrepancy between the participants and the non-participants is also evident in the perceptions of citizen distrust towards different institutions of representative democracy of different levels of governance, as shown by the collected data.

The perception of trust is different between both subgroups with respect to the community institutions, as expected. However, there are also differences in the perception of trust towards the state and regional governments among the subgroups. On the other hand, this does not occur with the perception of trust towards the Spanish monarchy, in which distrust prevails in the two subgroups. Thus, it is inferred that other aspects and not only participation in the Erasmus Program can influence the trust towards the different institutions.

It is noteworthy that 40% of those who have done an Erasmus do not feel neither confidence nor distrust towards the European Parliament, the Commission and the European Council. Even so, this indifference is greater among those who have not participated in an Erasmus, with 52%. On the other hand, there are more (33%) those who, having done an Erasmus, feel quite confident in the European institutions, compared to 17% who, not having done so, feel quite confident. In a similar way but in the opposite direction, it is observed that those who have not done an Erasmus (19%) distrust more than the 7% who have done it and who say they distrust. Paradoxically, those who have participated in the Erasmus Program show a more extreme position of distrust towards the European institutions, compared to those who have not participated in the program. In this way, 17% of participants say they feel very distrustful, while only 7% in non-participants.

Precisely, it is in the case of distrust and the degree of great distrust towards the Government of Spain where it also shows more difference between the

two subgroups. Among those who have done Erasmus, the majority option (40%) is that of great distrust towards the Spanish Government, 12 points lower than that option (52%) among those who have not done an Erasmus. However, the mistrust option is higher (33%) among those who have participated in an Erasmus than among those who have not participated, since 26% of them are in distrust of the state government. In what has to do with the regional government, the data appear more dispersed. In the two subgroups similar values are given among those who favor great distrust (20% and 19% between participants and non-participants). In contrast, there are 8 points of difference between those who feel quite confident towards the regional government, between 13% of participants and 21% of non-participants who are in that option. Regarding the position of not feeling neither confidence nor distrust, there is a difference of 6 points between the opinions of the subgroups, from 34% of the participants to 28% of the non-participants in the Erasmus Program.

The data shows that, except in the case of the degree of great distrust in the Spanish Government, people who have done an Erasmus either show greater indifference or have more opinions tending to distrust the state and regional governments.

Among those people in the sample who have participated in the Erasmus Program it is observed that in most cases this participation has generated greater interest in the European Union, has allowed to establish a group of international friends and consider that it has benefited them academically and professionally. In contrast, fewer people believe that doing an Erasmus has served to internalize European values.

Thus, 64% of people consider that making an Erasmus has made their interest in the European Union grow, 17% of those who have participated in the program are very much in agreement with it and 43% agree. 27% of them do not show either agreement or disagreement, and 13% disagree (3%) and strongly disagree (10%). The interest aroused by the completion of the program is a contributing factor in the strengthening of the European public sphere. In the same way, maintaining a personal environment of relations with other people in the Member States is also a factor that helps the construction of the European public sphere, as 63% of the people who have participated in the program are very much in agreement that it has allowed them to have a group of international friends and 20%, who agrees with it. Therefore, 83% of those who have done an Erasmus appraise positively that

possibility, which together with the interest for the European community can generate more inclination towards the existence of the common public sphere. On a personal level, 87% of those surveyed with Erasmus are in favor of the effects of the program in their curricula. Among those questioned, 47% strongly agree and 40% agree that they have benefited academically and professionally, compared to 13% who are indifferent.

As regards the knowledge of the EU thanks to the Erasmus Program or the strengthening of the European identity itself, the majority option is that of indifference, while in terms of internalizing European values, indifference and disagreement are tied. In this way, 33% of people who have done an Erasmus are indifferent about whether the program has helped to strengthen their European identity, although those who strongly agree (17%) and agree (30%) add up 47%. They are, therefore, more numerous. On the other hand, those who disagree (17%) and strongly disagree (13%) are 30% of the respondents. Similarly, if participating in the Erasmus Program contributes to better understanding the functioning of the EU, 34% are indifferent, but the sum of those who strongly agree (10%) and agree (30%) is greater, with 40%. On the contrary, 23% disagreed and 3% strongly disagreed.

In the case of the utility of the program to internalize European values, there is a tie with 27% of those who are indifferent and 27% of those who disagree. Even so, if one joins the degree of disagreement, with the one that strongly disagrees (13%) we obtain a result of 40%; therefore, it is greater than that of those who express an opinion of strongly agree (13%) and agree (20%), whose sum gives 33%. At that point we can see a weakening in terms of the homogenization of the construction of European identity through the Erasmus Program.

Discussion and conclusions

The hypothesis that the travel experience mediated by the Erasmus Program favors opinions about the European Union is demonstrated in the light of the obtained data and is in line with other studies that highlight the success of the program (Cairns, 2017; Cunha, 2018). In the same way, the experience also reinforces the existence of the European public sphere in informative terms. This is clear from the comparative perspective between those who have been part of the program during their university stage and

those who have not; as well as when considering their opinions about the Erasmus experience.

The European sentiment in one's own identity is more widespread among people who have done an Erasmus, who also consider that Spain has benefited from belonging to the EU, as well thinking that it has also benefited them at the personal and academic level. In addition, almost half of those who have participated in an Erasmus think that the trip has helped to reinforce their European identity, as 40% consider that thanks to this experience they know better the functioning of the EU. On the other hand, a greater number of participants consider that the experience has not served to internalize European values, something that is shown as a weak point in the construction of the European identity, since the participants are not aware of having developed the cosmopolitan values associated with the EU.

According to the data found, the Erasmus program influences the perception of trust in the European institutions, since 40% of those who have done Erasmus do not feel confidence or distrust in the European Parliament, the Commission and the European Council, but those who have not done Erasmus are more indifferent towards them (52%). However, although the most radical position of distrust is greater among the Erasmus, there are also more those who feel quite confident and less those who distrust.

It is beyond the scope of the study to determine whether there is a homogeneous European public sphere or a multiplicity of them overlapping and interconnected, but what the data show is that young university students are embedded in a transnational public sphere. Regardless of the participation in the program, the EU is in the worldview of the respondents, as shown by the fact that 87% have some relationship with the supranational community. More than 60% of the total number of respondents is favorable to the membership of Spain to the EU, almost half of them are informed of European affairs and have a relative who has lived or worked in another member country. Of course, more than half of those who have done an Erasmus are more interested in the EU and have been able to maintain a network of international friends. In addition, participants stay more frequently informed about community issues than non-participants, which reinforces the existence of a community public sphere.

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Travellers' virtual communities: a success story

Comunidades virtuales de viajeros: un caso de éxito

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Abstract

This article aims at studying the Italian online travelers' community Ho sempre voglia di partire, which, in only two years of life, has reached more than 540 000 followers, over 7 000 000 visits per month and over all 2 700 000 interactions, becoming —according to its creators— the largest travelers' community in Europe. The objective is to describe the interactions that characterizes the community, to reveal the reasons why users participate, the actual and symbolical benefits they obtain, and to understand the reasons for success. Through a triangulation of methods, the article reveals how the key of all interactions is emotion and how, therefore, the benefit that the members obtain is mainly emotional.

Keywords

Social networks, on line communities, travel communities, 2.0 travellers, Web 2.0, community manager, prosumer, 2.0 tourism.

Resumen

Este artículo se propone estudiar la comunidad italiana de viajeros on line *Ho sempre voglia di partire* que, en solo dos años de vida, cuenta con más de 540 000 seguidores, más de 7 000 000 de visitas por mes y 2 700 000 interacciones.
El objetivo es describir las interacciones presentes en la comunidad para desvelar las razones por las cuales los usuarios participan, los beneficios, reales y simbólicos que obtienen, y poder comprender las razones del éxito. A través de una triangulación de métodos el artículo desvela como la clave de todas las interacciones es la emoción y que, por lo tanto, los beneficios que los miembros obtienen son principalmente emocionales.

Palabras clave

Redes sociales, comunidades virtuales, comunidades de viajeros, viajeros 2.0, Web 2.0, community manager, prosumidor, turismo 2.0.

Introduction

Travel has always been a need of the individual: first with the Greeks who traveled by the desire to know, see and learn, then with the Romans who began to practice the "pleasure travel" until we arrived at our days, where the reasons that motivate us to travel are innumerable.

The use of internet and digital technologies has radically revolutionized the way of traveling: instead of going to travel agencies, we use their online sites, or we directly dispense with them when planning and organizing our own personalized trips with flights, hotel reservations and other online services.

Tourism, in fact, has been ranked as the most important industry in terms of volume of online transactions (Werthner & Ricci 2004). For tourism organizations, both private and public, therefore, the internet has become one of the most important communication and marketing channels (Wang & Fesenmaier 2006).

But the internet has revolutionized the entire information search model.

The model of vertical and unidirectional communication of the industrial society and mass media, in fact, has been replaced by a horizontal and multidirectional one, in which individuals are both producers and consumers of content, both senders and receivers.

This is what Axel Bruns (2008) called "*produsage*", referring to the dual nature of the digital citizen who becomes a *prosumer* since he both consumes and produces information as a more communicative actor.

The same has happened in the world of travel: social media technologies have led to a change in the control of content creation processes, from a Web 1.0 mainly controlled by organizations and corporations (Li & Bernoff, 2008; Qualman, 2009) towards the more inclusive approach of Web 2.0, which to a large extent is an expression of interaction and participation of the end user (Kamboj & Rahman, 2017; Rashidi *et al.,* 2017).

Today any user can access the web to discover and discuss the experiences of other people: these "communities", sites that connect people around the world are, in effect, eclipsing even the traditional portals and search engines (Prebensen, Kim & Uysal, 2016).

This new usage pattern was defined by Philipe Wolf, CEO of PhoCusWright Inc., in 2006, as "travel 2.0", that is, in the use of web 2.0 tools such as blogs, social networks, recommendation systems, integration of content by mashups, audio, video, travel planners, etc. However, nowadays the concept covers much more, since it does not only mean the use of tools to search for information but, fundamentally, a change of paradigm, in the global philosophy of the use

of information: the user uses the technologies in the process of anticipation, experience and recreation of the trip (Almeida *et al*., 2016).

Journals of economic disciplines, especially marketing (Sotiriadis, 2017, Roque & Raposo 2016), and tourism journals (see, among others, Amaro, Duarte & Henriques, 2016, Kavoura & Borges, 2016), have devoted many studies to the communities of travelers, with a clearly business-oriented approach. However, the sciences of the communication seem not to have interested much to these communities.

For this reason the article aims to study a particularly successful case, the Italian online traveler community *Ho semper voglia di partire* (literally "I always want to leave", but the verb *partire* in Italian is closer to "take off", for this the most suitable translation seems to us "I always want to travel"), which in just two years of life counts, according to official data, with more than 540 000 followers, more than 7 000 000 visits per month and especially 2 700 000 interactions, becoming, according to its creators, the largest passenger community in Europe. The objective is to describe the interactions present in the community to reveal the reasons why users participate, the benefits, real and symbolic they obtain, and to understand the reasons for success in terms of interaction between users.

State of the issue

When we talk about travel and Internet, most of the studies belong to the areas of marketing, or tourism.

For decades these disciplines have described how consumers seek information (Howard, Restrepo & Chang, 2017).

Travel products are intangible and cannot be evaluated in advance, therefore, when consumers plan to travel they tend to conduct an extensive information search to reduce risk and uncertainty (Gitelson & Crompton, 1983; Mansfeld, 1992; & Jarvis, 1981; Mill & Morrison, 2002; Filieri & McLeay, 2014; Chang, Fu & Jain, 2016). In addition, traveling and taking vacations is one of the largest items in the annual budget (Mill & Morrison, 2002, Sirakaya & Woodside, 2005), so that potential travelers often try to maximize knowledge by seeking as much information as possible (Yang & Bin Guo, 2016).

The information search pattern is also often influenced by demographic profiles, experience levels, and a range of other variables (Andereck & Caldwell, 1993, Wang *et al*., 2010;Shneiderman, 2015).

User generated content and travel

As we have already anticipated, the appearance of ICT has changed the way of buying products and services related to travel, due to its interactive and bidirectional communication functionality (Buhalis, 2003).

In particular, Web 2.0 creates new types of information sources: potential travelers are exposed to many different types of information from a large number of providers.

Beside the traditional sources of information -mainly media, institutions and companies-, the consumers increasingly generate their own content through digital cameras, webcams, picture phones, online communities and web blogs (Chen, Yang & Tang, 2013; Gretzel, Fesenmaier & O'Leary, 2006). Online community members can post their own experiences, share their opinion, give advice or find answers to their questions (Mohd-Any, Winklhofer & Ennew; 2015; Olsen & Connolly, 2000).

In other words, as in Web 2.0 all users can actively participate in the generation or enrichment of content (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010), in the same way, today's travelers can actively participate in consumption, production and dissemination of travel information through the Internet (Pantelidis, 2010; Sparks & Browning, 2011).

The phenomenon of tourists who create and share information online has received much attention to research. Most of the first studies, with an exploratory and descriptive approach, have focused on the same platforms (Enoch & Grossman, 2010, Litvin, Goldsmith, & Pan, 2008, Pudliner, 2007, Schmallegger & Carson, 2008, Wenger, 2008), or on specific topics, such as the main summer holidays (Bronner & de Hoog, 2011), showing how social networks are gaining in terms of emerging communication and travel practices and, on the other hand, also critically discuss quality of travelers' contributions and limitations of online communication practices (Jacobsen & Munar, 2012; Volo, 2010).

In addition, some studies have analyzed the motivating factors that affect the online behavior of travelers (Bryce, Curran, O 'Gorman & Taheri, 2015, Chung, Lee & Koo, 2015). According to Hsu, Ju, Yen and Chang (2007), the willingness to share knowledge online depends on personal cognition and social influence.

In particular, the exchange of information on travel through blogs has received wide attention from researchers in tourism (Enoch & Grossman,

2010, Huang, Chou & Lin, 2010, Mack, Blose & Pan, 2008, Schmallegger & Carson, 2008, Tussyadiah & Fesenmaier, 2008, Volo, 2010, Wenger, 2008).

The most recent studies (Ert, Fleischer & Magen, 2016, Harrigan, Evers, Miles & Daly, 2017) suggest that reviews of online travel are often perceived as more genuine and apt to provide reliable information than the content published by the tourism organizations. This is why more and more online communities are considered to be more influential sources of information (Mohd-Any, Winklhofer & Ennew, 2015), and if the membership generates good quality content and remains energetical, it is often perceived as a similar recommendation to that of friends, relatives, that is to say as mouth-to-mouth substitutes (Dedeke, 2016; Bray, Schetzina & Steinbrink, 2006).

Some communities such as VirtualTourist.com, Trekshare.com, Lonelyplanet.com, and Tripadvisor.com already play a key role in providing up-to-date information on destinations for members around the world (Litvin & Dowling, 2017; Kavoura & Borges, 2016 Beith, 2004).

Travel and online communities

An online community can be seen as a virtual agora and a market in which information is shared and consumers generate their content (Wang *et al*., 2002).

Many researchers, in different disciplines, have tried to describe online communities and capture their characteristics (Preece, 2000, Armstrong & Hagel, 1996, Powers, 1997, Rheingold, 1991, Rosenblatt, 1997, Shelton & McNeeley, 1997, Smith & Kollock, 1999).

In particular, sociologists have tried for years to define the concept and characteristics of a community (Prebensen, Kim & Uysal, 2016; Reypens, Lievens & Blazevic, 2016), however, research on online virtual communities is still in its infancy compared to research on geographically defined and physical communities (Preece, 2000).

The key for understanding a community is to understand the motivations and needs that lie behind the participation of each member (Ayeh, 2015; Kim, Lee & Hiemstra, 2004; Kozinets, 1999): that is why many researchers have been trying to identify the perceived benefits of members in virtual communities (Bilgihan, Barreda *et al*., 2016; Ayeh, Au & Law, 2013b).

In the world of travel, although people obviously seek information for decision-making (Amaro & Duarte, 2013; Agag & El-Masry, 2016b), it is also evident that people who collect information about travel do not necessarily have a real travel intention (Chung & Koo, 2015; Urry, 1990; Woodside, 1990) but are often simply interested in meeting like-minded people, with similar attitudes, interests or lifestyles (Agag & El-Masry, 2016a Kang & Schuett, 2013; Wang, Yu & Fesenmaier, 2002).

That is, beyond functional needs, such as the search for information necessary to make a specific trip, people use information as an occasion to share with others, or simply enjoy (Kavoura & Stavrianea, 2015). Armstrong and Hagel (1997) show that an online community provides four different values to the members: transaction, interest, fantasy and relationship. Vogt and Fesenmaier (1998) argue that information needs expand beyond functional needs, making four additional dimensions: hedonic needs, innovation, aesthetics and signs.

In line with the findings of previous research, Wang and Fesenmaier (2004b) argue that social and hedonic benefits have a greater impact on members' participation in online community activities than functional benefits. Social benefits refer to communication with other members, the building of relationships, the exchange of ideas and opinions and participation (Angehrn, 1997, Preece, 2000, Wang & Fesenmaier, 2004a).

Based on 346 Internet users from Russia and the former republics of the Soviet Union, Fotis *et al*., (2012), for example, showed that social networks are used mainly after the holidays to share experiences.

In conclusion, to understand the phenomenon of travel communities in the online context it is important to examine what really motivates online users to get involved in these communities with positive attitudes.

Baym (2010) has proposed a conceptual framework based on seven dimensions to categorize communities: interactivity, which indicates different levels of social interactivity enabled by different communication platforms; temporal structure, which reflects on asynchronous and synchronous practices and characteristics in real time; social cues, which examine the richness of the context (for example, information about personal identities and spatial and environmental contexts); reach, which measures the audience that a medium can reach or support; mobility, which refers to the extent to which the media is portable, allowing people to communicate

almost regardless of location; storage and replicability, referring to the possibilities of recording and reproduction.

Method

To study the *Ho semper voglia di partire* community we have applied a mixed method (Creswell, 2014, p.2), based on the triangulation of four methods: netnography, web-analysis (Rieder, 2013), content analysis and in-depth interview with its creator and creator of all content, Guido Prussia.

The word netnography, combination of "Internet" or "network" with "ethnography", was originally created in 1995 by Robert Kozinets as a tool to analyze online fan discussions about the Star Trek franchise. The use of the method extended from market research and consumer research to a variety of other disciplines, making netnography a discipline still under construction and heir to classical disciplines such as social and cultural anthropology, sociology and even social psychology with the aim of understanding the social reality that is taking place in the online context where millions of people coexist, express themselves and interact on a daily basis.

It is defined as a specific set of research practices related to data collection, analysis, research ethics and representation, rooted in participant observation. In netnography, a significant amount of the data originates and manifests through the fingerprints of naturally occurring public conversations recorded by the networks and uses these conversations as data. For this reason, it offers a less intrusive research experience than ethnography, since it mainly uses observational data. Compared to traditional ethnography, which requires researchers to physically immerse themselves in samples to collect data, netnographic researchers can download communication data directly from an online community, allowing the researcher to investigate a large number of people.

With the influence of ethnography, this research method allows the researcher to link communication patterns to understand the tacit and latent practices involved within and between these communities of interest online (Mariampolski, 2005). As Kozinets (1999, p.366) pointed out, "these social groups have a" real "existence for their participants, and therefore have consequential effects on many aspects of behavior, including consumer behavior" (see also Muniz & O 'Guinn, 2001).

The free opinion of individuals on the Internet allows the researcher to access data from thousands of individuals acting freely and spontaneously, which represents an exponential increase in analytical techniques such as interviews or focus groups.

In this case study, the researcher has been a member of the group since its inception and has been observing and recording all the interactions without intervening. For this study, once the quantitative data, provided by the community itself, was collected, 33 days were selected (from October 13 to November 14, 2018), 231 post and 8000 between comments and reactions were selected, which have been analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively.

To extract and analyze the data we have used Netvizz, a program designed specifically to investigate data from Facebook, through an application interface (Rieder, 2013); then we have selected the comments and analyzed them through an analysis of the qualitative content, inspired by the methodology proposed by Toret *et al*., (2013), which allows to take into account the emotions.

Finally, the in-depth interview with Guido Prussia, the creator of the community, has been qualitatively qualified in several aspects.

The case study: *Ho semper voglia di partire*

Ho semper voglia di partire is a Facebook page created in 2016 by Guido Prussia, travel journalist and documentalist, with a long professional career who is responsible for the content, and the young Alessandro Paradossi, blogger, who manages the technical part.

Guido Prussia is a character known at Italian level being the creator and presenter of various programs for RAI, MEDIASET and SKY television and having written several travel books (and not) for Mondadori and Sperling.

In particular, the journalist became a true star of television in the mid-90s, with the broadcast, on Mediaset channels, *Hotel California*, program of which he was author and presenter.

The program, a documentary series *on the road* on the famous *Route 66* in the US, presented the journalist traveling on a motorcycle and accompanied by several nice-looking women, usually models, visiting unusual places, such as the Hotel California, which gave the name to the series or Area 51, or mansions of Hollywood stars.

The fact of being known could have influenced the success of the page, therefore, in the in depth interview the journalist was asked how much his fame could influence the success of the page and the response was negative, since his name barely appears. Indeed, the name almost does not appear, although in reality Guido appears in different videos and the fact of being a travel journalist and having a video database undoubtedly helps the creation of content.

The page, in fact, was created for the first time on December 26, 2013 with the *name Viaggiando if impara* (Traveling is learned), changed immediately after *Viaggiare per crescere* (Travel to grow) and had few successes, until its official launch in 2016 under the name *Amo viaggiare*. According to its creator, the name *Amo viaggiare* was too generic, that's why it changed it to *Ho sempre voglia di partire*.

The literal meaning of this name would be "I always want to leave", but the verb *partire* in Italian is much closer to Spanish "take off", so the most appropriate translation seems to us "I always want to travel", but the phrase it is less generic, suggesting, in some way, a kind of urgency to take off, to travel far away.

This message is clearly represented on its initial page, where you can read:

> We are the ones who love to travel, we know that only by knowing different worlds, different cultures, different people can we feed the hunger of conscience and knowledge. We are those who feel alive when they move. We are those for whom the world represents an infinite possibility of being surprised. We are the ones who always want to leave/take off/travel.

Figure 1
Header of the page

Source: https://goo.gl/hTGLiJ

In September 2016, just after the holidays, he started advertising on his Facebook page with the new name and people were interested because, according to what he says in the interview, they just wanted to "go out" again, to travel again.

Currently the page has reached 6 257 209 people, 3,430,000 weekly views 650,000 weekly interactions.

The page, in fact, is a travel magazine that -from its beginning- was conceived as a "free space, where you can talk freely about travel without media and commercial constraints" (interview with Guido Prussia, 2018). The journalist devised this project to be able to do what he likes, that is, talk about travel, without having to respond to editorial logics that, in his own words, "often kill creativity" or advertisements.

The page proposes seven post per day: a video related to travel but not necessarily about a destination, three photographs or memes, normally, but not necessarily related to the world of travel, and three articles about one or more destinations.

The videos can be either videos of trips, often journalistic pieces of the creator, Guido Prussia, or video-memes. Pictures are often made *ad hoc* aphorisms to be shared. In Figure 2 an example that says, "When you are sad, travel should be provided by Social Security".

Only articles are always journalistic style. Normally a destination is presented, adding suggestions on what to see, what kind of experiences to do, etc.

Figure 2
Example of pictures

Source: https://goo.gl/815iu5

In Figure 3 we see an example "Heidi's house really exists", where the journalist suggests visiting the Alps where there is a hut built equal to Heidi's house, a popular cartoon from the 80s.

Figure 3
Example of article

Source: https://goo.gl/7iGHpj

Results

After having broken down the structural data (number of followers, evolution, gender and ages) we will move on to the analysis of the 33 selected days.

Chart 1 shows the evolution in the number of followers.

The data seems to confirm the statements of Guido Prussia in the interview: the followers increase exponentially from 2016, that is to say from the change of name.

Chart 1
Evolution of followers
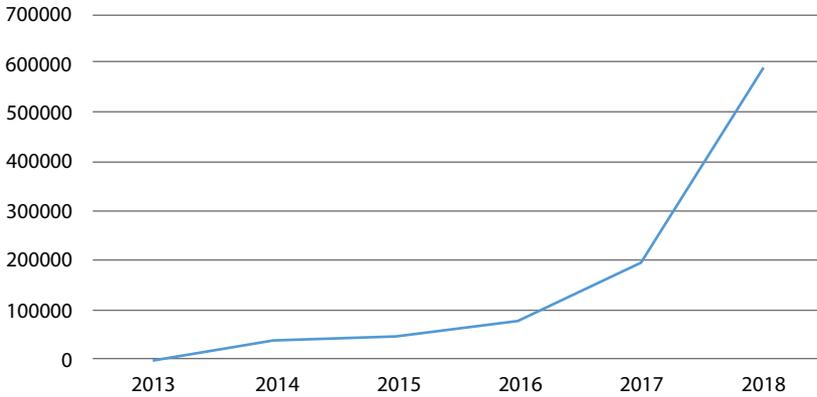
Source: Elaborated by the authors based on data provided by *Ho semper voglia di partire*.

Chart 2 shows the gender of the followers, which is predominantly female. Research confirms that women tend to be more willing to share on a network and the interview with the creator of the page confirms that from the beginning the target was clearly feminine.

Chart 2
Gender of the followers
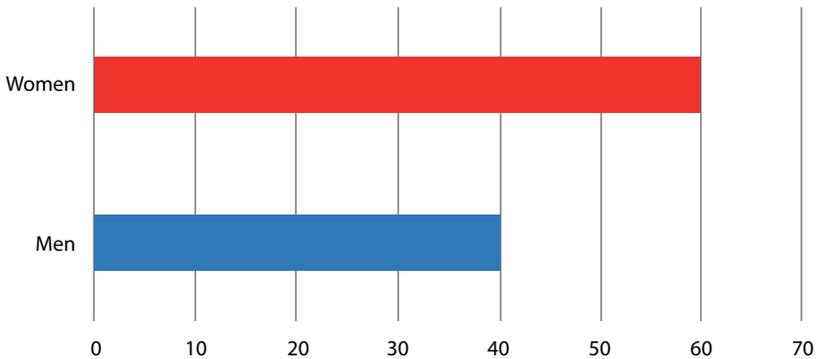
Source: Elaborated by the authors based on data provided by *Ho semper voglia di partire*.

Regarding the ages, Chart 3 shows that, despite having followers of all ages, most of them are between 25 and 44 years old, that is, those who define themselves as adults and young adults. On the one hand, the very choice of the platform marks a target. And Facebook is becoming increasingly defined as a platform for adults: according to the latest eMarketer report (2018), in the United States alone, Facebook will lose 2 million users under the age of 25 during 2018 as, feeling expelled by the presence of adults (parents, uncles, grandparents, teachers) and, in some way, harassed by transgenerational friendship requests, the youngest are migrating to Snapchat and Instagram.

Guido Prussia in the interview confirms, in effect, to feel more comfortable, creating content on Facebook (text, video and photos) than for Instagram, and assumes the risk of losing the younger ones.

Chart 3
Ages of followers
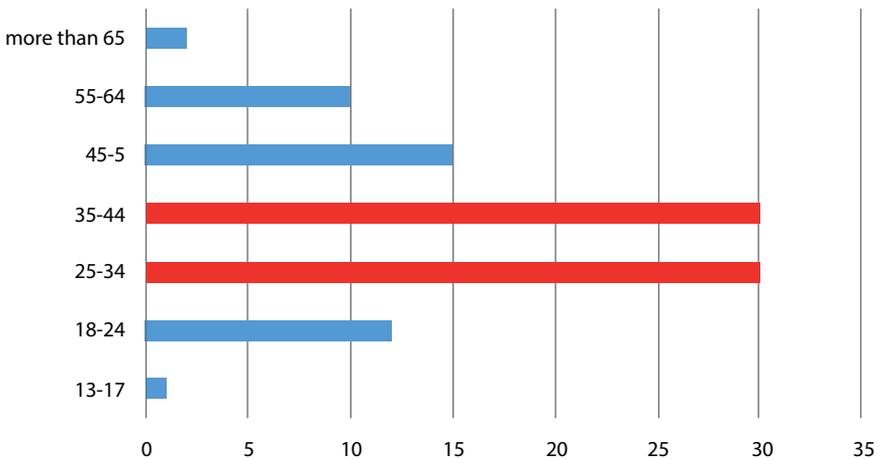
Source: Elaborated by the authors based on data provided by *Ho semper voglia di partire*.

As you can see, likes and "reactions" go together and make up the largest number, followed by the share, the number of times a content has been shared.

The comments, however, although in smaller numbers, seem to follow another dynamic.

Chart 4
Number of interactions from October 13 to November 14, 2018
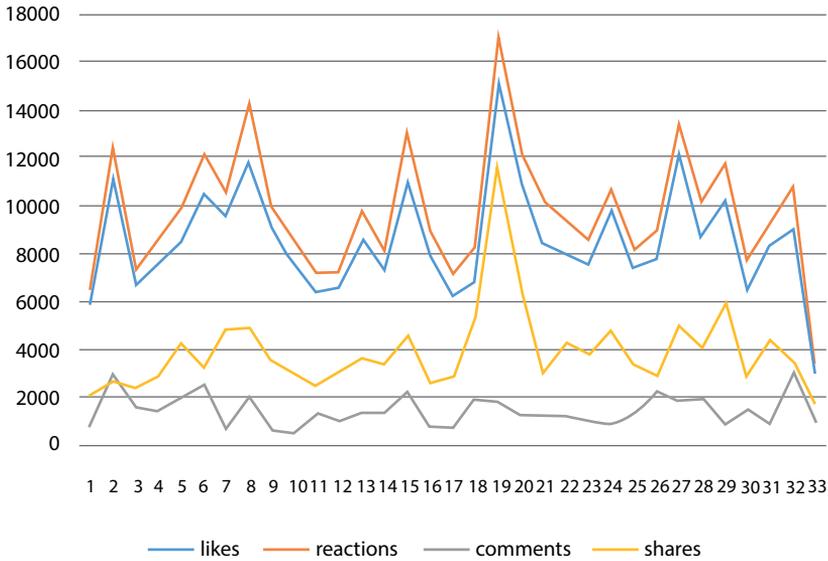
Source: own elaboration

Chart 5 breaks down the type of emotion expressed in the reactions. As we can see most reactions belong to the emoticon called "ahahah", represented by a face that laughs, followed by the emoticon "love", love, "Wow" and only in a small part the sad face.

Although it is difficult to interpret the meaning behind the emotions (for example: sadness is related to the message or the nostalgia of a site?), It is evident that positive emotions win.

Chart 5
Recounting the emotions expressed in the reactions
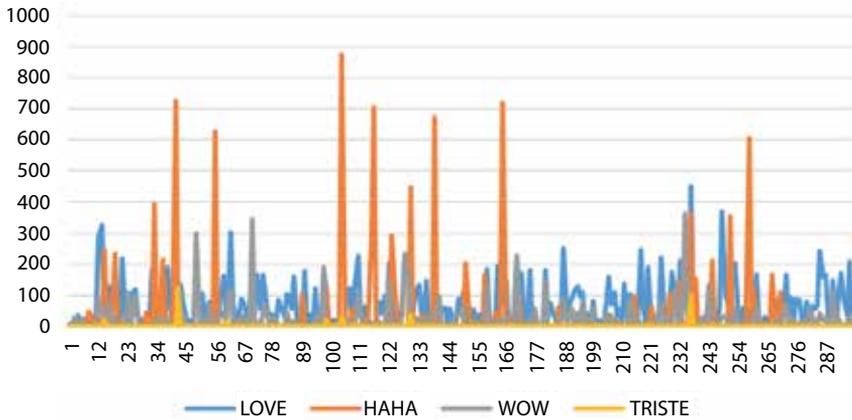
Source: own elaboration

The most shared content, with more "likes" and more reactions has been the video-meme of a puppy dancing accompanied by the phrase "That unstoppable happiness you feel when you book a new trip", reported in Figure 5.

Figure 5
Video with more "likes" and "shares"

Source: https://goo.gl/xL4vAD

Interestingly, this video, while representing an emotion referred to travel has nothing to do with the world of travel *estrictu sensu*.

On the other hand, the most commented content has been represented in Figure 6, in which users are asked to choose a "magic" potion that would take them to different trips.

Figure 6
Most commented post

Source: https://goo.gl/9eMTVC

While both contents talk about travel, curiously none of the two content gives suggestions, specifies or provides information on any specific destination.

Chart 5 shows the quantitative analysis of all the comments collected during the 33 days. Almost half are tags without comments, that is, a user simply tags another without specifying. We can assume that the tag could mean an intention to share the trip to a destination with that person or the willingness to share a shared memory, still in the absence of more information it is impossible to establish it with certainty.

Chart 6
Types of comments

Tag sin comentario Tag con comentario Comentario y emoticones
Sugerencias Emoticones
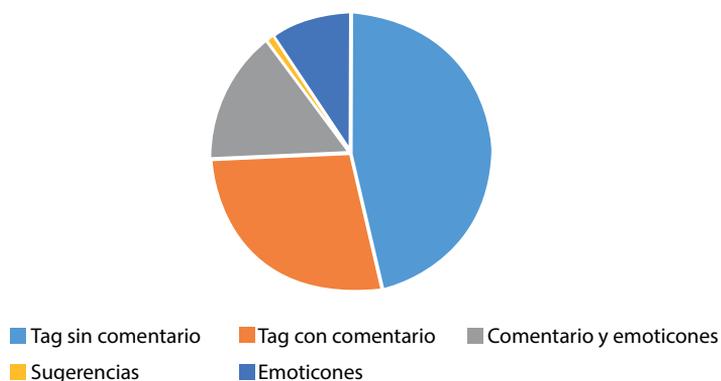
Source: own elaboration

In the second place we find the tags with comments that effectively confirm the aforementioned hypothesis.

In Figure 7 we can see some examples of comments: the user tags another user to say, I want to go here with you, or to remember a past trip. Other users comment and add emojis. In almost all cases it is about positive comments with emojis of positive emotions.

Figure 7
Example of comments

Source: https://goo.gl/ShqQ1b
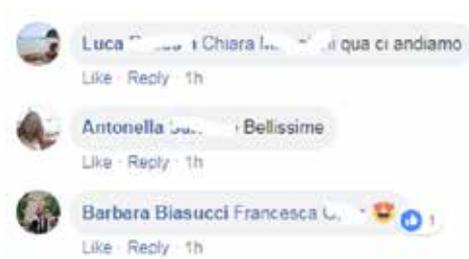
As we can see in the corresponding Chart, curiously, once again, the most frequent comment is "I've been there" in all its forms, especially expressed with a check (the green v emoticon) or with a "fatto", fact, similar to English "done".

Figure 8
Comment example

Source: https://goo.gl/DVBoHQ

Chart 7
Qualitative comment analysis
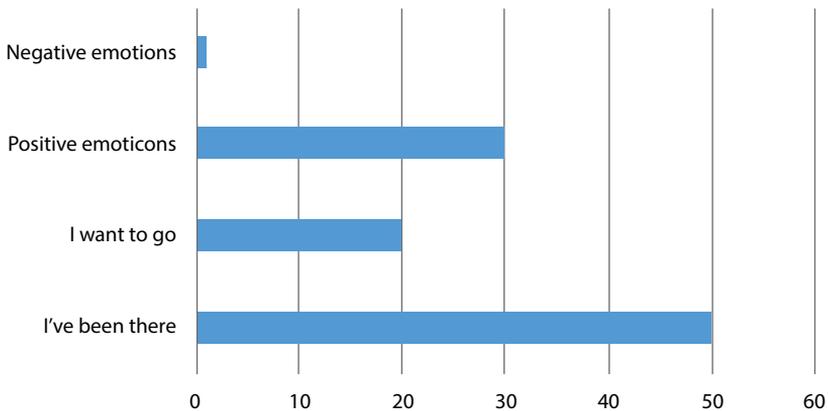
Source: own elaboration

The second is "I want to go", usually accompanied by the tag to the person with whom one plans to make the trip and positive emotions respecting the destination, expressed with emojis or in words such as "spectacular" "marvelous", etc. Negative emotions are

virtually nonexistent. In the 33 days we only find two: one, referring to gardens in the city of Amsterdam, simply says "I do not like them, I prefer other things", and the other is a crying emoticon that could mean many different things (longing for the site, cry of emotion, etc.).

Conclusion and discussion

The results of this case study are somewhat surprising since in a travel community we have found few samples of functional information exchange (for example, suggestions on places to visit, experiences, hotels or restaurants). On the contrary, the members participate mainly by sharing the contents and especially by tagging other users, claiming to have been or expressing their willingness to visit a site and their emotions.

The obtained results, therefore, are undoubtedly in agreement with the cited findings of Wang and Fesenmaier (2004b) and with the recent discoveries of Xiang, Du, Ma and Fan (2017), since it is evident that the social benefits (see the number of tags) and hedonic (the amount of "I've been there") have a greater impact on members' participation in online community activities than functional benefits.

In particular, this apparent need to "inform" the other members of having visited a site with a simple "check", as if it were a list of tasks, and without offering additional comments seems to underscore this hedonistic value, of belonging, well above the functional value of offering the experience for the benefit of others.

More than three decades ago, Marshall McLuhan explained that the "cold" and inclusive "electric media" would "retribalize" the human being by dividing society into affiliation groups (see, for example, McLuhan & Watson, 1970), and this type of social and hedonistic consumption seems to prove his theory, as well as seems to agree with the idea that social networks have expanded the perspective of web technology by transforming users into "technocontactors" (Kozinets, 1999), who use technology as a mediated provider of individual realization.

However, if we define social benefits such as communication with other members, the construction of relationships, the exchange of ideas and opinions and participation (Angehrn, 1997, Preece, 2000, Wang & Fesenmaier, 2004a), we would miss the most important part of these interactions: emotions.

As we have seen, in effect, most of the comments are limited, beyond linking other users, to expressing emotions, either through the text, or using emojis.

For this reason, we can say that the key to the understanding of this community are the emotions: travel is not so much talked in information or functional terms, but in images, videos and at the end of the sensations that are shared.

In particular, as Peyton (2014) underlines, with the emergence of the "like" button, the notion of liking has undergone a semiotic change, shifting from the intimate and emotional sphere of individuals to the public sphere. More than a feeling, now it's an action, because:

> Instead of being linked to an internal sensation that tacitly reacts to an external stimulus, 'like' has now become a rational action that connotes an external connection between an individual, a discursive element and a social instance (Peyton, 2014, p. 113).

In other words, the need to understand the cultural significance of online communities has grown exponentially since the appearance of Web 2.0 interfaces, and it seems that online communities, regardless of the topic they address, or in general, the social networks, are capitalizing on the emotional influence of that exchange of feelings that has been called "culture of transmission" (Buss & Strauss, 2009) or "culture of exposure" (Munar, 2010).

Therefore, although this study reflects only on a specific case, with specific characteristics, it highlights the need, on the part of the social sciences, and especially the communication sciences as a whole, to strengthen research, beyond analysis of consumption and consumers, on emotions in the online context.

If it is true, paraphrasing Scolari, that all these transformations are not merely technological but affect the world and the understanding of it by the subject, for future research, it would be important to compare different cases and contexts, to confirm that these features are shared. In this sense, it is necessary to take hypermediations into account, establishing a paradigm that "must know how to move in a discursively marshy terrain, consolidating a solid network of interlocutors from which to begin to build their own epistemological journey" (Scolari, 2008, p. 144).

Acknowledgements

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MISCELLANEOUS

MISCELÁNEA

A travel to the land of king Morvan: acquiring cultural competence

Un viaje al país del rey Morvan: cómo adquirir la competencia cultural

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Abstract

Trips have been adopted as an academic activity by many universities. However, its potential as a teaching tool has not been fully exploited. The present work focuses on the study of travel as an educational tool for the acquisition of cultural competence in Translation and Interpreting students. Our work is based on two main methodologies: experiential learning and collaborative learning. We provide the students with a guide of activities that they must complete during their stay in the foreign country, encouraging them to reflect on them and to exchange ideas with other peers who are living a similar experience abroad. Therefore, the trip becomes a valuable tool that allows us to combine the different competences that every translator must have.

Keywords

Travel, culture, cultural competence, translator training, cross-border education, experiential learning.

Resumen

El viaje se ha adoptado como una actividad académica en muchas universidades. Sin embargo, su potencial como herramienta didáctica todavía no se ha explotado al máximo. El presente trabajo se centra en el estudio del viaje como herramienta educativa para la adquisición de la competencia cultural en estudiantes universitarios de Traducción e Interpretación. Para ello nos basamos en dos metodologías: el aprendizaje experiencial y el aprendizaje colaborativo. Ofrecemos al alumnado una guía de actividades que deberán completar durante su estancia en el país extranjero incitándolos a reflexionar sobre las mismas y al intercambio de ideas con otros compañeros que estén viviendo una experiencia similar. De este modo, el viaje se erige en una valiosa herramienta que permite aunar las diferentes competencias necesarias para la labor de todo traductor.

Palabras clave

Viaje, cultura, competencia cultural, formación del traductor, estudios en el extranjero, aprendizaje a través de la experiencia.

Introduction

It is common to hear comments such as "travel opens the mind", "traveling is learning", "traveling allows you to meet new people, new languages, new cultures"..., endless phrases that evoke the multiple benefits of action and effect of "traveling", understanding "travel" as the "to move or undergo transmission from one place to another" (MWD, 2001).

Without immersing in to a lexicographical study of the word "travel", there is no doubt that the meanings that this word can adopt are diverse, and that in all its facets there is a close relationship with the human being, since travel does not ceases to be a journey in which we interact with other human beings, facilitating the knowledge of the cultural and natural heritage, both material and immaterial, of the individual in society. That is why the trip has been formed as a didactic tool of great value in all educational stages.

Specifically, in university studies, the level on which we focus our study, travel begins to be configured as a mandatory activity in many grades. In Europe, mobility programs have contributed to the expansion of travel as a didactic activity to develop and share knowledge and experiences in institutions and organizations in different countries. In some European universities, in

fact, the academic trip has become part of the curricular plan of the degree, being completely mandatory that the student makes a trip to get the necessary credits to obtain the title. However, there are few specific didactic proposals to make the most of the possibilities that travel can offer as a didactic tool.

The present work focuses on the study of travel as an educational tool for the training of translation and interpreting students who need not only to acquire communicative competence in each of their future working languages, but also their own translation competence, in which it includes —as we will explain later— cultural and intercultural competence, that is, the translator's need to understand the culture and the elements that make it up.

In the first place, we present the concept of culture, in order to then be able to focus on the translator as an intercultural mediator, and the culture vision from a translation perspective. Second, we focus on travel as a facilitator of cultural competence, which we will exemplify through a didactic sequence.

Cultivation of culture

The word "culture" comes from the Latin *cultus* which means etymologically "cultivation". It is a term that has undergone a great evolution throughout history.

In the thirteenth century Latin related this word to the cultivation of the land. Centuries later, around the sixteenth century, began to acquire a more figurative sense and began referring to cultivation of the mind, the intellectual faculties.

In the Enlightenment (eighteenth century), a more elitist concept of the term arises with the dichotomy between people "with culture" and "without culture", so that a division was established between "educated" and "uneducated" people. Thus, culture was associated mainly with the "high culture" understood as the spiritual perfection of classical music or the enshrined plastic arts.

In the nineteenth century Tylor (1871 in Kahn, 1975) coined one of the most classic and accepted definitions of the term culture:

> Culture or civilization, in a broad ethnographic sense, is that complex whole that includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morality, law, customs and any other habits and capacities acquired by man as a member of a society (p. 29).

In 1930, Franz Boas gives a twist to this definition by conceiving culture as a plural phenomenon that includes:

> All the manifestations of the social habits of a community, the reactions of the individual insofar as they are affected by the customs of the group in which they live, and the products of human activities insofar as they are determined by said customs (Boas, 1930 in Kahn, 1975, p.14).

Therefore, this definition shows that each society has its own culture.

In the field of didactics of foreign languages, changes have also been taking place around the concept of culture. González (2012) explains that in the structural approaches culture was conceived as something secondary, although it was contemplated in the curricula, its role in the manuals was limited to reflecting stereotypes of the target language society, disconnected from the objectives of the language and generally decontextualized.

The communicative approach supposed a change of perspective in the way of conceiving the culture in the didactics of languages. Adaskoy *et al.,* (1990) establish four kinds of culture that should be addressed in language teaching: aesthetics (artistic achievements), sociological (customs); semantics (meanings of the language) and pragmatics (culture of interaction and situations). In order to achieve a successful communicative exchange, it is necessary that the interlocutors know the value that is given to each one of these aspects in each of the cultures, because the ignorance of these social patterns give rise to clashes and cultural misunderstandings (González, 2012).

García (2004) defines very well all the variables that are included within the concept of culture from the point of view of learning foreign languages:

> The concept of culture is defined from various variables such as: the environmental, climatic and atmospheric characteristics, the landscape environment; the demographic conditions; the behavioral parameters associated with ceremonies, festivities, ritual practices and magical religious beliefs; social conventions (punctuality, gifts, dresses, taboos regarding behavior in conversations, etc.); the level of social and technological development of the various societies; the family; the relations between the sexes; social structures and the relationship between their members; body contacts (greetings, farewells, offers, etc.); daily habits (meals, transportation, shopping, hobbies and leisure, hours and work practice); the language or languages and their literatures; the traditions; health and body care; The education; gestures and facial expressions; the religion; housing and home; the myths, the rites, the

stories, the beliefs, the superstitions and the humor. All these parameters create and delimit specific cultural environments (p. 18).

Therefore, the learning of a foreign language necessarily implies the inclusion of the cultural component in a way that allows the student to develop intercultural strategies that allow him to carry out a successful communication. García (2004, p.4) points out that for this, the speaker needs to "start from what is known, acquired and learned through personal experience". It is precisely this last idea that leads us to recommend our didactic proposal from the perspective of experiential learning, as we will see later.

The translator as an intercultural mediator

The relationship between culture and translation is undeniable. Although we do not know the exact moment of the birth of the profession, we know that the figure was fundamental as a means of communication between different peoples. Thus, the transmission of scientific and philosophical knowledge of the Greek and Arab world was possible mainly thanks to the work of translation carried out at that time (Carrera, 2013).

There are several translators who have reflected on the concept of culture in relation to translation. One of the first was Nida (1945), who from his experience as a biblical translator, proposed the concept of "dynamic equivalence" that seeks to cause the message in the target recipient the same effect as in the original receiver, so that for this it will be necessary to adapt the cultural elements that do not have the same meaning or are unknown by the recipient of the arrival text.

For Nord (1997) when we translate, we compare cultures, that is, we act as mediators between the origin culture and the target culture, an idea that Hatim and Mason (1995) expand when they indicate the following:

> Translators mediate between cultures (which includes ideologies, moral systems and sociopolitical structures) with the aim of overcoming the difficulties that cross the path that leads to the transfer of meaning. What has value as a sign in a cultural community may be devoid of meaning in another, and the translator is best placed to identify the disparity and try to resolve it (Hatim & Mason, 1995, p.282).

Witte (1992) points out that communication between cultures began to be studied systematically in the 70s with the creation of the research area

in intercultural Communication Studies. In the field of translation didactics, several authors (Nord, 1988, Bell, 1991, Kiraly, 1995, Hurtado, 1996) have developed models of "translator competence", defined by Kelly (2002, p.9). as the "set of capabilities, skills, knowledge and even attitudes that professional translators gather and that intervene in translation as an expert activity". These models are usually presented divided into subcompetences. One of them is the "cultural competence" (also called "intercultural competence" by some authors). Wilss (1976) was one of the first to include it in his translation competence model. For him it is a "supercompetence" and defines it as "the ability to transfer messages between linguistic and textual systems". More ahead Nord (1991) and Neubert (2000) also included the cultural competence like one of the necessary parameters within the translator competence.

Kelly (2002, p.14) in her translation competence model also includes cultural competence as one of the subcompetences and indicates that "it comprises not only encyclopedic knowledge with respect to the countries where the corresponding languages are spoken, but also about the values, myths, perceptions, beliefs and behaviors and their textual representations". The PACTE group (2003) also refers to cultural competence, but as part of extra-linguistic subcompetence. Therefore, we see that there are many experts who understand the figure of the translator as a mediator not only linguistically, but also culturally capable of identifying and anticipating possible problems in communication between speakers of different cultures derived from the different ways in which they see the world. For Taft (1981) it is fundamental that every cultural mediator possesses advanced knowledge of the cultures with which he/she works and within that knowledge he highlights the following:

- Knowledge about society. This includes aspects such as history and relevant characters in it, traditions or customs.
- Communication skills, such as the correct use of linguistic conventions and body language.
- Technical skills adapted to the situation: use of technologies, knowledge of the environment, etc.
- Social skills: knowledge of the rules that govern social relationships.

Thus, the combination of all these skills means that the translator "does not stand as a mere transmitter of words, but as a true link" (Ponce, 2007),

capable of facilitating the understanding between two different cultures, since that that may have value and be considered an unequivocal cultural sign within a specific cultural community, in another may not be so and it is the translator who is responsible for identifying that disparity and finding a way to address it (Hatim & Mason, 1990).

Considering these characteristics, we agree with Gregorio (2012) that it is not possible to frame the conception of culture during the process of training translators in a specific subject, but rather it is a process that also draws from those experiences that the students can live outside the classroom. Thus, the trip is a very useful tool, since it allows future translators to know *in situ* the various factors that intervene in all communicative interaction, whether formal (courtesy, speaking, non-verbal language, etc.), or significant (social values, psychological or emotional factors, etc.) (Raga, 2007).

Travel as a tool for the acquisition of cultural competence

The signing of mobility agreements between universities has grown significantly in recent years and as a result the number of students who take academic stays in other countries has also increased (Martínez *et al.,* 2013).

According to Castillo (2017), the origins of student academic mobility date back to the late sixteenth century, when several young English aristocrats were sent to do the grand-tour once they finished their studies to complement their training. They used to be long trips, between 3 and 5 years, in which they toured different European countries and whose main objective was that these young people obtained the necessary training to be able to take charge of their country in the future. Soriano (2017) places the first example of mobility directly related to the training of translators in Baghdad in the 9th century, in the so-called House of Wisdom and in Spain in the 12th century, in the School of Translators of Toledo.

As we said, university students can now benefit from multiple international mobility academic programs. Soriano (2017) highlights the following:

First, the Erasmus program, one of the best known and in which more students participate. In fact, its name has come to be used on a daily basis. Thus, this term has transcended the academic field and we use it both to refer to the participants and to the program (Soriano, 2017). We also have

the Socrates program, Lingua (more focused on language learning), Leonardo (focused on professional training), Grundvig (for adults or other educational itineraries) and Minerva (Program on open and distance education). Similarly, universities usually have bilateral agreements with certain universities that are not in Europe or simply not part of the Erasmus program.

Regarding translation, there are still few works that relate their didactics to mobility programs. One of the pioneers addressing this issue was Pym (1992), who conducted a study on the experience of exchange students at three universities. Later, Mayoral and Kelly (1997) analyzed the consequences of the presence of exchange students in translation classes at the University of Granada. One of the most recent studies is that of Soriano (2017), which focuses on the evaluation of a mobility program in the training of future translators both from the point of view of the students and of the teachers and exchange managers.

From all these investigations we can extrapolate certain common conclusions regarding the benefits of mobility programs for the acquisition of cultural competence of the translator:

- They favor the improvement of the linguistic and cultural level of the translator, since they allow him to approach a new university system with different methodologies.
- They allow to better approach the relationship with other environments and their peculiarities (meals, schedules, etc.).
- They allow students to understand the cultural burden behind certain attitudes not shared in their own cultures.

However, it should be noted that although this subcompetence is the one that is a priori more visible and detectable by the students themselves, the other subcompetences (instrumental, professional, strategic, psychophysiological) also benefit.

As we have seen, student mobility contributes to the development of the translation competence of the students of the Translation and Interpretation degree. As has already been pointed out, it is usual for Spanish universities to offer this type of program to their students, who can opt for it on a voluntary basis. However, taking into account the multiple benefits that a future academic trip entails for a future translator, we would like to analyze how many Spanish universities establish academic mobility as mandatory within their study

plans. For this we have extracted from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, the list of universities that have the degree program in Translation and Interpreting and we have reviewed the study plans. We discovered that out of a total of twenty-three universities that teach the Translation and Interpretation degree, only one establishes as a mandatory requirement that students go away for at least one semester, although all the others offer the voluntary possibility of through the aforementioned mobility programs.

When analyzing the study plans, we have also paid special attention to the subjects offered, in order to find out how the universities manage to supply the outings of some of their students abroad. Thus, we saw that a large part of the analyzed universities offer subjects in which cultural aspects are addressed. Some examples are:

- Linguistic and cultural contrasts of language B.
- Translation and culture: History, genre and ethics of translation.
- Language and Culture B/C.
- Culture applied to Translation.
- Cultural sources for translation.
- European culture and civilization.
- Translation of linguistic varieties.
- Translation and culture.
- Intercultural Pragmatics.
- International relations.
- East and West: cultures in contact.
- Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Francophone Culture and Civilization.
- Translation, literature and culture.
- Language C and its culture.
- History and culture of the B-speaking countries.
- Contemporary thinking and interculturality.

As you can see, all of them include the term "culture" or "interculturality" in their title and in some of them (Language and culture, for example) it is intended to emphasize that not only attention is paid to the linguistic part, but also to the cultural part.

However, we agree with Soriano (2010) that mobility exchanges are an essential pillar in the training of future translators, since they contribute positively to the development of translation competence.

Experiential learning and collaborative learning

Although we focus on cultural subcompetence, we are also interested in students acquiring all the other subcompetences that make up the translation competence, which is why we consider that the methodology that best fits in our proposal is experiential learning[1], since in it the student is placed in the center of learning and it is possible to combine several factors such as experience, autonomy or cognition. It is, therefore, an active methodology in which the student experiences a development both professionally and personally.

Kolb (1984) was one of the first authors interested in this methodology, also known as learning by doing. For him it is a process in which knowledge is created from experience and points to it as fundamental for the development of the student. Dewey (1995, p.125) agrees with this vision and indicates that the benefits of this type of learning lie in that "doing becomes a rehearsal, an experiment with the world to find out how it is; and suffering becomes instruction, a discovery of the connection of things."

In traditional teaching models the teacher is the one who is at the center of the learning process and the student plays a passive role in which he gets knowledge from his instructor and then applies it. Experiential learning is based precisely on the opposite, because it maintains that in order to acquire knowledge, the efficient will be to transfer the leading role to the students. This is because when students must face real situations, they end up consolidating "a significant, contextualized, transferable and functional knowledge and their ability to apply what they have learned is fostered" (Romero, 2010, p.90). For this to happen it is necessary that the students take the initiative and interact with the medium.

Although most of the proposals based on this approach are generally based on experiences related to the exact sciences, we agree with Paleari (2017) that it is possible to benefit from it for the study of the humanities and specifically of Translation and Interpretation. It is intended, therefore, to promote the development of the ability to learn to learn, a fundamental skill, as it will be a skill that every translation professional will need throughout his life. But as pointed out Romero (2010), it is not possible to ensure that learning simply with experience, but this must be linked to a process of personal reflection. For this reason, we think it is necessary to provide the students with a series of guidelines that will help them in this reflection phase.

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1   For more information on this methodology, see Pardo *et al.*, (2015).

We also want to influence collaborative learning (Barkley *et al.,* 2007, Delgado, 2016), as Landone (2004, p.2) points out "interpersonal relationships and collective experience as sources of personal, social and cognitive growth of the students." Thus, it not only contributes to improving linguistic-communicative skills, but also encourages the development of other competences (social, cognitive, etc.). In this regard, we are interested above all in that students have access to the experiences of colleagues who are in other countries. For this, we will establish a permanent contact through a virtual platform, as we will explain in the next section.

A tour of the country of King Morvan

The present didactic proposal is directed to students of the degree of Translation and Interpretation and has been designed with the objective that they take advantage of the programs of studies abroad as an active, practical and conscious learning, so that they acquire the cultural competence that all translator needs to perform their translation work effectively. At the same time, a methodology based on experiential and collaborative learning is adopted to be able, based on the experiences experienced in the trip and their own reflection on them, and the interaction and exchange of ideas with other colleagues, to develop the transversal competences in an organic manner.

For the configuration of the didactic sequence we have been inspired by the needs of the students of the Degree in Translation and Interpretation of the European University of the Atlantic, and in the Erasmus mobility programs. On the one hand, our intention was for the student to learn individually from his own trip; on the other hand, we wanted also for him to learn from the experience of other colleagues who had to discover another destination.

Like all didactic sequences, the proposal is made up of a series of activities that can be divided into three groups: opening activities, development activities and closing activities. If we place the activities in the space-time, the opening activity would be carried out by the student before the trip, in his home university, the development activity during the trip, in the place of destination, and the closing activity, after the travel, again at the university of origin.

As students of Translation and Interpretation, we will use the Tower of Babel as a metaphor for the journey each student has to make to a region with a different language and culture, so that each student has to build their own tower according to the destination that has been assigned. Next, we will break down the different activities grouped according to the different floors that make up the tower, and which, in turn, consist of one or several tasks. Each floor of the tower refers to one of the thematic areas of the cultural and natural heritage of the visited area. Each subject is illustrated by a different color and to go through each floor, the student must perform several tasks. The achievement of all the tasks of a floor allows the student to move to the next floor and go up the tower. To motivate the student, once all the tasks of a floor have been completed, the students will obtain a miniature of the color tower of the floor. The students will have to obtain as many miniatures as the tower has to obtain his Tower of Babel.

Likewise, and in order for the students to be in contact during the whole process of the didactic sequence and to collaborate and exchange experiences and impressions, they will keep a travel journal, where they will record the results obtained in each of the tasks and will be able to see the learning process of his classmates too. For the delivery of the tasks, we will use a Weblog, since it is a 2.0 tool that allows to combine the individual work with the collaborative work -see Larrondo and Tejedor (2010) for the use of the Weblog as a tool for the elaboration of travel journal.

To exemplify the sequence, we have selected one of the destinations to which students usually travel: France, and specifically, the area of Brittany, for being a region known for its great historical, cultural and natural wealth. In the title of our proposal we refer to the country of King Morvan, because we consider that it is a very representative character of that region. In the year 818 he refused to submit Britain to the Western Empire and since then he was baptized with the nickname of Lez-Breizh (literally "support of Brittany"). However, his reign was very short, because that same year he died in a battle. Coadic (2017) points out that the consequences of his defeat were mainly religious. For example, the Irish and Scottish monks established in the forest of Broceliande were forced to change their Christian-Celtic rules and adopt the Benedictines and Brittany had to abandon Catholicism.

Next, we present the different planned activities and tasks.

Building the Tower of Babel:
Travel to the country of King Morvan

The trip that the student is going to undertake begins at the same moment in which a destination is assigned. As every traveler, he must prepare, inquire about the place he is going to visit, and make a plan. That is why we conceive a first block of opening tasks that allows the student to begin the journey with the necessary tools to live a formative experience. Next, the development activity is presented, which in itself conforms to the main core of the didactic sequence. Finally, there would be the closing activity, since it is necessary for the student to show his findings, share the stones he could find along the way, and reflect on his own learning process. Next, we present each of the activities that, in turn, are made up of different tasks.

Opening activities

These first tasks will be done in the classroom before the start of the trip.

Task 1: Explanation of the didactic sequence.
Objective: To show and explain the whole didactic sequence, and the different activities that the student has to carry out, as well as the necessary instruments for the delivery of the different tasks.

Task 2: Situation in space
Objective: Geographically locate the area under study
Description: Make a map of the region of Brittany with its different departments to be able to use it throughout the trip.

Development activities

As we have already indicated, with the different activities that make up this part, students can go deeper into the different thematic areas that make up the cultural heritage of the area to which they have traveled. Each floor corresponds to one of these areas and is represented by a color. The completion of the tasks that make up a floor will allow students to move to the next and thus build the tower. Next, we present the visual example of the areas that make up our Tower of Babel.

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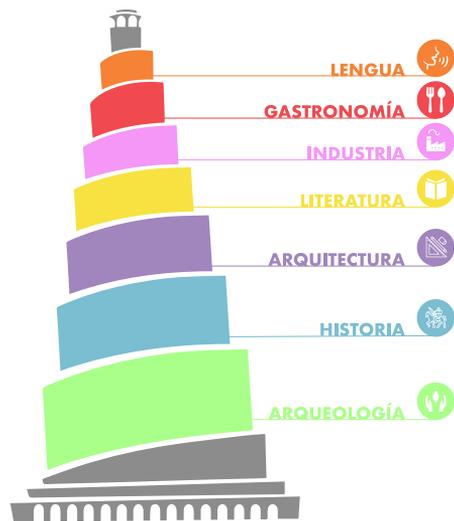
ARCHEOLOGY

Task 1: The megaliths
Objective: To know the megalithic sites that are scattered throughout the Breton territory.
Description: Brittany is one of the most important regions of prehistoric culture. In it there are a great amount of megalithic deposits. Find out in which areas they are and the types of buildings that can be seen in each location. Then prepare a travel route for tourists who want to visit the region.

Task 2: The Celtic vestiges
Objective: Know the origin.
Description: In the year 500 BC the Celts arrived with their civilization to the Breton peninsula. Find out the names of the different towns and in which areas they settled. Go to the Museum of Brittany in Rennes and discover the Celtic legacy that remains guarded there. Finally, discover in what concrete place the Romans managed to defeat the last Celtic people. It prepares an expository text about the Celtic legacy in which what was learned in the Museum of Brittany is shown. Final question of the block: What name did Brittany receive when it was inhabited by the Celts?

HISTORY

Task 1: The Duchess of Brittany
Objective: To know the role played by the Duchess Anne of Brittany in the development of Brittany as a region.
Description: The Duchess of Brittany was born in the castle of Nantes. Travel to this city and find out everything you can about the life and reign of Anne of Brittany. Visit the Thomas-Dobrée Museum and discover what belonging the Duchess hosts. How many kings did she marry?

Task 2: The pirates
Objective: To know the history of Saint Maló as a corsair city.
Description: We now propose a trip to Saint-Maló, the birthplace of Jacques Cartier (discoverer of Canada in 1534). In this city is the Hotel de Asfeld, an architectural jewel that hides a secret about its history. Could you indicate which one?

Task 3: The Company of the Indies
Objective: To know the relevance of the French Company of the East Indies in the history of French commerce.
Description: In the city Port-Louis is the Museum of the Company of the Indies, a unique museum in France where you can contemplate the different goods that were transported to the other side of the world. Make an album of photos with the most relevant objects.

Task 4: Keroman submarine base
Objective: To know one of the stages of the history of France marked by the German occupation.
Description: The occupation of the German army of Lorient in 1940 is made clear through an enormous construction built by the Nazis. Discover what it is about and prepare a report in which you refer to the key moments of that period.
Final question of the block: How did history contribute to the building of a strong Breton identity?

ARCHITECTURE

Task 1: The Breton houses.
Objective: To know the unique characteristics of the Breton houses.

Description: The city of Poul-Fetan is in the department of Morbihan. In it are the Pen-ty. Find out what they are and the material they are made of.

Task 2: The parochial precincts.
Objective: To know one of the most characteristic elements of the religious architecture of Brittany.
Description: Brittany is covered with parish enclosures, unique architectonic groups fruit of the religious fervor of the region. Discover in which villas they are and what the calvaries represent, one of its fundamental parts. Create a travel guide where you can see the place where they are, what all the areas where we can find a parish enclosure, a brief description of the style and the architectural complex itself, have at least one photograph.

Task 3: The medieval villages.
Objective: To know the architectural characteristics of medieval villages.
Description: Brittany preserves medieval villages capable of transporting us to the past. Find out what they are and photographically document all your visits to them.

Task 4: The fortresses and castles.
Objective: Understand the influence of history on the architectural constructions of the region.
Description: Brittany was the object of desire of various rivals so to defend itself they had to build walls, forts and castles. Make a route through the main ones in which you indicate the period in which they are framed and the main architectural features.
Final question of the block: What relationship does one of those castles have with the movie *The Vikings*?

LITERATURE

Task 1: The Celtic legends.
Objective: To learn about the rich tradition of popular literature of Brittany through its popular stories.
Description: The stories and legends are part of the Breton soul. Inquire about the different legends and prepare an audio as a storyteller in which you tell the story.
Task 2: The Matter of Brittany.
Objective: Understand the relevance of the Matter of Brittany in French literature.

Description: The Matter of Brittany refers to a series of texts written during the Middle Ages around the court of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. Many of the episodes described in the novels take place in a forest located in Brittany. Find out in which one, visit it and locate the emblematic points it contains.

Final question of the block: What are the *Étonnants Voyageurs* and what city do they associate with?

INDUSTRY

Task 1: The textile industry.
Objective: To know the raw material of the textile industry, and the reasons for its development.
Description: Find a professional in the textile industry and interview him about the development of this industry in Brittany.
Task 2: The canning industry.
Objective: To know the development of the canning industry.
Description: Fishing is a key activity in Brittany. Visit a canning factory and find out how the canning industry has developed so fruitfully.
Final question of the block: What object was commercialized with great success from the development of the textile industry?

GASTRONOMY

Task 1: Breton gastronomy.
Objective: To know the local gastronomy.
Description: Choose a typical dish from the area where you live, look for the recipe and record yourself in the process of the dish.
Final question of the block: What is special about the galette of Brittany?

LANGUAGE

Task 1: The Breton.
Objective: To know the linguistic diversity of the Brittany region.
Description: The Breton language is the only representative of the Celtic languages in France. It is a minority language but with a presence in the region. Find out through classmates the status of that language and interview a speaker from Breton who can tell you first hand the current situation of the Breton language.

Task 2: The Gaulish.
Objective: To know the linguistic diversity of the Brittany region.
Description: Gaulish is another of the languages of Brittany. It is a minority language with little written literature, but it is possible to find various references to this language, as for example in posters arranged by different cities. Collect the examples you find.
Final question of the block: In how many dialects is Breton divided into and what are they?

Closing activities

These last tasks will be carried out in the classroom once the trip is finished. The two tasks are designed for the student to interact with colleagues who have experienced an academic trip and share their experiences.

Task 1: Oral presentation of the Travel Journal.
Objective: Show other travelers your travel experience.
Description: Make an oral presentation where you present your travel journal, paying special attention to your own learning process of cultural and intercultural competence.

Task 2: Teaching to teach.
Objective: To teach the rest of the classmates what you have learned.
Description: Make a Trivial so that the rest of your classmates can learn from your trip.
This second task is configured as a collaborative task, as each student who has gone to a different destination will have to configure their own trivial, so that a global Trivial is created to learn the cultural and natural heritage of the different destinations.

Final considerations

In the present article we have offered a didactic proposal focused on travel as an educational tool for the acquisition of cultural competence. In this sense, returning to the original meaning of the word "travel", the student will face a pilgrimage in search of the different vestiges that will allow him to discover the cultural elements, both tangible and intangible.

In our sequence we offer a series of tasks divided into thematic blocks. It should be noted that the number of blocks may vary depending on the place of destination and the preferences of the teacher. It is also necessary to point out that in our proposal we only focus on the breakdown of the sequence and, since we frame it in the context of mobility programs, we do not address the aspect of evaluation. However, within the configuration of Spanish programs it would be possible to include this aspect if we grant the sequence the status of extracurricular activity, so that students could opt for additional credits.

Therefore, through our didactic proposal we intend to exploit to the maximum the mobility experience of the students, not only affecting the linguistic part, but also the cultural aspect so that the students realize a total immersion in the culture of the country that welcomes them and discover firsthand the elements that make up this culture.

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Growing up between two worlds: Portuguese as a heritage language in Spain

Crecer entre dos mundos: el portugués como lengua de herencia en España

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Abstract

Language and culture are part of the identity construction of individuals. When a child grows up in a different country of his parents, his identity will be more complex, since there's an alive language and culture in his familiar environment, nevertheless, different from the majority language and culture of the country he lives.

This paper addresses to recognize the strategies of 11 Brazilian relatives immigrated to Spain to transmit the Portuguese as a heritage language to their children who live in Spain. The results point to an awareness about their primordial role in the heritage language transmission. Moreover, they recognize the support of an institution in order to minimize the communication restriction contexts in this language.

Keywords

Immigration, heritage language, heritage speaker, POLH, PLH.

Resumen

Lengua y cultura son elementos determinantes en la construcción de la identidad de los individuos. Cuando un niño crece en un país distinto al de sus padres, esta identidad será más compleja, puesto que la lengua y cultura familiar serán distintas a la lengua y cultura del país donde vive. Este estudio de caso único de corte cualitativo realizado con un grupo de once familiares brasileños buscó identificar las estrategias utilizadas para la transmisión del portugués como lengua de herencia a sus hijos que crecen en España. Los resultados demuestran que a pesar de reconocer su rol de principal transmisor, los familiares consideran fundamental el soporte de otras instituciones para minimizar la restricción de contextos de comunicación en esta lengua.

Palabras clave

Inmigración, lengua de herencia, hablante de herencia, POLH, PLH.

Introduction

> But what is language *[langue] It* is not to be confused with human speech *[langage]*, of which it is only a definite part, though certainly an essential one. It is both a social product of the faculty of speech and a collection of necessary conventions that have been adopted by a social body to permit individuals to exercise that faculty.

For more than a century, anthropology and sociology have presented studies on culture and its relation to language. Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835, in Trujillo Saez, 2006), emphasizes that language allows the understanding of the world. "[...] the language mediates between us and the world and we perceive the latter through the categories of the first" (p.79). Hall (2003) states that language is one of the means of representation of a culture and it is through it that it is possible to communicate ideologies, values and feelings within a context. From the postmodern point of view, it is possible to understand culture as a space for the construction of meanings, where the subject is active in establishing relationships between language and culture. For Benedict (1997) "[...] culture is a lens through which man sees the world" (p.12). The lens in this case is the subjective component, fruit of the subject's experiences within the context.

In the case of the transmission of a majority language, culture is transmitted in a natural way, the result of the fabric of social relationships that a subject will try to build throughout its biological and social development. For Hall (2003), national cultures are constituted of symbols and representations and are a discourse and a path for the construction of meaning. In the case of the transmission of a language and culture within the country of origin, signs and linguistic and cultural codes are transmitted at the same time, since "The senses are in the stories told about the nation, memories that connect their present with its past and images that are built from it" (Hall, 2003, p. 51).

However, this reality is re-signified when a language and culture are important in the family context but are different from the majority language and culture of the country of residence. As Thomas and Peterson (2015) affirm, when a culture is not familiar, developing a deep understanding of a new culture would be like trying to learn a new language with the same accent of the first language, that is, a challenge. This is the case two children of immigrants who grow up in a country different from the one of their relatives.

Although they know the language and culture of the family, they do not necessarily dominate this language, since have not emigrated as adults, like their parents did, but they were born or emigrated at a very early age to another country. As they do not have the opportunity to experience the family culture in other social contexts, they do not always identify with it. Likewise, they maintain a link full of meanings, related to the feeling of belonging to this family origin. This language and culture, different from the environment where these subjects reside, is transmitted especially in the family environment and among other definitions, we will call it language and heritage culture.

This study is part of a doctoral research and seeks to know the perception of Brazilian family members, which emigrated to Spain, about their role of transmission of the heritage language, the strategies they use and what kind of linguistic attitudes they perceive of their children, born in Spain.

Heritage language

The heritage language, also known as patrimonial language or ancestral language (He, 2010, Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003), colonial language (Carreira, 2004, Fishman and Peyton, 2001), or even minority language (Valdés, 2005), is the language of origin of the families that, for some reason, migrate to another country where the language is different from theirs. The term inheritance is related to its transmission to the descendants of immigrants who speak this language. The heritage language is a language of communication related to a familiar sociocultural context, which helps to structure thought, discourses and their meanings.

The heritage culture, as well as the language, if it is not transmitted by the family, will hardly be learned, since in most cases, the descendants of immigrants were born or arrived at a very early age to the country of residence and therefore experience a culture different from that of inheritance on a daily basis. These descendants are known as heritage speakers. This terminology was initially presented in Canada, a country with a high number of immigrants. After a few years, it was also adopted by the United States and other countries (Cummins 2005), to identify children who learned a language from birth, but have another dominant language related to the context where they live. According to Cummins (2005), "[...] as well as

children of immigrants, the speakers of heritage are refugees and indigenous groups [...]" (page 586) who must adapt in a new context, coexisting with another language and culture.

Van Deusen Scholl (2003) argues that heritage speakers do not necessarily speak the family language, nevertheless, they have a strong intergenerational affective bond with their origin. Montrul (2015) defines heritage language speakers as: "[...] individuals who have been exposed to an immigrant or minority language since childhood, who are also very competent in the majority language spoken in the more widespread linguistic community. "(p 168).

In addition, he also considers, together with the aforementioned authors, some characteristics common to the inheritance speakers proposed by Zyzik (2016):

Figure 1
Characteristics common to heritage speakers
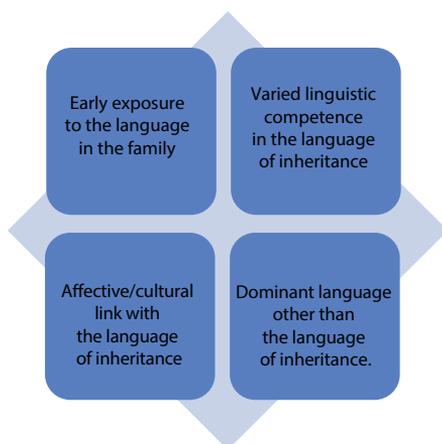
Source: Adapted from Zyzik (2016).

With respect to the heritage culture, Fishman and Peyton (2001) ratify the interdependence relationship between language and culture, proposing that, in reality, heritage speakers are subjects of a language relevant to their family and, therefore, to a culture that will relate to the construction of their identity.

Regarding the transmission of the heritage language is relevant to know the tensions and relationships that emerge from these individuals: their perception of reality, the contact with the dominant culture and its culture, as perceived by the standardized language and the heritage language, and what are their attitudes towards this language and culture. Nesteruk (2010) asserts that while some language and culture are a source of pride, for others it can be something shameful. Therefore, the subjectivity that covers this topic situates this study in a sociolinguistic paradigm, since as He (2010) states "the very notion of the heritage language is sociocultural, given that it is defined in terms of the group of people who speak it." (P 66)

In addition to language, cultural behaviors are also presented differently by children who live in a multicultural family and context. Cruz-Ferreira (2006) agrees with this idea saying that "the practice of differential behavior in cultural environments and the coherence of these in each of the children, reinforces the sense of community that is the hallmark of a cultural heritage" (p. 291).

In the case of the children of immigrants, the symbolic references related to the identity of the country of origin are constituted differently from those of their ascendants. The children of immigrants who emigrated at an early age or were born in the country of residence have a language and culture of origin by virtue of their relatives, however, they grow up in a different society. This means that the maintenance of the referents of origin is carried out by the family members and not by the environment, as Juliano (1994) points out, "the common experience with their compatriots is limited to a shared and learned discourse" (p.95).

Thus, in this situation there will be a linguistic and cultural lack of vital experiences. In this way, the construction of a collective identity related to the country of origin of the ancestors is not a natural process. While the subject forms its identity from the interaction with society and the children of immigrants grow up in a society different from that of their relatives, their identity will be, by default, hybrid and complex. Therefore, although the children of immigrants grow up establishing social networks of their ancestors, Maalouf (1999) states that "we are all infinitely closer to our contemporaries than to our ancestors" (p.123). This means that for the process of building collective cultural identity to happen with little or no experience in the society of family origin, it will be necessary to promote maximum contact with the system of representations related to the

language and culture of their parents and we consider that this system of representations is transmitted in the first place, by means of language.

Flores and Melo-Pfeifer (2014) confirm that the concept of heritage language (from this moment, LI) is still a recent field of research, of complex definition, especially if we consider the diversity of concepts to assign the relationship of the subjects with the language, sometimes approaching what by convention is called the mother tongue (MT) or foreign language (FL). On the transmission of the language and inheritance culture, Carreira (2016) argues that the language and heritage culture can be learned in three contexts: heritage language classes, mixed classes with foreign language speakers and some personalized options, such as independent studies and private tutoring. Likewise, the first and main contact will be given by the family environment.

One of the factors that influences the learning of the heritage language proposed by Montrul (2015) is the linguistic attitude and the motivation on the part of the heritage speaker. For Moreno Fernández (2005), "the linguistic attitude is a manifestation of the social attitude of individuals, distinguished by focusing and, specifically, referring both to the language and the use that it makes of society" (p.177). The linguistic option of a speaker for his discourses is linked to a cognitive and affective profiling that represents his subjective perceptions about a linguistic and cultural context. In addition, Pearson (2007) emphasizes that the motivation for learning and attitudes towards this language and culture are conditioned to the attitudes of the family, friends and society in general against the language and minority culture.

In the case of the children of immigrants born in the country of residence, that is, they are not immigrants, but have foreign ancestry, attitudes can have an affective and cognitive component, which can act in a symbiotic or conflictive way (Trafimow & Sheeran, 2005). In other words, it is possible that an inheritance speaker prefers to use a variation of the LH, or even another language with people of the same origin, depending on the prestige that the language has in its environment (cognitive attitude), but also prefer use the variety that is spoken at home with people from his/her family or close friends, because he/she considers it closer and more comfortable (affective attitude). These choices may be conscious and peaceful or cause for stress and bewilderment by speakers of more than one origin. These attitudes are not permanent and may vary according to the context and interlocutor. However, since this research is framed in sociolinguistics

and language didactics, we consider it essential to know the variables that surround and directly or indirectly affect the teaching and learning of the language and heritage culture. Respecting linguistic options, considering conflicts related to linguistic attitudes in an environment of languages in contact, is an essential requirement a didactic approach to the teaching of a language and heritage culture. Knowing how to evaluate the type of attitude and the level of motivation of the students leads to the possibility of offering learning situations concerning the needs of the learners.

Another aspect that influences linguistic attitudes is the social prestige of the language in the country of residence. Poersch (1995) in an investigation on the children who live in the linguistic border between Brazil and Uruguay and do not reach the communicative competence in both languages, defends that this reinforces the insecurity and consequently negative attitudes towards one language or another. Countries with more flexible language policies, which emphasize the importance of the local language and culture without subjecting their residents to acculturation, that is, assimilating local culture, collaborating with international entities and favoring an intercultural dialogue, is an environment that favors positive attitudes towards the learning of the language and inheritance culture.

Finally, the last aspect that affects the linguistic attitudes and the motivation of the heritage speakers is the motivation and the linguistic attitude of the family regarding the transmission of the language and heritage culture to their children. In the 70s and 80s, Fishman (1980) highlighted the lack of research about the interests and motivation of families, especially within the immigrant collective. According to De Houwer (1999), the fact that the relatives believe in their role of transmission, can influence the linguistic development of their children and has an impact on it, simply because this belief makes them act in one way or another.

According to Spolsky (2009), family language policies bring together beliefs and ideologies about language, linguistic practices and efforts to establish or modify these practices through interventions in the family. McCarty (2011) testifies that family language policies are not always explicit, but that, nevertheless, they stem from the practices and ideologies present in the family environment.

With regards to the practices of the heritage language, Döpke (1988, 1992) emphasizes as a prerogative function of the family to insist on the use of the minority language and to use some teaching techniques, acquired under

professional advice, to be applied with children in the family environment. The author highlights the strategy one parent, one language, to explain the family linguistic organization in which family members establish different communication languages with their children.

Brazilian immigration in Spain and Portuguese as a heritage language (POLH, PHL) in Catalonia

The Brazilians officially begin their migration journey in the last decades of the 20th century. Until the 1960s, Brazil was a host country to a large contingent of Europeans and Asians. However, from the eighties, begins to undergo a change of perspective. This decade is known by economists in Latin America as the lost decade. Solé, Cavalcanti and Parella (2011) point out the main causes of the successive economic crises, the omnipresent affective migrations and the loss of purchasing power of the middle classes as a decisive factor in Brazilian emigration. A worsening of social inequality, poverty, rampant inflation and increased unemployment, caused Brazilians to begin to look abroad, primarily to the United States, as an alternative to keep resources threatened by frequent economic crises in Brazil and then to the Asian and European continent. From this situation, Brazil begins to be an exporter of labor, in a current that has caused the emigration of more than three million Brazilians.

Póvoa Neto (2006), highlights as the main demographic areas of residence the United States, Japan, Portugal, the United Kingdom and Spain. The United States is still the country that receives the largest number of Brazilians. Immigration to Japan is also considerable, although in this case there is a very specific situation, since it is the descendants of Japanese who emigrate, under special legal conditions for this group. Emigration to the European continent occurs through other variables. One of the main advantages of emigrating to the European continent is that many Brazilians have dual citizenship, by virtue of relatives who emigrated to Brazil since the 19th century.

According to the Report Brasileiros no Mundo[1] (2016), Spain is the third main host country for Brazilians. According to the National Institute of

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1   Retrieved from: https://goo.gl/TM56eh

Statistics of Spain[2] (2016), Brazilians are distributed through some specific regions. Catalonia concentrates the largest contingent, with 22% of the population. Madrid is the second, with 17%, followed by Andalucía (10%) and Galicia (9%).

The fact that many couples are mixed, that is, have different origins, removes the prominence of Portuguese even in the family since family members have to negotiate linguistic uses within the home. All this scenario constitutes a laborious challenge: How to make children know the Brazilian culture and learn the Portuguese language in a context considered exolingual? This linguistic modality is called Portuguese as a heritage language (also known as POLH or PLH) and is transmitted mostly in the family sphere, but also in associations that promote the POLH/PLH in different countries of the world. These initiatives usually offer Portuguese classes with a specific didactic, in addition to promoting parties and events consonant with the Brazilian calendar.

Method

The context chosen for the study is the *Associação de Pais of Brasileirinhos na Catalunha* (APBC). The APBC is a non-profit association, founded in 2010 by a group of Brazilian families living in Barcelona, with the aim of offering Portuguese classes and activities related to Brazilian culture to the descendants of Brazilians between two and twelve years of age who reside in this region. Being an Association, the classes are assigned to the non-formal modality.

This study is part of a doctoral research, with emphasis on the definition of didactic guidelines for the transmission of a heritage language in a non-formal context. The research presents a qualitative view from the single case study method (Stake, 2010), with its roots in the phenomenological current, seeking to participate in a social construction, interpreting and giving meaning to a phenomenon, in consonance with the meanings that the subjects participating in the study provide.

According to Van Manen (2003), this type of study seeks to discover and attribute pedagogical meaning and value to educational phenomena.

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2   Retrieved from: https://goo.gl/XP1FT7

This educational research seeks to understand a reality from a holistic and interpretative perspective, in a process of reflection and elaboration of knowledge that arises from the research context. From the perspective of the hermeneutic phenomenology, "interpretation always begins with previous concepts of the researcher that will have to be progressively replaced by more adequate ones" (Gadamer, 2001, p.332).

The main interest of this section in the research is to identify family strategies for the transmission of the heritage language in a multicultural context such as that of Catalonia, as well as to analyze the perception they have about the linguistic attitudes that their children present towards Portuguese as heritage language. Analyzing the objectives of this research, this study is situated in a qualitative-interpretative paradigm, in which it is proposed to elaborate theoretical constructs for the observed phenomena (Sandín, 2003).

In order to conform the group of participants, the following were considered as criteria: being a family member (father or mother) of a child[3]:

- With Brazilian direct ancestry, coming from the father or the mother, which defines them as heritage speakers.
- Born or living in Catalonia (Spain) from a very early age.
- Participate in the weekly classes of Portuguese as a heritage language and cultural activities promoted by the *Associação de Pais of Brasileirinhos na Catalunha* (APBC).
- He has between 5 (five) and 7 (seven) years old, in the development phase of the literacy skills at the time of the field study.

Finally, the group of participants was composed of eleven people: six Brazilian parents with a foreign partner and five Brazilian mothers with a foreign partner.

The instrument chosen was the semi-structured interview. The interview guideline was built with an aim to understand the family members' vision on some dimensions related to:

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3   The masculine form is used to refer to boys or girls. This style was adopted only to avoid overload in the text.

- The conceptions they have about the transmission of the Brazilian language and culture and how this process was developed in the family environment.
- Family language policies related to the use of the language at home and the attitude of family members regarding POLH.
- The relationship with the *Associação de Pais of Brasileirinhos na Catalunha* and their expectations regarding their pedagogical work.
- The projections they have about the teaching of POLH for their children.

Chart 1
Script of questions for semi-structured interview with family

Dimensions	Questions
Conceptions	Since when are you interested in your child speaking Portuguese?
	Was this concern supported by your non-Brazilian partner?
	What are the biggest difficulties in the transmission of the Brazilian language and culture?
	What contact does your child have with the cultures or customs of both Brazil and your partner's country?
Family language policies	What languages are spoken in the family?
	How was your child's language development?
	Is there a preference for languages spoken at home?
	How do you promote Portuguese and the culture of Brazil to your child(ren)?
The Association of Relatives of *Brasileirinhos* in Catalonia (APBC)	What do you expect from the work of the APBC?
	Since your child attends classes, have you noticed any difference regarding the use of the Portuguese language?
	How do you think the pedagogical work of the APBC could be improved?

The interviews were personally conducted in the APBC, recorded in audio and transcribed in a text editor document. After completing the description and following the criteria of ethical rigor in qualitative research, the transcripts have been delivered to the interviewees for analysis and possible rectifications. At the end of this process, all the interviewees agreed

with the transcript of their interview and, thus, it was possible to proceed with the data analysis.

Analysis and results

The data analysis was carried out with the support of the Atlas Ti program, version 7.0 through the method of discourse analysis (Bardin, 1991). The fact of carrying out the interviews personally, with audio recording and subsequent transcription, made possible the analysis through this method, in function of being able to interrogate the explicit meanings verbally and non-verbally. In the interviews, some parents considered it necessary to present photos and videos of their children to illustrate their speech.

Because it is a qualitative single case study, the categories were born from the first data analysis, in a total inductive process (Stake, 2010).

After a first analysis of the interviews, three categories were defined:

- Family conceptions about the transmission of the POLH
- Family language policies related to the POLH
- Family perceptions about the work of the APBC

To present the data, the code system was used within the Atlas TI program.

INT, 1:12 where "I" means interview, 1 is the number of the primary document and 12 is the number of the quote. Although the interviews were originally done in Portuguese, it was considered appropriate to translate them into Spanish and then to English to facilitate their understanding.

Family conceptions about the transmission of the POLH

Regarding the transmission and maintenance of a language and heritage culture, the family is the one that holds the leading role in this work, since the existing connection between language, culture and individual is the result of the origin and the family bond (Spolsky, 2012). For this reason, any and all language inheritance teaching arises from the desire and expectation of the family of foreign origin that their descendants can understand and communicate in their mother tongue. The teaching of the heritage language

only makes sense when the family is fully involved in this process (Ada & Baker, 2001).

Naturally, the fact that families belong to an Association and participate in their activities every Saturday morning and that, in addition, have volunteered to collaborate with an investigation related to this topic, reveal the interest that their children can Learn Portuguese and Brazilian culture.

INT 11:1	*When we knew we were going to have a child, I thought, I'm Brazilian, I know how it will be, regardless of the heritage language and these things, the first thing that came to mind was... already in the first contact, when he was still in the belly... was in Portuguese, naturally.*
INT 12:1	*There is no specific moment, it just happens naturally, with them I speak my language, I do not speak another language and, obviously to speak my language, they must learn my language, so at home, I always spoke to them in Portuguese.*

INT 9:2	*It was an effort, not exactly an effort, but it was such a conscious work, to start using Portuguese with him, because it was not normal in my context, in my day to day, social relations, it was not my usual language anymore, at that time it was not natural to speak Portuguese.*

Family language policies related to the POLH

Although the relatives express different positions about the moment and the way of transmitting their language and culture to the children, for some as something natural, for others as an important effort on their part, all, in line with the studies of Oh and Au (2005), have shown to be aware that the success of the transmission of the heritage language is linked to their motivation to do so first in the family environment.

INT, 11:13	*If we are all three at the same table, having dinner, yes, Portuguese reigns, because somehow I always impose Portuguese among us.*
INT, 12:7	*Of course, I always speak Portuguese, my wife always speaks Spanish and they speak the language according to the person with whom they want to speak, so with me in Portuguese and Catalan with people on the street.*

In the case of a single family, Portuguese is not spoken at home, since the Brazilian relative reports losing a lot of the Portuguese language and currently speaks *Portuñol*, an interlanguage between Portuguese and Spanish:

INT 10:3	*It's that I automatically start to speak and a Portuguese mixed with Spanish comes out and when I realize this, I'm already speaking Spanish, so it's difficult for me to keep speaking Portuguese.*

In this case, it denotes a conflict related to the belief of Impact cited by De Houwer (1999). For this situation, it would be necessary to offer guidance regarding alternative proposals for the use of Portuguese at some key moments to facilitate the mental organization of the child.

Regarding the family linguistic options, in the case of the participants it was noted that in all the families, father and mother speak or at least understand the language of each other, which favors communication in more than one language within the home:

INT, 9:8	*I think it's a value for the whole family, because I speak Spanish very well, now I also speak Catalan, my husband wanted to learn Portuguese and he learned so well that he trained as a translator, he also lived in Brazil for three years, he has friends there, so Portuguese for him also has a very different meaning from what he had when we met.*

For this reason, the interviewees considered positive the support of the non-Brazilian partner in the transmission of the heritage language, affirming that the fact that the non-Brazilian relative at least understands Portuguese, allows the creation of a linguistic context in which communication is favored in more than one language within the home, creating a context of linguistic diversity that also provides the development of the heritage language.

Many of the families report having felt support from their non-Brazilian partner in the decision to opt for the Portuguese language to establish communication with their children:

INT 11:5	*His attitude has always been and still is spectacular in this sense. She also wants girls to learn, it's not just important for me, she as a mother also takes pride in knowing that her daughters share another culture and speak another language.*

Regarding the preferences and linguistic uses of children in different contexts, while some families consider Catalan as the priority language of their children and attribute this to the fact that the public school prioritizes this language, there are relatives who have reported that their Children show preference for the Spanish language. In this case, it is denoted that there

are children who have Spanish parents, not Catalans, so that in the family environment Portuguese and Spanish are spoken, while Catalan will be spoken especially in the school environment.

INT, 12:5	*They naturally speak Spanish, it is their mother tongue… Portuguese… they are trilingual, in Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese, but Portuguese is a more difficult language. Since they know that they only speak Portuguese to me, I often see them asking for more things from their mother, because it is easier to speak in Spanish… so, they do not have to be thinking about how to speak in Portuguese.*

However, in the case of this student, this relationship between domain and preference is denoted because the family member does not usually speak in Portuguese. The early acquisition was not carried out as in the case of the children of mother tongue, so that this student becomes bilingual passive, that is, he understands the language, but he does not express himself verbally in this language. Likewise, it is not only linguistic preference as mentioned by the family member, but the student does not have the basic tools to express himself orally in Portuguese.

Corroborating the studies of Broeder and Mijares (2003), other relatives reveal that the preferred languages of their children are different from Portuguese and this occurs depending on the difficulty that Portuguese represents in an exolingual context. One of the relatives also stated that his son prefers not to use Portuguese:

INT, 10:6	*Sometimes someone asks, for example, their grandmother asks… what are you learning in Portuguese? And she… she does not want to tell her.*

According to Ortiz Álvarez (2016), linguistic attitudes are made up of three key elements: beliefs, valuation and behavior of individuals. In the case of heritage speakers, we have found that the assessment and beliefs of the participants are generally positive and intimately linked to the attitudes of their family members.

In general, the relatives highlight the trips to Brazil, the visits of Brazilian friends and the coexistence with the Brazilian family in general, both through visits and videoconferences as well, as the main supports in the construction and maintenance of affective ties with Brazil.

First, it is confirmed through the interviews that the participating children have been in Brazil, at least once. All the family members interviewed admitted that no transmission strategy is better than a trip to Brazil and human contact with relatives.

One of the relatives reports that it was the first trip to Brazil that really provoked the awareness of the children about the importance of knowing how to speak Portuguese in a context in which only this language is spoken:

INT, 12:8	*It is also true that they began to use Portuguese, in that way, after their first trip to Brazil... only then did they start to speak this language, with three years. I do not know if it would be like that if we had not been there.*

According to the families, the visits of the Brazilian relatives are important for the increase in the quantity and quality of the use of this language, as seen in the following quote:

INT, 9:12	*My mother was here on vacation, from the middle of August to the middle of September, a month ago she left. With my mother here, at home, they used Portuguese a lot more, and although she has already left, her presence is still here in these uses in Portuguese.*

Family perceptions about the work of the APBC

Regarding the expectations that family members have about the knowledge their children have about the Portuguese language and Brazilian culture, all parents mention as their main objective that their children have the ability to communicate in Portuguese, especially orally:

INT, 9:22	*I see that families have some expectations, not all, but I think that a lot of those who have older children, would like very much that children could learn to read and to write in Portuguese and do it well.*

Another one of the expectations is that their children feel Brazilian and that, in addition, they know elements of the Brazilian culture in general:

INT, 12:17	*I hope that they are able to be Brazilian, it is (…), without… without fear, that they are complete Brazilians, that they understand Portuguese, that they read in Portuguese, that they know how to speak like a Brazilian, that they know how to go to Brazil and return without feeling foreign in Brazil. Although they will always be, because they will not have the detail, the culture in general.*

With regards to the expectations related to the work of the Association of Parents of Brazilians in Catalonia (APBC), the totality of the relatives of the participants report that their purpose in taking the children to the Portuguese classes of the APBC is to offer another space in which the language and culture of Brazil will be discussed and, in particular, valued.

INT, 12:14	*More people, more people using the language… not having an island effect… this weird language that dad talks about… that is a normal language.*
INT, 13:22	*I think she really only started to really talk when she started attending the Association classes. I perceived a lot of difference. She liked the classes, she wanted to integrate, so that language, that she only knew from listening to me, literally started to come out * laughs.*

Discussion and conclusions

Most of the relatives interviewed are aware of their crucial role in the transmission of a language and culture other than the majority. Whether in a natural way, by transmitting the family language, or by learning a different language and a culture related to their origin, the relatives consider a treasure and a right for their children to learn their language and culture. In this study, in which couples were in their entirety mixed, that is, a Brazilian and a non-Brazilian, special attention was given to the positive attitude of the non-Brazilian relative as a support for transmission in the family.

The main difficulties detected by families are related to the restriction of linguistic uses, and the attitude of the heritage speakers to the heritage language. Regarding the restriction of contexts, families value the Association (APBC) as a complementary agent to their work in the transmission of language and culture. On the linguistic attitude, families recognize that children grow, study and play in the majority language, which is why they show greater interest in this language and not the family language.

The interviewees highlight the trips to Brazil and the visits of the Brazilian relatives as ratifying elements of the link with the language and culture. It is through human contact that children become aware of the importance of speaking Portuguese. In addition, they see the APBC as an important ally, since it is a space for interaction between equals, in which their children can play, talk, learn and coexist with other children in similar situations. For families, the APBC becomes an ally in the role of transmission of language and culture, in the construction of identity and the valorization of diversity.

Despite family efforts, parents consider that teaching a language and culture outside the school setting is not an easy task. Once they enter the local educational system, children begin to question or even reject the family language (Montrul, 2015). The challenge lies in transforming linguistic and cultural diversity in a source of pride. What is essential is to analyze if the context for the development of communicative competence in this language is favorable and if not, to think about strategies to raise awareness about the advantages of mastering more than one language and culture. In a micro sphere, analyzing children's discourse on language and family culture can also contribute to diagnose learning needs and reevaluate the strategies that are being used in this transmission. What is reflected in the results is that only communicating in this language is not enough for the acquisition and development of communicative competence and/or the establishment of affective bonds. What most strengthens these ties is the social interaction and the experiences made by the subject. For this, the family and all the existing support network must be aware and active in their transmitting role.

Acknowledgements

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Rural work among rural adults and young wage earners in Uruguay

Trabajo rural entre adultos y jóvenes asalariados rurales en Uruguay

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Abstract

In the last ten years in the Latin American South Cone including Uruguay, important investments have been made in the agricultural sector by global agrifood corporations are highlighted in soy, forestry, minerals, sugar cane, meat, etc. The reconfiguration of the rural social space has been developed in different dimensions of analysis, one of which is the labor market. In this regard, it is proposed to analyze the main characteristics of the rural employment market, social conditions of rural employees through the categories of R. Kaztman and four dimensions of decent employment: socioeconomic context, employment opportunity, social security and monetary income, such analysis is carried out transversally from the generations approach. The data would indicate social conditions of inequality and inequality in work according to the generational group of the employee. The analysis by means of the generational dimension points to it, forming a "node" in the configuration of social inequality in rural society.

Keywords

Human settlements and land use, rural Sociology, rural development, young rural, agricultural worker.

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Resumen

En los últimos diez años en el Cono Sur latinoamericano incluido Uruguay, se han realizado importantes inversiones en el rubro agropecuario por parte de corporaciones agroalimentarias globales se destacan en la soja, forestal, minerales, caña de azúcar, carnes, etc. Se ha desarrollado la reconfiguración del espacio social rural en diferentes dimensiones de análisis, una de ellas es el mercado de trabajo. En tal sentido, se plantea analizar las principales características del mercado de empleo rural, condiciones sociales de los asalariados rurales por medio de las categorías de R. Kaztman y cuatro dimensiones del empleo decente: contexto socioeconómico, oportunidad de empleo, seguridad social e ingresos monetarios tal análisis se realiza de forma transversal desde el enfoque de generaciones. Los datos estarían indicando condiciones sociales de desigualdad e inequidad en el trabajo según el grupo generacional del asalariado. El análisis por medio de la dimensión generacional señala al mismo conformando un "nodo" en la configuración de la desigualdad social de la sociedad rural.

Palabras clave

Establecimientos humanos y uso de la tierra, Sociología rural, desarrollo rural, joven rural, trabajador agrícola.

Introduction

Uruguay is part of the transformations observed in the reconfiguration of the Latin American rural social space in the last three decades: consolidation of the demographic transition process, which impacts on the structure and configuration of the rural family; urbanization process of medium and small urban centers; development of an intensive technological model (green revolution, biotechnology, bioinformatics); transformation of the structure of the labor market; processes of country-city emigration.

Transformations that in the Latin American continent have mostly responded to the emergence of a new development model, which has been characterized by the liberalization of markets (the least intervention of the State and its respective restructuring) and structural adjustment policies applied to the rural environment on the one hand, on the other, the development of agri-food corporations on a global scale, factors that have influenced the reconfiguration of rural Latin American society, expressed in the indicated trends.

The present work proposes to analyze comparatively in the last ten years the main characteristics of the rural employment market, social conditions of rural wage-earners through the categories of R. Kaztman and four dimensions of decent employment: socio-economic context, employment opportunity, social security and monetary income (National Institute of Statistics, 2017); this analysis must be carried out transversally from the generations approach. This approach makes it possible to consider the main characteristics of the rural youth employment of wage earners and compare it with their adult peers. These conditions are generated in a framework of debate about the productive-technological transformations of the agrarian capitalist process and its impact on the rural territories of which the labor market is one of its indicators.

Productive and social transformations in the Uruguayan rural territory

In the last 25 years or so, the socio-spatial and political-institutional changes of capitalism in its post-Fordist phase intensified, that is, the more general effects of the restructuring of productive processes that not only become globalized but recompose and impact certain social spaces.

The rurality of Uruguay does not escape the global trends in terms of productive and social transformations, the international growth of the prices of raw materials, as a result of the demand for energy and food (Rubio, 2008), produces a cycle of productive expansion and rising prices that transforms the national agricultural sector. A clear indicator of these changes is the evolution of the price of land in the country that in those years increases almost eight times its value, with record prices, reaching in the cases of the most fertile land prices similar to those of the border region.

This new context as mentioned in Riella and Romero (2014) is marked by four factors that together make up the current socio-economic scenario on which the national contemporary agrarian structure should be analyzed. They are alterations in land use, legal changes for land tenure, foreignization and the dynamism of the land market.

The corollary of all these factors has been the increase in the price of land that at the beginning of the year 2000 had an average price value per hectare sold of U$S 448, while in 2011 they stand at an average value of

U\$S 3,196. In regions with greater agricultural aptitude, the average price exceeded U\$S 5,000 at the end of the period. Lease prices also showed a significant increase in the period, going from U\$S28 average in the base year to U\$S152 per hectare in 2011, and in agricultural land the average lease price was higher than the U\$S 300 for that year. Access to land, the democratization of the agrarian structure and attempts to reduce their degree of concentration have been halted by difficulties and by the role of the actors that act in it.

Territorial impacts have been very heterogeneous giving rise to a new regionalization of rural areas, on the other hand, changes are observed generated by labor dynamics in the age groups that make up the labor market, especially for young people, who become part of it in a precarious and informal way, although in smaller percentages than in the rest of the continent.

In the last two decades the process of agrarian modernization has been consolidated in which capitalist social relations and wage hiring become predominant, in the last decade in particular due to factors of global demand there is a growth of salaried workers, which later was stabilized, in this process a form of secondary exploitation is configured in which the rationality of the "equivalence exchange" ceases to apply or only applies in a limited way (Dörre 2013a in Cerda, 2016), using symbolic forms and political force to devalue the work of certain social groups or to exclude certain groups.

In this way, precarious employment conditions are generated in the agro-export sector, which implies the installation of differences and hierarchies based on the segmentation and categorization of the workers, in this case by age. Differentiations and hierarchies that imply a logic of devaluation of the other that, in turn, legitimizes the differentiated distribution of protections as well as differentiated access to rights (Cerda, 2016).

In short, this last decade has marked a break in the process of dynamic stagnation that characterized the national agrarian structure since the mid-70s, this break has meant deepening the social relations of capitalist production in Uruguayan rural society at the beginning of the century XXI. Process that is based on the contradictory articulation between a pre-capitalist agricultural technical reality and new forms of society and technology, which have intensified, consolidated and generated an enlarged social base of owners of the means of production.

Rurality in Latin America:
approach according to generations

The social construction of youth as a concept of analysis of social phenomena in rural societies in Latin America, is associated with the process of internationalization of the process of agrarian modernization in the continent, promoted and carried forward after the Second World War in which the Rural youth are perceived as agents of development.

Now, youth is a socio-cultural construction related to time and space that is presented as a phase of life between childhood and adult life (Feixa, 2004). The notion of youth corresponds to the social awareness of the existence of certain particular characteristics that differentiate young people in relation to children and adults. In this way then, the existence of youth is related to the social recognition of a specific age of the life cycle of people and to the proposal of a series of institutions and normative practices of youth behaviors, as well as a series of cultural images that impose certain expectations about youth behaviors (Bevilaqua Marín, 2010).

In the case of the study of rural youth, it is necessary to consider the specificities of dependency relationships with life and work (a fundamental dimension in these relationships) in agrarian spaces, as well as economic, political and cultural networks in which the young people and their families are integrated. There are structural conditions for this to happen, such as the asymmetric distribution of public spending within societies, which makes education, employment and health opportunities unequal among young people from different territories. But in the heterogeneous nature of youth other factors come into play, such as subjectivity, the ethnic-cultural substratum, gender, belonging to a given socioeconomic stratum and the generational and intergenerational historical context of each young person. Thus, for example, being young, and being a young person in rural areas, is a particular condition, which rural youth do not experience, even coming from the same country (Romero, 2004).

In short, the youth of a territory, a country or a region, is made up of heterogeneous sectors and groups, with unequal living conditions and with different forms of appropriation of the natural, cultural and social environment among young people and with other generations. That is, there are intergenerational inequalities in human and social development

even in more egalitarian countries such as Uruguay, for which it is necessary not only to make them evident but also to know about their dynamics.

Materials and methods

The methodology applied was of quantitative design, the source of data the Continuous Household Surveys between 2006 and 2016, given that they incorporate the rural territories and it is the period of greatest growth of agri-food production, in addition the data of the last Agricultural Census of 2011, which makes it possible to analyze productive changes at a territorial level. The analysis used with exploratory analysis techniques (univariable descriptive statistics), bivariate analysis with descriptive purposes (description of the whole of the observed population) and explanatory purposes (analyze possible causal relationships between two variables: independent and dependent).

In summary, secondary data analysis is applied, this type of analysis enables the evaluation of trends and the comparison of the data available for a wide period of time, countries and regions on a national or international scale, of descriptive and bivariate type.

Analysis of results: context indicators in the last ten years

There are few studies about how the indicated changes have generated or not differential labor dynamics in the age and social groups that make up the labor market as a whole. In view of this, the next item considers those that are considered to be the main trends of Uruguayan rural work, trying to situate their characteristics and impacts on the conditions of rural wage earners.

When observing the trajectory in these last four decades (1975-2013) in Chart 1, the evolution of those employed in the agricultural[1] sector and the importance of the sector in relation to the total number of employed persons in the country is presented. In general terms, it can be seen that the highest

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1   In the data presented, all the employees of Branch 1 "Agriculture, forestry and fisheries" (INE) are considered, regardless of the category of occupation and type of task they perform.

number of employed persons in the country is recorded in 2010 and the lowest in 1996 (179 833 and 147 515, respectively), increasing in the period 1996-2010, approximately 30 000 those employed in the sector (Ion, 2015).

Chart 1
Evolution of the number of employed persons in the agricultural sector and % in relation to the total number of employed persons in the country. Years 2006, 2010 and 2016.

Year	Employed in the agricultural sector	% Employed in the agricultural sector/ total of the country	Variation of employed persons in thousands	Variation of employed persons in %
2006 (Base 100)	151 044	10,8	0	0
2010	179 833	11,6	28.789	19,0
2016	138 338	8,4	-12.706	-8,5

Source: OMT-MTSS 2011, 2012, 2013, based on ECH 2006, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013 INE. Ion, 2015.

When considering the data provided by the Continuous Household Survey (CHS) in the analyzed period, the percentage of employed in the agricultural sector maintained a growing trend between 2006 and 2010, there is an accumulated increase of approximately 29 000 in these four years, and a significant retraction in 2016, when approximately 13 000 people were no longer linked to the sector.

During the period 2006-2016, those employed in the agricultural sector, with respect to the total of those employed in the country, ranged between 10.8, 11.6% and 8.4%. A decrease is observed in 2016 in relation to the base year of 2010, in reference to the total number of employed persons in the country, in absolute terms, this decrease of employed persons in the agricultural sector in 2016 registered 13,000 fewer employed persons compared to the year 2010.

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Chart 2
Unemployment rate country
and rurality by age (2006-2010-2016)

Year	14 to 24 Years (%)	25 Years and more (%)	General Rate (%)
2006	27,9	7,3	10,8
2010	20,6	4,5	7,2
2016	11,0	2,8	7,8
Year	Rurality		General Rate (%)
2006	7,8	3,2	4,2
2010	6,7	2,1	3,0
2016	7,5	2,3	3,5

Source: Elaborated by the authors, based on ECH 2006, 2010, and 2016, INE.

For this chart, the situation of unemployment in the aforementioned period is analyzed. Young people practically double the unemployment rate in relation to the general rate and quadruple with respect to those over 25 years. They present a geometric average of 17.9% of unemployment, while those over 25 years 4.5%.

When analyzing rurality, the situation is different, but the trend is the same, that is, higher youth unemployment both in relation to the general rate and those over 25 years. Different because young people have a geometric average unemployment rate of 7.3% and those over 25 years of 2.5%, that is, lower when compared to the national panorama and the differences of higher unemployment of young people in relation to the overall rural and adult rate is double, less than that observed at the national level.

In summary, during the analyzed period the unemployment rate behaved generationally unequal beyond the social space, given that young people presented higher unemployment rates both at the national and rural levels in relation to adults.

Chart 3
Working conditions country
and rurality by age (2006-2010-2016)

Year	14 to 24 Years (%)	14 to 24 Years (%)	25 Years and more (%)	25 Years and more (%)	General Rate (%) - Contributes Retirement Fund	General Rate (%) - gets bonuses
	Contributes retirement fund	Gets bonuses	Contributes retirement fund	Gets bonuses		
2006	42,0%	55,0%	66,0%	74,0%	62,5	69,5
2010	56,0%	60,0%	71,0%	61,0%	69,0	61,0
2016	65,0%	66,0%	76,0%	64,0%	74,3	64,4
Year	Rurality				General Rate (%) - Contributes Retirement Fund	General Rate (%) - gets bonuses
	Contributes retirement fund	Gets bonuses	Contributes retirement fund	Gets bonuses		
2006	43,0%	55,0%	69,0%	74,0%	64,5	69,4
2010	45,0%	47,0%	67,'%	47,0%	64,0	47,0
2016	52,0%	52,0%	67,0%	49,0%	65,0	49,0

Source: Elaborated by the authors, based on ECH 2006, 2010, and 2016, INE.

Chart 3 presents information on some dimensions of decent work, in this case emphasis is placed on the formality of the work, considering whether the worker contributes to the retirement fund (whatever it is) and/or receives the bonus payment for this activity.

The first thing that is observed is a continuous increase of salaried workers contributing to the retirement fund between 2006 and 2016, while the inverse movement occurs with the collection of bonuses. This situation could be indicating a characteristic of the type of employment that has been developing in the country, formal jobs but with greater flexibility in time, type of employment relationship with those who demand the same and intensity of the task.

Secondly, analyzing generations in terms of general trend younger employees during the analyzed period have presented lower rates than the general and in relation to adults both in the contribution to retirement fund and in the collection of bonuses. Now, it is worth noting the constant

increase in the contribution to retirement funds in both generational groups but with differential improvements, in the case of young people an increase of 55% and of adults of 15%, but despite this the adults continue with better coverage than young people. It is appreciated that the point of arrival in the retirement coverage of young employees in the study period (2016), is the starting point for adults (2006). That is to say, the generational inequalities remain although it is to emphasize their decrease.

When analyzing the bonus payment, inversely proportional movements are presented in generational terms, while the bonus payment rate for young workers increases, it decreases for adults. What would raise the question about the flexibility of jobs in this analyzed decade, is it for everyone equally?

In the third place, as the analysis continues but rurality is incorporated into it, it can be seen in general terms that both the contribution rates to the retirement fund and the payment of the bonus are lower than the general or country rates. Now, although the general trend of the country is maintained, it is not in relation to the observed intensity, that is, in the case of rurality, the improvement in the contribution to the retirement fund was 0.07% while the general rate was of approximately 18%, while, in regard to the payment of bonuses, again, the downward trend remains but in rurality the decline is 29% and in the country of 7%, which opens the question about flexibility labor and its occurrence in the social space of the labor market.

Continuing with the analysis of rurality but incorporating the generational approach, it is observed that the starting point (2006) the rates of contribution to pension fund and bonus payment are similar for both generations but different points of arrival (2016). In the case of young people, the increase in the contribution to the retirement fund was approximately 21%, while for adults there was a decrease of 3% -the latter is different from what is observed in the country. In the payment of end-yeas bonuses said trend is maintained, the decrease in young people is 5.5% and in adults 34% different situation when compared with the country, in the case of adults the decrease is 14% and in young people the bonus payment increases by 20%.

In summary, the improvements and precarious conditions of work conditions would not be for everyone equally or in the same social space of work. The following chart considers the evolution of income/hour in the same occupation of the employee but in different generations, in this case what the CHS defines as unskilled workers.

Chart 4
Evolution of the hourly wage of employed persons
as unskilled workers according to age and rurality (2006-2010-2016)

Year	Evolution wage per hour of the employed as unskilled workers[2]		Median Income/ Time in the country
	14 to 24 Years (%)	25 Years and more (%)	
2006	USD 10,1	USD 15,5	USD 15,3
2010	USD 7,9	USD 10,0	USD 9,7
2016	USD 11,7	USD 14,5	USD 13,8
Year	Rurality		General Rate (%)
2006	USD 9,9	USD 15,4	USD 15,2
2010	USD 7,5	USD 9,7	USD 9,2
2016	USD 11,7	USD 13,6	USD 13,2

Source: Elaborated by the authors, based on ECH 2006, 2010, and 2016, INE and BCU by exchange rate

For this case, employees were considered in the same occupation, unskilled worker. It is appreciated that during the analyzed period there was a decrease of 9% (2006-2016), now, those over 25 had a median income/hour of work greater than the national, while those under 25 years the situation was the opposite. When analyzing the evolution for each generation of employees, those over 25 have had a depreciation of 9% of income/hour between 2006 and 2016, while young people have increased by 16%. In spite of this, the inequality between generations has been of a geometric average of 24% in the period in the same occupation, it should be noted that it has decreased since in 2006 it was 35% and in 2016 it was 19%.

When analyzing rurality, it can be seen, first, that the evolution of the median income/hour tends to behave like that of the country, although slightly downward. When observing for generations, similar trends are also appreciated, that is, for wage earners over 25 years the hour wage was reduced by 9% and among those under 25 an increase of 18% occurred, the latter a little more than their urban peers. In relation to intergenerational

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2   The median price of the US dollar was taken as a reference in relation to the Uruguayan peso in the years analyzed, according to the Central Bank of Uruguay (BCU).

inequality, during the analyzed period it was a geometric average of 29% in this case, higher in rurality. It should be emphasized that, in the same way, the intergenerational inequality in income per hour of work has tended to decrease in the country, since in 2006 it was 55% and in 2016 it was 16%, although it would be lower to said proportion of inequality in rurality.

In summary, it is observed that the behavior of income per hour of work among the employed as unskilled workers in analyzed the period has tended to decrease by 9%, the behavior in this regard in rural areas is very similar to that of the country. Once again intergenerational differences are appreciated, since wage earners over 25 tend to earn more than their peers under 25 years, now, these inequalities tend to be higher in rural areas although they have been reduced to a greater extent in rural areas.

Now, it is also intended to analyze the social conditions developed during the period proposed and approach the impact of working conditions, which have been generated by the productive transformations identified in these generations of rural wage-earners.

The analysis in the social conditions of the employees to know the weight of poverty, from the generational point of view, will make it possible to distinguish the different structural conditions of these rural workers. To this end, the unsatisfied basic needs approach was considered, which evaluates the goods and services available to households, in this case rural wage earners. For which a set of basic needs is selected, and a minimum satisfaction threshold is determined for each dimension, in this case the NBI considered were: access to education services, housing quality, overcrowding, access to water, availability and type of sanitary service and refrigerator holding (Riella & Mascheroni, 2011).

Consider this methodological approach to know the incidence of poverty in the social conditions of rural employees, it means discovering the structural tendency of the shortcomings which would not be possible to be detected by the circumstantial improvement of the income and that in certain cases depend more of public policies such as education, housing or access to education (Vigorito, 2005 in Riella & Mascheroni, 2011).

On the other hand, the poverty analyzed from the poverty line implies considering the income method for its measurement, for which, as indicated by the National Institute of Statistics:

> ...it is necessary to define a Basic Food Basket per capita (BFB) and a Total Basic Basket per capita (TBB) with which the thresholds, Indigence Line

(IL) and Poverty Line (PL) are defined. If the household's per capita income is below the IL or PL the household is defined as indigent or poor respectively (INE, 2006, p.11).

To which, the analysis below considers both methods of measuring poverty (direct: NBI and indirect: poverty line) jointly also known as integrated poverty analysis (Katzman, 1989), and thus obtain a new measurement with a higher level of completeness. This generates four categories, namely: chronic poverty: includes those households that have income (or consumption) below the poverty line and one or more unsatisfied basic needs. This group forms the most critical core of poverty; these are homes that live in prolonged conditions of deprivation and that, in addition to not being able to routinely acquire the minimum goods and services, have not been able to obtain adequate housing or ensure all its members access to education, to health services and employment opportunities; recent poverty: includes poor households by income (or consumption) but with basic needs met.

It is a situation that suggests that the income deficit has not been permanent or long enough to affect the satisfaction of the needs of a household - which changes more slowly than income - such as chronic malnutrition or housing shortages; that is, it indicates a recent decline in the standard of living of households. They are homes that are at risk of falling into chronic poverty if job opportunities do not allow them to recover their purchasing power; Inertial poverty: refers to households with unsatisfied basic needs and income (or consumption) above the poverty line. It is a situation that suggests a process of economic advancement of households, because the dissatisfaction of needs would reveal that they were poor in the past but have not yet managed to eliminate their accumulated shortages in basic needs and lastly, social integration: it is about the population that is not poor by any of the two criteria; that is, it has income above the poverty line and its basic needs are met (SIISE, 2013).

The information below presents rural wage earners according to their situation of Unsatisfied Basic Needs (UBN) and poverty line according to age groups between 2006 and 2015. That is, generation will be considered as a control variable, considering as young people those between 14 and 30 years old as indicated by Uruguayan regulations and adults over 30 years old to observe if there is any change or not in the presence of such variable.

For the year 2006, as can be seen in table 5, the situation of wage earners is based on different situations of inequality between adults and young people, which were in worse conditions in 2006, both for the Poverty Line (PL) and for IBN.

Chart 5
Rural wage earners with IBN
Poverty line according to age groups (2006)

| NBI Index and NBS | Young people (14-30 Years) | | Total |
	Poor	Not poor	
NBS	2,3%	6,1%	8,4%
	Recent poverty	Integrated	
NBI	38,4%	53,3%	91,7%
	Structural poverty	Inertial poverty	
Total	40,7% (3469)	59,3% (2499)	100,0% (n= 5968)
NBI Index and NBS	Adults (>30 Years)		Total
	Poor	Not poor	
NBS	7,6%	24,1%	31,8%
	Recent poverty	Integrated	
NBI	17,4%	50,8%	68,2%
	Structural poverty	Inertial poverty	
Total	25,1% (3438)	74,9% (10266)	100,0% (n= 13704)

Source: own elaboration based on the National Extended Household Survey - INE (ECH) 2006.

For 2016, the situation improves for both groups, but to a greater extent for young people in both indicators. These reduce poverty by 37 percentage points PL and increase 24 percentage points young people with NBS, adults also improve in both indicators but in smaller proportions, in short, the emphasis on improvements in social conditions would be among young wage earners.

Chart 6
Rural wage earners with NBI
Poverty line according to age groups (2016)

NBI Index and NBS	Young people (14-30 Years)		Total
	Poor	Not poor	
NBS	2,0%	27,2%	29,7%
	Recent poverty	Integrated	
NBI	5,7%	64,6%	70,3%
	Structural poverty	Inertial poverty	
Total	7,7% (50)	92,3% (596)	100,0% (n= 646)
NBI Index and NBS	Adults (>30 Years)		Total
	Poor	Not poor	
NBS	1,2%	22,2%	23,4%
	Recent poverty	Integrated	
NBI	4,8%	71,8%	76,6%
	Structural poverty	Inertial poverty	
Total	6,1% (78)	93,9% (1208)	100,0% (n= 1286)

Source: own elaboration based on the National Extended Household Survey - INE (ECH) 2006.

In summary, the social conditions of origin in the study present better percentages among adults both by Poverty Line and NBI, in relation to young salaried workers. At the end of the analysis period, there are improvements in these conditions for both social groups and especially for young salaried employees.

These improvements in social indicators converge with the observed improvements in working conditions among the generations of employees at the country level, but the same does not occur in rural areas. On the other hand, young people continue to participate in a greater degree of poverty and non-decent working conditions, and again in rural areas they deepen.

Conclusions

The productive transformations that have taken place in the last decade have consolidated the social relations of capitalism and the wage labor, during the first half of the decade, the growth of rural wage earners became constant,

given the transformations under way, where it is characterized for low quality of employment and diversification of the structure of occupations.

When analyzing structural social indicators of rural wage-earners, global improvements are observed, but not homogeneous, firstly because wage earners, depending on whether they are young or adult, start from situations of different social inequality, with young people being the most unequal. The aforementioned would indicate a differential generational appropriation in the construction of well-being within the employees. This situation would indicate different forms of labor precariousness, characteristic of the new global productive model to which Uruguayan agri-export is integrated, in which generation inequalities remain (together with other variables) as structuring axes of the social inequality matrix of Uruguayan rurality.

As the authors Lima and Carneiro (2016) point out:

> Formal salary does not mean non-precarious work, since the effective working conditions, days, intensification and forms of payment are disregarded. Thus, the link to social rights does not characterize the non-existence of precarization (p.91).

And in the Uruguayan case (one of the most egalitarian countries in the continent) it becomes diffusely transverse by age.

Finally, this appropriation would be related to the quality of employment developed by the employee in which, for young people, entry into the labor market would be for low-quality jobs, it generates low income in relation to their adult peers, in addition to the fact of being male or female, being the first ones who receive the highest income, the years of education in which for some young people it implies to reduce the wage gap but if they enter at an early age to work they will not be able to continue with the studies and will deepen this asymmetry in the income and finally, these jobs would be being demanded for short and intense periods of work.

Bearing in mind in the analysis of rural development the generational dimension, it would make it possible to appreciate the dynamics of those who carry out the socio-productive processes and the result of their benefits in rural territories, enriching it by considering the generational condition as part of the process that generates social inequalities. Such an approach is transversal to the situation in the productive structure as analyzed, but sensitive to such conditions given that despite being in situations of unfavorable social inequality, wage earners, when "opening" the focus of analysis on them, it is observed that they do not develop for everyone in the same way.

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Micro-politics of a marginalized school: between inclusion and standardization

Micro-política de una escuela marginalizada: entre inclusión y estandarización

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Abstract

Considering the Law of Inclusion (20.845/2015), which promotes social mixture of Chilean students, this research studies a subsidized school in a context of poverty that has promoted this mixture since its creation in 1980, being free and without selection. We seek to understand how do the social inclusion/ exclusion processes of children deploy in this marginalized scene. What means then "to include"? Which are the frontiers between inclusion and exclusion in this school? We realized an interpretative school ethnography for 7 months, with a focus on a 4ᵗʰ grade. The first results in the field are centered on the micro-politics of the school (Ball, 1987). We identify three principal dispositives: an identity dispositive that lies on the historical ethos of the school and its social inclusion project; a traditional dispositive, which reflects the cultural trajectories of the subjects and the representations presents in society; a technocratic dispositive that is gradually installed from the educative system looking for the standardization of the educative process. During the research process, we observe the evolution of the equilibrium between the three dispositives in the school, where the ethical finalities of inclusion are overcome by the technocratic objectives of standardization. We present cooperative pedagogical practices existing in the school that disappear to the benefit of classification technologies and competitive strategies.

Keywords

Social exclusion, standardization, basic education, poverty, cooperation, competition.

Resumen

En el marco de la Ley de Inclusión (20.845/2015) que promueve la mixtura social de los estudiantes chilenos, se indaga una escuela subvencionada en contexto de pobreza que ha promovido esta mixtura desde su creación en 1980, al ser gratuita y sin selección. Se busca entender cómo se despliegan los procesos de inclusión/exclusión social de las niñas y los niños en este escenario de marginalidad. ¿Qué significa entonces "incluir"? ¿Cuáles son las fronteras entre inclusión y exclusión social en la escuela? Se realiza una etnografía escolar interpretativa durante siete meses meses, con un foco en un curso de 4º básico. Los primeros hallazgos de campo se centran en la micro-política de la escuela (Ball, 1987). Se identifican tres dispositivos principales: un dispositivo identitario, que descansa en el *ethos* histórico de la escuela y su proyecto de inclusión social; un dispositivo tradicional, que recoge las trayectorias culturales de los sujetos y las representaciones presentes en la sociedad; un dispositivo tecnocrático, que se instala progresivamente desde el sistema educativo en pos de una estandarización del proceso educativo. Durante el proceso investigativo, se observa la evolución del equilibrio entre los tres dispositivos en la escuela, dónde las finalidades éticas de inclusión están superadas por los objetivos tecnocráticos de estandarización. Se evidencian prácticas pedagógicas cooperativas existentes en la escuela que van desapareciendo en beneficio de tecnologías de clasificación y estrategias competitivas.

Palabras clave

Exclusión social, estandarización, educación básica, pobreza, cooperación, competencia.

Introduction

In Chile, the Inclusion Law (20,845/2015) has been promulgated, which seeks to promote the social mix of students, by prohibiting profit, sharing funding with families, and the selection of students in subsidized schools. These represent 92% of compulsory education establishments, distributed among municipal (37%) and subsidized private (55%). During the civil-military dictatorship, the Chilean school system is privatized (Decree with Force of Law N ° 1-3063/ 0; Decree Law 3,476/ 80) and regulated by the educational demand or voucher, public subsidy delivered to private and municipal establishments. After the dictatorship, the shared financing law of 1993 allows multiplying the educational resources by requesting the participation of families (Valenzuela, Bellei & De los Ríos, 2014), which leads to a progressive segmentation of the system, according to the level of payment demanded. The responsibility for the education of Chilean

children is delegated to their families, whose "freedom of education" is configured as a pillar of the 1980 Constitution. The law of supply and demand thus stimulated allows the deployment of the educational quasi-market (Slachevsky, 2015). In this scenario, the Law of Inclusion aims to reduce barriers in access to schools, by prohibiting socio-economic and cultural selection practices.

The Chilean educational system constitutes a stratification machine that fragments society according to its socio-economic resources (Bellei, 2013). Education is conceived as a private consumption good, which can be acquired with individual effort, which conditions the choice of school (Rojas, Falabella & Leyton, 2016). Families then deploy strategies to choose their school and maximize the opportunities of their children, distinguishing themselves based on their income and thus contributing to segment the educational system in socio-economic strata. The Law of Inclusion introduces a questioning of socio-economic segmentation, by privileging a perspective on inclusion focused on the social mix of students (Rojas & Armijo, 2016). It is driven by the student social movement that emerged in 2006 with the so-called "Penguin Revolution" and the discussions on quality and equity of education that have been deployed since then. A new admission system is designed, which begins to be implemented in 2016. This randomly distributes the students, after the families have applied, to prevent the use of arbitrary discriminations that may limit the access of the students to the establishments.

In this context, this research has focused on a school that has never applied or shared funding or selection of students, from its inception, under the policies of privatization of education policies. It arises in a context of extreme marginalization, in a peripheral zone of Santiago that was then in a process of urbanization controlled by the policies of "social homogenization" of the dictatorship (Morales & Rojas, 1986). These policies displace and install poor families from other sectors of the metropolitan region, forming marginalized territories in still rural sectors. The conditions of habitation and hygiene are precarious, the new inhabitants lack means of transport, educational, health and commercial facilities (Ducci, 1997, Gurovich, 1999). It is studied a basic school that is born with a political and pedagogical project, orienting itself to social inclusion. It focuses its attention on the most marginalized students of the educational system, excluded from other establishments for different reasons: results, behavior,

discrimination or ethnic socio-cultural. Nowadays, the sector where it is located is still marginalized, in the socioeconomic, geographic and cultural plans. According to the "School Vulnerability Index" developed in Chile, it has a 90% vulnerability. What does "include" mean in this context? What are the boundaries between inclusion and exclusion in a marginalized school?

Theoretical framework

This research is framed in the post-structuralist perspective, assuming the "ontological approach" that questions the binary distinctions between subject and object, mind and body, nature and culture, among many others (Adams St. Pierre, 2014; Adams St. Pierre, Jackson & Mazzei, 2016). Social inclusion/exclusion is conceived as a dynamic process that permanently produces the social field (Armijo-Cabrera, 2018). Social inclusion/exclusion is generated in the interrelations between the subjects, producing differences and identities, by identifying their significant "others". From this perspective, inclusion implies the determination of a group limited by borders, which arise according to variable and situated socio-historical criteria (Lindblad & Popkewitz, 2001; Graham & Slee, 2008). From the reading of Michel Foucault, it is assumed that the modes of constitution of the subject are closely linked with power relations and knowledge productions (Ball, 2012). Thus, social inclusion/exclusion consists of a permanent process of defining the "normal" center, a place of power that excludes those it intends to include (Matus & Infante, 2011). This is constituted through knowledge and rules that are applied to bodies. It is considered that the social inclusion/exclusion process is expressed in the subjectifications of the actors, in the moment in which they elaborate identities and differences, which are inscribed in their corporeality. These processes are involved in power systems that produce unequal subjectivities based on different markers reinforced by the school system: class, race, gender, among others (Apablaza, 2015, Walsh, 2012, Dussel, 2004, de la Rosa, 2015).

As consequence, the school is conformed as a social space of smaller scale, inserted in a specific social and cultural environment. In that sense, the processes of social inclusion/exclusion are given in the same way in their interior, with their own rules and regulations. In addition, in the framework of a school organization, where work is divided and hierarchized, control and

conflict relationships are deployed (Ball, 1987). Power is applied locally through dispositives, which contains discursive and extra-discursive dimensions. The dispositives come from the environment, are appropriate and stressed at their points of resistance within the school (Foucault, 1982). School subjects then develop in a limited organization but permeable to their environments, both political and socio-culturally. Depending on their values and their place in the organization, the different school subjects interpret the world and give it meaning, through discourse and practices. The game of interests and subjectivities forms daily what Stephen Ball has called the "micro-politics" of the school (Ball, 1987). This appears in the disputes between different perspectives and ways of acting within the school, which stress the subjects.

The general objective of this research is to understand how the processes of social inclusion/exclusion of children unfold in a school located in a context of high marginality. This article presents the results of the first specific objective: Identify the dynamics and school dispositives that affect the processes of social inclusion/exclusion of children in school. In that sense, these partial findings focus on the experience and play of adults, which shape the micro-politics of the school.

Methodology

A methodology of qualitative research of interpretive cut is favored, according to the post-structuralist theoretical framework, where the researcher is immersed in his object of study, that is, the school described above as a case of study. Objects and subjects are interrelated in the process of the investigation, which is present in the school every day. In this sense, the meanings produced by the subjects are incorporated through the experience of the researcher. The perceptions, sensations and emotions of the researcher allow access to the social production that takes place in the interactions of everyday experience (Adams St. Pierre, 1997, Blackman, 2007). The validity of this approach lies in fidelity to the experience, seeking to be "persuasive and credible" when it relates the stories of the participants, "represent their thoughts and experiences" in a reliable way (Gallant, 2008, p.247).

An interpretative (Guber, 2011) and visual (Pink, 2001) school ethnography has been done in the aforementioned school. It was deployed for seven months, with a focus that moves progressively from the adult

world to the experiences of girls and boys. Ethnographic research involves a fieldwork that consists of:

- The documentation of the object of study (prior, during and after the field).
- The participant observation in the school (focused on a 4th grade course).
- Ethnographic interviews with adults and children.
- And finally, a children's visual production (photographs and drawings), which was associated with group interviews of children.

The various data produced in the field journals have been daily recorded and the interviews carried out with the children have been integrally recorded and transcribed. The data has been analyzed continuously and repeatedly in the writing work itself and from conceptual matrices (Adams St. Pierre, 2017). These were elaborated according to the theoretical framework, and evolved during the research, with the academic exchanges and the dialogue with the authors that generate the conceptual work (Rockwell, 2009). The results were discussed in instances of varied academic reflection, seeking to achieve a "disciplined subjectivity" (Erickson, 1984, Serra, 2004). Beyond the "triangulation" developed in other approaches, by multiplying the points of view the data is "crystallized", as proposed by Laurel Richardson (2000, pp.13-14):

> I propose the central imaginary for validity for postmodernist texts is not the triangle-a rigid, fixed, two-dimensional object. Rather, the central imaginary is the crystal, which combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach

Analysis and results

A marginalized school in mutation

The first research findings allow us to describe and analyze the micro-politics of the school (Ball, 1987), which is expressed in the disputes between different visions and ways of acting privileged by school subjects. The school "Estrella" was created in 1980, at the same time as the school system is opened to the market. It arises from an opportunity of entrepreneurship as a social

initiative, to respond to the educational needs of a marginalized community in a periphery of Santiago in full urbanization. The initial project of the school "Estrella" had the political purpose, through social action, to educate the poorest who had been marginalized. It is created in a commune in the south of Santiago, in the vicinity of a historic land grab, based on collaborative research with the inhabitants to identify their needs. He has never adhered to the shared financing nor has it selected its students, on the contrary, it "preferentially catered for children from poor households who are discriminated against for social, pedagogical, behavioral or racial reasons". According to the Chilean School Vulnerability Index (IVE), developed by the JUNAEB (National Board of Educational Aid and Scholarships), the school "Estrella" has a 90% vulnerability. Among the establishments that do not apply co-payment or selection of students, it has the highest vulnerability rate in the sector. During the 1980s and 1990s, its enrollment increases and is associated with other educational and training initiatives. It stands out for being an establishment declared secular, in a context where private education was dominated by the religious world (Christian and parochial schools). This school is aimed at students of basic education and nursery, from pre-Kindergarten to 8th grade, and currently receives approximately 350 students.

The school "Estrella" considers the particularities of its urban fabric, which is why it is part of the network of collaborating institutions of SENAME (National Service for Minors), a government agency under the Chilean Ministry of Justice. Benefiting from a specific subsidy since 1991 with two dispositives oriented towards the most marginalized population: On the one hand, it receives students withdrawn from their families, residents of SENAME homes or in judicial processes; On the other hand, since 1990 it has been developing an Open Day Center (CAD), which in 2004 became the Community Center for Child and Youth Rights (CCIJ), a SENAME body that seeks to prevent the "violation of rights", in a community manner, through "the implementation of group learning projects" (SENAME, 2004, cited by Silva & Gallardo, 2006, p.3). In addition, the school constitutes a School Integration Program (PIE) since 2004 aimed at serving students with permanent or transitory "special educational needs" (SEN). In 2015, 63 students are counted in the Program, which represents 19% of the students in the school. The school also adheres to the Preferential School Grant (SEP) since its launch in 2008, thus benefiting from an additional grant for all children considered vulnerable. In addition, it is a school with a multicultural

component important for the sector, since in 2015 there were 48 students belonging to the Mapuche ethnic group, that is, 12% of the students.

During the first decades, a professional group is constituted that remains until 2010, developing cooperative and participative pedagogical practices. With the disappearance of the founder, the team begins to break generating a reconfiguration of the internal dynamics of the school. Two waves of mass layoffs are mentioned, in 2013 and 2016, which lead to a major renovation of the teaching staff. The new members are not trained to exercise cooperative pedagogical techniques, weakening the innovative functioning of the school. In 2017, the school receives the visit of the Quality Agency and the audit of the Superintendence, new State agencies focused on the Quality Assurance of Education (SNAC Law, 2011). The "Estrella" school is committed to infrastructure investments, reviews its management and quality indicators, and is pressured to improve its results in standardized national tests (Measurement System for Educational Quality, hereinafter, SIMCE).

A school in tension between three dispositives

In this scenario, three main dispositives are identified that go through the school and tension it: an identity dispositive, which rests on the school's historical ethos and its project of social inclusion; a traditional dispositive, which collects the cultural trajectories of the subjects and the representations present in society; a technocratic dispositive, which is installed progressively from the educational system in pursuit of a standardization of the educational process. These three dispositives result from the continuous analysis carried out in the field and from the dialogical analysis produced in the academic and bibliographic exchanges. Their denominations have been the subject of reflection and discussion.

Identity dispositive

It is related to the social project of the school, which arises in a context of resistance to the dictatorship. The founder was a normalist teacher who conceived education as a way of emancipation, in line with the Educational Reform of 1965 and influenced by thinkers like Paulo Freire and his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). Exonerated by the dictatorship, the founder develops projects that allow him to pursue his educational and

transforming work. He focused on the territories with the greatest need, dedicating himself to the education of the poorest. From this pedagogical line, education in marginalized contexts must pass through pedagogical dispositives designed to mobilize the subjects, favoring their participation to arouse the sense of the school experience and the relevance of the learning contents. Activities are proposed in relation to the environment, in particular the production of an orchard and a school farm in this still rural sector; participatory instances for children and adults, with weekly assemblies and school councils that regulate discipline; cooperative and creative work, through different pedagogical tools (Freire, 1970).

This dispositive draws a specific discourse on social inclusion/exclusion, where the boundaries between identities and differences are determined by this vision of poverty that is the focus of attention. Children are the "others" of adults, they are the poor for whom they engage in social action. Age borders between adults and children are thus superimposed, with socio-cultural boundaries between poor and less poor. In effect, adults who work in schools do not define themselves as economically privileged, but reject the specific poverty of children, which is conceived in a broad sense. At present, the image of poverty is reinforced by the idea of "vulnerability", coming from technocratic dispositives, which determine and calculate the "vulnerability indexes". It is understood as a multidimensional poverty, which generates "risks" of falling into poverty for the subjects. This notion of vulnerability is observed in the experiences of the subjects, through the cases of family situations reported during the field study: violence, abandonment, addictions, detentions, sexual abuse (see scene 1).

Scene 1: Report of a case of abuse and family violence:

> The teacher says that these children with all the problems they have at home are not available to "learn math". She tells me more family stories of the children: the social worker was very affected the other day by the case of a child of 1, kidnapped and abused by his father for a week, then taken from the neighboring family that took care of him and that he had managed to extract the necessary information to be able to blame the father, to get him away. Then the boy was now in a home, alone, and there was nothing to do (Field Journal, 04/05/2017).

The conditions of vulnerability of the social environment, which determine the students, mobilize the affections of the adults in the school

that generate a commitment with "their" children. Teachers and assistants of education are confronted on a daily basis with situations of extreme violence, which feed this identity discourse on social inclusion/exclusion, where the "others" are children, the poor.

Traditional dispositive

It is configured as a basic base of the school culture, anchored in the social and cultural environment. It comes from the personal trajectories of the subjects, immersed in a society marked by inequalities and by religion. The adults who work in the school share the same socio-economic level as the children, low middle class, fresh university students of their family or heirs of families of teachers. Some even inhabit the same territory, neighbors and carry of the neighborhood identity. In addition, the working conditions of teachers and other school workers give them a precarious status. The traditional dispositive then consists in a repetition of the social norms observed in the environment and practiced in everyday experience. In particular, it is observed in the traditional pedagogical and authoritarian practices that are deployed in the school: order of the classroom in rows of benches and chairs aligned in front of the blackboard; teacher's expository classes silently copied by the children and content application exercises or guides corrected by the teacher; rules of dress with differentiated uniform and formation of courses by gender (rows of "ladies and gentlemen").

The traditional dispositive then draws up a discourse on social inclusion/ exclusion that reproduces the inequalities that cross that shared society. As Lindblad and Popkewitz put it (2001, p.4): "the relation of governance to social inclusion and exclusion embodies a configuration of cultural, economy and social struggles". Age differences are marked through authoritarian manners, religiosity is incorporated into everyday interactions, gender stereotypes are performed. In particular, classism and the reproduction of socio-economic categories are observed, when an adult answer a child "do not talk to me like that, I'm not your nanny". There is also the repetition of nationalism and patriotism promoted by the political and social environment, when for example the national anthem "as good Chileans" is sung. There is a women's soccer team, but it is marginalized in sporting events organized at school, denoting sexism and gender discrimination. Finally, the issue of homosexuality is eluded in school when it arises from children, generates discomfort and remains "in the hands of God."

Technocratic dispositive

It is installed with the turn of the years 2000 and 2010, to the eaves of the educational policies resulting from the "Penguin Revolution". If the liberalization and commercialization of education are established in dictatorship, the evaluation and control dispositives that tie the system are elaborated almost three decades later (Falabella, 2015). In particular, it is deployed based on four regulations: the SEP Law (2008) that establishes accountability; Decree 170 (2009) that determines the procedures for diagnosing "special educational needs"; the General Education Law (LGE, 2009) that establishes the responsibilities of the evaluating State; and the Law on the National System for Quality Assurance (SNAC, 2011) that defines the powers of each newly created body, including the Quality Agency and the Superintendence. The technocratic dispositive comes to strongly tension the identity dispositive of the school, emerged in another historical and political context. It is observed particularly during the field in relations with the Quality Agency that visits and evaluates the school. School subjects resist their criticisms, but at the same time they incorporate the evaluation criteria imposed on them from above.

The technocratic dispositive draws a discourse on social inclusion/ exclusion that categorizes subjects between normal and abnormal, based on criteria considered "objective". These are deployed through evaluation and measurement systems, through behavioral and standardized pedagogical tools (Casassus, 2010). These criteria rest on the diagnosis and classification of subjects according to rigid and static categories such as "special educational needs", which are validated by psychometric tests and applied by specific professionals (Peña, 2013). They externally define a notion of "normality", through regulations and evaluations, which determine an objective and objectifiable "standard" (Matus & Infante, 2011). From this discourse, students must compete to individually meet the standards, those who do not comply, considered "abnormal", are excluded at school and social margins. In the "Estrella" school, for example, teachers work hand in hand with psycho-social professionals, who deploy psychometric and behavioral assessment strategies, determining pedagogical decisions (see scene 2).

Scene 2: The exclusion of children from a behavioral reading of learning:

> Finally, the psychologist talks about the course, that there are still many authorizations for the next exit on the 22nd, and then she thinks that there is

no need to take them away, because if not, is to "encourage behavior" (Field Journal, 06/12/2017).

A cooperative school that becomes competitive

Each of these dispositives goes through the school and tensions it. Converging in some respects, they also oppose, as shown by the tension between the historical identity of the school and the evolutions of the educational system reflected in the technocratic dispositive. The three dispositives appear in the discourses and practices of the different subjects without belonging to them. There are generational differences among adults, with more social or more competitive discourses, but they are not enough to attribute them to an age group. In the same way, the discourses deployed by health professionals, and their work tools, perform the technocratic dispositive, but do not prevent them from sharing other discourses. These three dispositives offer a possibility of interpretation of the world and a decision framework for action. The subjects appropriate, use and translate them, but also resist, discuss and escape them (Ball, 1987).

During the field process, the evolution of the balance between the three dispositives is observed, where the ethical purposes of inclusion are overcome by the technocratic objectives of standardization. At the beginning of the year, a teacher in charge of 4th grade accepts to receive the research, despite the SIMCE test applied at the end of that year, considering that it is "one more evaluation". A directive clarifies to the children that the most important thing for them this year is "to be happy", not the SIMCE. It is evident, in these first moments of the school year, the pre-eminence of the identity dispositive, centered on the personal development of the children. However, advancing the year, the SIMCE becomes increasingly important in the discourses and practices. It arises in the meetings as a pressure that falls on the head teacher; the results of the previous year are discussed; SIMCE simulations multiply. To maximize efforts, SIMCE simulations are monitored and corrected by the management team. All the energy of the school converges and is progressively oriented towards their realization (see scene 3).

Scene 3: The tension generated by the standardized tests in a cycle meeting:

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> Says she has many difficulties, that they put pressure on her with SIMCE, that there is a problem with the level of the children. They tell her that she does not have to be anxious, but Elvira replies that she is obviously anxious, because she has the pressure for SIMCE, which feels that she is working against time. She says that she was told that she did not work for the SIMCE, and now she does. The others say that there should be a specific reflection on the SIMCE, the UTP says that it must be done before the end of the semester (Field Journal, 06/12/2017).

During this process, there is evidence of cooperative pedagogical practices that are disappearing for the benefit of classification technologies and competitive dispositives. For example, a free writing workshop, coming from the identity dispositive, which favored children's creativity and then their cooperative publication. It allowed to work the skills of reading and writing, imagination and grammar, oral attention and concentration. With the SIMCE horizon, the pedagogical option is oriented towards behavioral techniques formalized in a "reading plan" proposed by the Technical Education Advisory (ATE), an external private organization hired under the SEP. The regular assessment of the children is established, and a "reading panel" decorated with colors, like an ascent to the stars, is installed in the classroom. Astronaut labels are made with the photo of each child, and they are classified according to their results in the last test. This panel ends up occupying the central space in the wall, visually symbolizing the competition among children and stigmatizing those who remain at the lower levels. The teachers themselves realize how the technocratic dispositive is transforming their practices towards placing children in competition, generating profound ethical and pedagogical contradictions. But the requirement of classification by the Quality Agency is so prevalent that they cannot afford to resist it, as they express it during the presentation of the present findings.

Discussion and conclusions

An ethnography has been carried out that has made it possible to demonstrate its own dynamics to Chilean subsidized schools located in marginalized contexts, constrained by the new accountability policies. Understanding the school institution as an organization inserted in a political and socio-cultural context, a micro-politics of the school has been revealed,

traversed by three dispositives: identity, traditional and technocratic. Inside the school, these dispositives configure local applications of power, which are resisted or appropriated by school subjects. In this study, a tension has been observed between, on the one hand, a shared ethical purpose among adults involved in school, often from an affective and emancipatory perspective; and on the other hand, the imperatives linked to the school system and its management by results, which imply a focus on the standardization of the educational process and a loss of its relevance for children. In the same way, the study by Assael *et al.*, (2014) has highlighted the effects of accountability policies and transformations in school culture, based on ethnographic work in team meetings. Rojas and Leyton (2014), from their interviews, have brought to light the changes in educational practices and the construction of new teaching subjectivities with the change of paradigm that accountability implies. The same has revealed the ethnographic study and the interviews of Falabella (2014), in what he analyzes as "performative schools". These produce tensioned subjects between their own values and the demands of the education system, which are incorporated by teachers.

On another level, Luna (2015) has investigated in an ethnographic way the experiences of children in precarious municipal schools and stressed by the demand for quality, as well as subsidized schools. Evidence everyday experiences that contribute to exclude subjects who do not conform to the school framework. The present study confirms the findings of these SEP post-Law investigations (2008) and integrates the new regulatory and discursive framework that establishes a goal of social inclusion for the school (2015). How to reconcile then standardization and inclusion, double normative requirement? In this school's micro-politics, the dispositives in dispute are configured as ways of saying and acting available to school subjects, who make pedagogical decisions central to the children's school experience. The conflict between logics of inclusion and logics of competence has been evidenced, where the technocratic dynamics are finally superimposed on the dynamics properly educational.

Returning to the Law of Inclusion (2015), which seeks to promote the social mix of students, one can question how the school can reverse the policies of urban segregation. Will the composition of the students in the "Estrella" school change with the implementation of the new admission system? Thinking about the new demographic configurations generated by the arrival of migrants in marginalized sectors, other research tracks can be

proposed. How is the culture of the school transformed or renewed? How are the knowledge of migrant children who come with their own experiences incorporated? How is the nationalist discourse redesigned? and How does the reception of migrants relate to the Mapuche component of the student body? These lines of research could prolong the work done, always unfinished, considering the permanent transformations that societies go through.

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Digital communication as a tourism development of Puná Island, Ecuador

Comunicación digital en desarrollo turístico de la Isla Puná, Ecuador

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Abstract
This study aims to expose the importance of digital and intercultural communication both for natural resources conservation and cultural heritage preservation, as well as communication is a priority to potentiate economic and social development activities such as; tourism, through recognition and visualization of communities by a wider audience, with the use of the various communication tools provided by the internet and media spaces.
In addition, the natural and cultural wealth existing on Puná Island is characterized as the architect through a process of information's dissemination and expansion of all the communication channels between the various productive, social and cultural sectors present in the population dynamics of its citizens, they inhabit it.
The research was carried out through a qualitative analysis of the information, with the application of interviews and the collection of ethnographic information, with continuous visits to the field in order to know first-hand the natural and cultural heritage riches existing on the island. It should be noted that the study showed weaknesses on the part of organizations in the digital communication tools, but at the same time, strong potentialities were identified with respect to its application for tourist dissemination and conservation of the island's riches.

Keywords
Digital communication, tourism, conservation, natural heritage, cultural heritage, natural resources.

Resumen

Este estudio procura exponer la importancia de la comunicación digital e intercultural para la conservación de los recursos naturales así como para la preservación del patrimonio cultural, también priorizar la comunicación para potencializar actividades de desarrollo económico y social como el turismo, esto, a través del reconocimiento y visualización de las comunidades, por parte de un público más amplio, con el uso de las diversas herramientas comunicativas como las que proveen el internet y los espacios mediáticos.

Además, se caracterizará la riqueza natural y cultural existente en la Isla Puná, Ecuador, como artífice para un proceso de difusión de información y de ampliación de los canales de comunicación, entre los diversos sectores productivos, sociales y culturales presentes en las dinámicas poblacionales de los ciudadanos que la habitan.

La investigación se realizó a través de un análisis cualitativo de la información, con la aplicación de entrevistas y levantamiento de información etnográfica, en continuas visitas de campo, a fin de conocer de primera mano las riquezas de patrimonio natural y cultural existentes en la isla. Cabe acotar que, el estudio mostró debilidades por parte de las organizaciones en el uso las herramientas de comunicación digital, pero a la vez se identificó fuertes potencialidades en su aplicación para la difusión turística y conservación de las riquezas de la isla.

Palabras clave

Comunicación digital, turismo, conservación, patrimonio natural, patrimonio cultural, recursos naturales.

Introduction

Communication is an integral part of the life of human beings. Most of us enjoy meeting other people, other places, landscapes, other cultures. In today's world, through digital communication (with the use of the internet); geography, space and time have been shortened. Now we can be communicated at any time and from any place, where technology allows us to connect online. The exercise of communication involves forms of behavior and social interaction, both as individuals or as a society. Humans made contact with each other, as well as the spaces we inhabit, which is why human mobility led to the discovery of new territories and experiences (Labate & Arrueta, 2017).

This contact gives us the possibility to know others, share our worldview and our past, and exchange meanings and information about our history and ways of life. Travel is transformed into a process of learning and education,

while tourism generates the necessary resources to improve the economic and social conditions of populations that offer services beyond the natural and cultural heritage.

The empowerment of tourism through the recovery and exhibition of cultural heritage, is presented as a viable alternative for the promotion of the economy of the communities and their cultural and social strengthening. The conservation and protection of renewable natural resources and the transmission of cultural knowledge is important to sustain our societies and their connection with our ancestry. The inhabitants of the locality have necessity and urgency in sharing their histories and recovering their memory, with all their social group and with the rest of the society.

Sharing their culture is a relevant aspect for the peoples, this is combined with communication, human beings are motivated by the visual and the auditory. "With the emergence of new players, the accelerated expansion of social networks, the explosion of big data and cloud computing, new models of creation, production, distribution, access and participation have emerged" (Kulesz, 2017, p. 5). For this reason, many people seek to be visualized in the media (including social networks) and thus promote knowledge and curiosity about their heritage and traditions.

Many communities and populations seek to enhance their economic and social development with the incursion into the tourist world, where currently promotion through social networks and other means of the internet becomes a transcendental element, especially when it comes to publicizing their cultural and natural heritage without relying on companies or tourism agencies. This is one of the positive aspects of the internet, since it provides autonomy with respect to big capital and makes it possible to incorporate difference (Moreno, 2015).

Nowadays it is very complicated for the peoples and their societies to preserve and protect their resources, since the populations and their authorities are driven to incorporate extractive activities, which in their great majority are harmful to the environment and their different habitats, such as the shrimp industry and fishing activity. This entails an urgency regarding the conservation of heritage and the search for new economic alternatives, the boost of tourism potentializes the incorporation of a large part of the local population to capitalist dynamics, by allowing the observation and commercialization of its natural and cultural resources, through becoming a point of visit for many tourists.

The possibility of knowing other cultures and establishing communication with other people is one of the most important aspects in the exercise of a trip or tourism. In today's world a large number of people want to travel to fantastic places full of nature and cultural expressions, but it is clear that the effects of tourism have implications both in societies and in government decisions about the territories and resources existing in them.

Tourism is seen as a way out of subsistence problems, but the development of this capacity is hampered by the priority needs of a population, and the promotion of productive activities that generate adverse impacts on the conservation of the environment. This study seeks to expose the importance of digital communication for the promotion of the area, as well as to focus on communication as a priority to potentiate development activities such as tourism, under the consideration that both digital exposure and its incursion in such activity implies facing social, cultural and environmental impacts for the population, that is, technology becomes an important aspect for the promotion of the social economy (Deux & Vannini, 2016, p. 38).

In order to show the complexities implicit in the problem posed in the previous paragraph, the case of Isla Puná in the Gulf of Guayaquil will be presented. The current situational state of its inhabitants is captured and possible actions favorable to the development of the Puná parish populations are compromised, under the umbrella of mediating communication. This study is based on the gathering of first-hand information, through visits and direct contact with the leaders, plus the support of the bibliographic review regarding all the topics underlying the discussion, it should be clarified that the bibliographic information referring to the Island and its inhabitants is scarce, which led to constant visits to the site. The data presented is analyzed from the field of communication, culture and economic activities linked to the development of peoples, under an ethnographic and analytical theoretical exercise.

Communication today and its relevance for the cultural transmission and development of populations

Communication transcends all spaces and becomes a tool at the service of the people, since it not only allows us to get to know each other but also to show our singularities to the public, which allows potentializing activities such as tourism and natural and immaterial heritage conservation. Everyone

who seeks to be visualized should prepare to venture into new universes and thoughts, showing its various facets and proposal. (Martínez, 2006). Communities and social groups are immersed in this dynamic, both work and leisure are currently tied to technology, even if it is only for a consultation.

Communication mediates and disseminates culture, and the latter also feeds on culture with the production and consumption of signs, where the audiovisual sphere contributes to the dissemination of information and recreation of it, which allows the viewer to have a first experience in front of a new scenario. In this way, peoples and societies can use the different means of communication to share their landscapes and promote activities in their communities, especially those related to tourism and the conservation of ecosystems (Labate & Arrueta, 2017, Martínez, 2006). Tourism completely contributes to this dynamic, allowing us to travel within the cosmovision and environment of other peoples.

Tourism reproduces the domination of one culture over another. The tastes and preferences reflected in the offer of travel styles and tourist stays respond to a type of demand that tends to standardize the offer (Catalano & Tottino, 2016). This type of influence and model endangers the cultural expressions of the roots of the islanders, in the particular case of the Puná parish, a situation that is directly connected with the processes of globalization and capitalization of social relations.

The culture and its reproduction are linked to the power spaces, where the control of the media defines access to projects or development proposals according to the environment and the social characteristics of the population, since the products are subjected to a valuation from antagonistic sectors in the social, economic and political spectrum. Culture is a transcendental aspect of societies; it defines the way in which human groups are communicated and the information transmitted to others. All human expressions are a product of culture and are generators of cultural features and forms (Harris (2007 [1989], p.17).

For Manuel Castells (Torres, 2014, p.355), one of the most efficient forms of mobile communication is the Internet with its universalization, since it is the most extensive medium for the transmission of cultural expressions and strengthens interactivity through the digital, potentiating a financial and technological globalization, but that imposes power relations in the development of interactive communication networks.

In today's world, technological advances are a potential tool for popular economies and the development of social, cultural, economic and political

activities. The information has the quality of being structured by cultural reference codes, and its protocols are interconnected with the communication process itself (Kulesz, 2017, Labate & Arrueta, 2017, Martínez, 2006). The internet becomes an ally of tourism and heritage conservation, empowers people to disseminate information about their culture and identity, showing themselves to the world and positioning themselves in current societies. This tool offers to break with the traditional isolation of communities, allowing their openness to the world, and allowing a fluid communication with other actors and other realities, eliminating barriers of space and time, identity and socio-economic level.

Knowing our history, our peoples, our territory, is positioned as one of the most relevant aspects in the century that passes. The need to share what we are and to recognize ourselves in our own worldview and identity, flows through a multiplicity of actions that are also aimed at improving the lives of people (Quiñones, 2005). The population of Puná Island and its parish authorities promote actions to be known and recognized by other sectors of the national and international population, these actions must currently be connected to the development of digital proposals that can be disseminated through social networks, in such a way that all the information regarding the cultural and natural wealth of the territory and its inhabitants comes to the attention of a wider public through the internet (Labate & Arrueta, 2017; Sandoval, 2007).

in addition, local promotion actions must be connected with the conservation of resources. The interest in preserving and showing the heritage that the peoples possess is present in each of the communities that make up the rural parish of Isla Puná. This implies not only incorporating communication tools that enhance tourism activity, but also carrying out constant work to raise awareness among the population regarding their dealings with tourists. Situation that highlights the importance that the society of Puná should know its history with its ancestral references, as well as the natural and cultural wealth of which they are possessors.

Martín-Barbero, reminds us of Zigmunt Bauman and his idea about the tourist, "the tourist inhabits a un-spaced world, without territory, hence his mobility is instantaneous almost as much as the time in which he lives, that world in which to stay still it is to die, and to live is to travel incessantly accumulating "new" experiences, sensations and emotions, the world of the tourist is ultimately that of the consumer" (2015, p.25). The tourist

encourages economic activity, while putting on the map the populations with reference to the opinion that is issued about the site and its people. Tourism is defined as "the set of activities carried out by people along a trip that includes a journey from their usual place of residence to a place of destination" and supports a hegemonic discourse regarding the benefits of tourism and the way on how it should be done (Catalano & Tottino, 2016).

The success of a strategy to increase visits to Puná Island is to potentiate its image as an area of great diversity, its culture and history and boost its resources. Currently, tourism and travelers are a phenomenon of globalization and advancement in the media. Especially, the internet and social networks increased the diffusion of places and expanded the understanding of space-time, this potentialized human mobility and the tourist flow (Cioce & Silva, 2015, Díaz & López, 2012).

It should be borne in mind that tourism reproduces relations of power and inequality. Although it promises to improve the lives of the populations that provide services, it can be a double-edged instrument, since it has effects on the populations that can lead to processes of acculturation and transculturation, as well as affecting the environment. "The so-called tourism industry, which is easily correlated with the industrial-technological civilization project, prioritizes economic concern with those of a socio-environmental nature" (Cioce & Silva, 2015, p.7). To recognize these aspects, provide communities with options on how to confront and take advantage of the tourist activity, but this does not constitute an insurance that protects the ancestrality of the peoples and their historical identity construct. In the case of the Puná, up to now there are no large capital investments in tourism development, although the authorities have negotiations with several travel agencies, they have not made progress in this regard.

One of the aspects affected by the visualization of cultures is communication and the use of the necessary means to achieve the dissemination of information. "Communication with other peoples, with other geographies, with other cultures becomes a commodity, opening the way for tourism as one of the most prosperous industries, given that it mobilizes millions of people" (Catalano & Tottino, 2016). This activity is presented as a mobilizer and generator of capital, while the tourist fulfills the role of collector and diffuser of the cultural diversity found in the sites (Requena & Muñoz, 2006). This experience can be encapsulated in typical traditional tourism, it is important to provide options and activities that show the societies that host them. In the case of Puná Island,

the offers of tourist activities are wide, ranging from ecotourism activities, such as community tourism, as well as archaeological and cultural.

The following section will characterize the natural and cultural wealth existing in Puná Island, as the architect of a process of dissemination of information and expansion of communication channels between the various productive, social and cultural sectors present in the population dynamics of the citizens that inhabit it.

Characterization of the situation
of the populations of Puná Island and its tourist potential

The Puná Island belongs to the La Puná parish and the Guayaquil canton of the province of Guayas, Ecuador. The island has a great biological diversity, from the presence of plains, dry forests, mangroves and beaches. A wide range of shrimp farms in the north and southeast of the island, together with agricultural areas, represent about 25% of the intervened territory. In this territory we find two important elevations: the Yanzún hill, to the north, and the Zambapala hill, to the south. The mangroves that comprise 12.4% of the surface. In total, the areas intervened by the population occupy a quarter of the island (Zabala, Nato & Rosero, 2014). Almost half of the island is covered by two types of forest: Monte Espinoso Tropical extends from sea level to 300 meters above sea level and the other corresponds to Very Dry Tropical Forest that is also located between 0 and 300 meters above sea level and located mainly in the center of the island (Chancay, 2017).

> The surface of the island is 920 km², and has 22 communities among which stand out: Campo Alegre, Cauchiche, Puná Vieja, Puná Nueva, Agua Piedra, Estero de Boca, Bellavista, Río Hondo, etc. (Chancay, 2017, pp. 45-46).

The parish has 7455 inhabitants by 2015 and the territory is in the territorial synthesis unit Bahia-Manta-Salinas Puná tropical dry forest corridor. The terrestrial road structure is basic. There are second and third order roads that run through some sectors of the island, these are summer roads because in winter they become impassable. The most used routes are the beaches of the island. The island society is highly organized, there 50 representatives of associations that include: communes, fishing cooperatives, enclosures,

ports, neighborhoods, crabbers, farmers, transport and por-improvements were identified (PDOT Puná, 2015).

On the island several economic and productive activities are carried out, linked to the surrounding ecosystems. For example, in the communes of Campo Alegre, Agua Piedra, Bellavista and Cauchiche, mangrove and coastal ecosystems predominate. In these areas, a significant number of tree species have been identified, such as the Puná laurel, the muyuyo, the oak, the carob tree and the ceibo (Crespo, 2014).

Among the relevant productive activities, we find agriculture. One of the most significant crops on the island is cherimoya. A little less than 200 families have an approximate area of 200 hectares in the area near the parish head. Likewise, in several of the other economic sectors, this group is organized around the Farmers' Association September 23. These crops, like others, such as corn or pitahaya, have suffered constant deterioration in their productive performance due to the scarcity of rainfall in recent years. People who have fresh water in their homes, from wells, and those who do not have them, must buy it from private suppliers, since water is necessary for human consumption, and tubed water is brackish.

The climatic situation also affects the cattle ranch of the area, the absence of rains puts in check the sustainability of the populations. This great island suffers from constant droughts that affect the economic development capacity of the population and the conservation of ecosystems. Crops depend only on rainfall and access to fresh water is scarce.

The fishing activity is very important in the area, this has a direct impact on the marine biodiversity of the area, since the frequency of use of the resource is continuous and intensive. Also, on the island, there is a large extension of shrimp farms, located mainly on the north and south coast lines, bordering the central-eastern area. These shrimp farms have become an axis of conflict within the area, as several communes maintain demands for occupation of their territories by the private company and, the deforestation of the mangrove is continuous as an effect of this economic activity.

The supply of jobs is small and the debt capacity of most of the population is reduced. Incorporate new ideas and initiatives is one of the priorities in the area, is clear the urgency of credit, both to improve their plantations and to invest in business or tourism services to attract visitors. But this is difficult, since the communication between the populations is

complicated, due to the reduced number of terrestrial roads that connect the different towns and their deplorable state.

Another of the relevant aspects is the cultural heritage of the populations, which not only includes the ethnic and identity baggage of its population, but also many explorations and archaeological investigations carried out in the Puna territory. The archaeological records of the Puná Island date back to the Integration period, between 900 and 1500 AD, which gives a record of pre-Hispanic societies with a long history linked to the Huancavilca Culture (Guancavilca) (Delgado, 2014). This heritage constitutes a bulwark for the population, as it could potentiate site museums that call for tourists to visit the area.

Since that pre-Hispanic era, the islanders exploit the coastal resources and the mangrove area in activities such as fishing, the collection of crustaceans and molluscs, forest resources and agriculture. Several studies point to a high population density in the island, even in early times, which would imply transformations in the habitats and in the quality of life of the populations.

> These settlements occurred gradually from the mangroves on the banks to the internal wooded areas, especially in the area of the Yanzún and Zambapala Hills, located in the center and south of the island. During the contact, the Spaniards reported the presence of a cacical society that combined the production of local goods, the extraction of natural resources and the elaboration of fine goldsmiths (Volland, 1995, in Chancay, 2017, p. 26).

Given this partial panorama on human occupations, there is a solid archaeological record of "77 sites, of which, in relation to their cultural affiliation, 2 are from a single occupation Valdivia, 2 are multicomponent Valdivia-Jambelí, 1 occupation Chorrera, 2 multicomponent Chorrera-Jambelí, 37 Jambelí and 33 Guancavilca" (Chancay, 2017, p.27). Descriptions about the flow and permanence of settlements through various centuries and pre-Hispanic times are described during the Regional Development Period (Aleto & Elwell, 1990, Sánchez, 2013) and in the period of Integration in the Yanzún and Cerro Zambapala sites (Álvarez, 2014). In these sites the constant register is the ceramics, ceremonial areas and evidence of housing.

The National Institute of Cultural Heritage- INPC Regional 5 has developed several studies and investigations in Puná Island. Among them stands out in 2010, the Archaeological Research Project in Campo Alegre, Puná Island, Guayas, Ecuador.

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> The objective of this work was to contextualize the zoomorphic carved stone that is currently in the Municipal Museum of the City of Guayaquil. This sculpture was taken from its original context at the beginning of the 20th century, located 1.5 km from the Campo Alegre Commune (Chancay, 2017, p. 65).

At different times, leaders and local authorities have asked the Municipality of Guayaquil to return the stone to the Puná Island, and in this way create a museum site, but this is part of a social struggle that has not yet ended.

Puná Island is the third largest in Ecuador after Isabela and Santa Cruz, which are in the Galapagos. This is one of the attractions of the island. For this reason, its inhabitants for many years try to potentiate the tourist activities, with average results. Thus, in 2010, the Cacique Tumbalá Development Committee promoted the acquisition of three speedboats to serve the population, as part of the Tourist Transport Project between Guayaquil. Its objective is to encourage tourism in the area and provide rapid transportation to the inhabitants of the Island. Until now, the frequencies and number of boats for transport to the island have increased. In addition, there is a large fishing fleet of low draft, which usually provide their services for the transport of tourists when required, and a daily frequency of boats from the town of Posorja to the commune of Cauchiche.

Currently, in the parish head, there is a hostel and several restaurants that provide service to tourists, the facilities are simple but comfortable. It is also possible to find proposals for walks through the interior of the island, its mangroves and beaches. This initiative to develop tourism infrastructure is replicated in other communes, such is the case of the Cauchiche commune, where in 2013 a small inn was built with the aim of promoting agrotourism. In 2017, the Ministry of Tourism, through its zonal Coordination 5, delivered the registration certificate as a Community Tourism Center (CTC).

Another attraction is the sector of La Concordia on Puná Island, a very popular place. There arrives one of the fluvial routes established by the Municipal Direction of Tourism. This frequency in transport contributed to highlighting several of the sites of this parish capital, Puná Nueva. In Nueva Puná, parish seat in 2014, the pier was inaugurated, with kiosks around and sanitary batteries, this widens the extension of the pier, which highlights the landscape and the integration of nature with the population.

In this way, arrangements have also been made in the decoration of the highest part of the town, where a bust of Cacique Tumbalá was placed

in October of 2017. This is a heroic character of the people of Puná. This cacique was characterized by rejecting Spanish colonization in the mid-sixteenth century, and not bow to the Spanish. In itself, the community has a lot of cultural baggage to offer. Their identity identification as Punáe and ethnic Huancavilca, keeps alive traditions and customs of their culture, with historical and idyllic references.

From this brief description of existing resources in Puná Island, it is feasible that projects arise that encourage tourism activities and travel routes through its different natural and cultural areas. Walks and temporary stays could be made between one and another archaeological site, interspersed with the naturalist experience, highlighting the beauty and characteristics of each of the surrounding habitats. And establishment of ecological trails, in order to connect the different natural and archaeological attractions of the island.

As previously stated, the island has a considerable variety of ecosystems that shape its natural heritage. The mangrove area comprises approximately 14 343 96 hectares, the salt flats cover approximately 871.42 hectares and the plains occupy approximately an approximate area of 11 382 69 hectares (Chancay, 2017, pp. 75-80). With the support of several agencies, the Ministry of the Environment, through the Undersecretary of Natural Heritage and the Socio Bosque Program, has created the area of protective forest, for the capture of carbon, which is constituted by 4533 h. It is in the communes: Campo Alegre, Ancestral Commune Aguas Piedras del Pueblo Punáe, Rio Hondo Indigenous Community, Bellavista de Puná Indigenous Community and Cauchiche Commune (PDOT, 2015). This indicates that there is a recognition from public institutions about ecosystem diversity and the need to protect the natural heritage present in Puná Island.

But not everything is positive, since on the island there are many social problems, among which we highlight the following: absence of a sewage treatment service (a large part of the population has septic tanks installed and a small percentage directly discharges to the sea); citizen insecurity and fluvial insecurity; increase in the consumption of drugs, among others. Villagers argue that the use of narcotics in youth is becoming more frequent, which causes concern to the island population. The authorities of the area denounce that the area is used as a transit route for drug trafficking, which increases a perception of insecurity in the citizens who live in the area and for those who visit it. And there is the presence of constant robberies to the fishermen of the Puná Island, especially of their engines and fishing implements by pirates that operate in the Gulf of Guayaquil.

On the other hand, illegal logging of mangrove forests by unscrupulous owners of shrimp farms constitutes one of the main causes of the degradation of ecosystems (one of the recently affected areas is located in the Campo Alegre Commune). Mangrove ecosystems are the most fragile and threatened areas, so an agreement is maintained between the Ministry of the Environment and the association of artisanal fishermen of the Campo Alegre Commune.

Given these situations, the authorities of the parish propose an effective management, which enhances the improvement of resources, in order to be efficient and effective in managing the demands of the population (PDOT Puná, 2015, p.34). But one of the difficulties encountered by these initiatives is the lack of support from the rest of the government apparatus and private enterprise. Therefore, the amount of resources required to boost the island as a tourist destination are few. The connectivity of cellular telephony and the internet is insufficient, it should be extended and strengthened, adding the inclusion of training processes in the management of networks and proposals to promote the resources of Puná Island, not only by the authorities but also by the inhabitants of this territory. This aspect is important, since up to now there are no promotion channels for the list, neither formal nor informal.

The parish president has created a page of the parish on Facebook, but it is not managed constantly because the government of the parish does not have a communication team, therefore it requires processes of training of the population in the use social networks and tourism issues, in addition to establishing partnerships with external actors to strengthen tourism management and the promotion of the island's resources, actions that attract the attention of travelers and adventure tourists and naturalists.

Thus, the promotion of tourism activity is one of the current discussion items in the community, although the authorities have not yet contemplated the type of impact that the development of these activities has, impacts that range from cultural transformation and the erosion of natural resources, and the amount of resources required to boost tourism dissemination and the heritage conservation actions that this entails for the population.

Conclusions

The life of the communities and social groups in the world has been transformed under the umbrella of technology. This new tool accelerated

the dissemination of information and communication processes in society. New opportunities are glimpsed for the inhabitants of the Puná Island and its authorities, around the use of their natural and human resources in their economic strengthening through an activity such as tourism, but at the same time this would imply the generation of social conflicts and impacts, as the frequency and percentage of people in the territory increase, especially in reference to cultural transformations and changes in the interests of the population.

The internet, and specifically social networks, are crucial to make known in the world the existence of a tourist offer, this is one of the opportunities offered by the cultural and environmental wealth of the island to its inhabitants. A tourist offer is an option of hopeful economic growth for its inhabitants and authorities. This activity could generate jobs, but it is necessary to open up funds and loans for the development of this activity in Puná Island. Thus, technology reduces the distance between time and space, where digital communication has ended up expanding our worlds. The communication and its uses become an active potential that can be used to promote the beauties and tourist potentialities of the Island, through cultural dissemination projects on the Internet and on-site visits.

Actions to protect the natural and cultural heritage are relevant in the sense that they are an essential part of people's survival. The internet and its media use help to visualize communities, while promoting activities such as tourism. The development of these activities would provide resources not only to the population but would also become a catalyst for actions for the conservation of the archaeological record, the presentation of cultural expressions from the communities and for the conservation of the island's ecosystems. More must be taken into account that there is a contradiction between promoting the development and growth of industrial productive activities, as opposed to the requirement of conservation of natural and cultural resources intrinsic to the worldview present in tourism.

In this way, digital communication allows us to disseminate and publicize the wealth of a people, both culturally and naturally, while at the same time potentiating an economic activity such as tourism, but the necessary precautions must be taken to reduce the negative impact that an increase of the tourist visits can generate in the island, this would imply a work of prevention on the part of the authorities and of the society in general, work that still is in development on the part of the inhabitants of the Puná parish.

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EDITORIAL GUIDELINES

NORMAS EDITORIALES

PUBLICATION GUIDELINES IN «UNIVERSITAS»

1. General Information

«Universitas» is a bilingual scientific publication of the *Universidad Politécnica Salesiana* of Ecuador, published since January 2002 in an uninterrupted manner, with a semi-annual periodicity, specialized in Social and Human Sciences and its interdisciplinary lines such as Sociology, Anthropology, Social Psychology, Social Development, Communities, Latin American Studies, Political Studies, among others.

It is scientific journal, which uses the peer-review system, under double-blind review methodology, according to the publication standards of the American Psychological Association (APA). Compliance with this system allows authors to guarantee an objective, impartial and transparent review process, which facilitates the publication of their inclusion in reference databases, repositories and international indexing.

«Universitas» is indexed in the Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) of Web of Science, the LATINDEX catalog, Regional Online Information System for Scientific Journals of Latin America, the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal, is part of the Directory of Open Access Journals-DOAJ, belongs to the Ibero-American Network of Innovation and Scientific Knowledge, REDIB, Network of Scientific Journals of Latin America and the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal, REDALYC, It is also part of the Information Matrix for the Analysis of Journals, MIAR and is being evaluated, in the medium term, to become part of SCOPUS.

The journal is published in a double version: printed (ISSN: 1390-3837) and digital (e-ISSN: 1390-8634), in English and Spanish, each work being identified with a DOI (Digital Object Identifier System).

2. Scope and Policy

2.1. Theme

Original contributions in Humanities and Social Sciences, as well as related areas: Sociology, Anthropology, Social Psychology, Social Development, Communities, Latin American Studies, Political Studies, and all related interdisciplinary disciplines with the central theme.

2.2. Contributions

"Universitas" preferably publishes results of empirical research on Human and Social Sciences, written in Spanish and / or English, as well as reports, studies and proposals, as well as selected state-of-the-art literature reviews.

All works must be original, have not been published in any medium or be in the process of arbitration or publication.

- **Research:** 5,000 to 6,500 words of text, including title, abstracts, descriptors, charts and references.
- **Reports, studies and proposals:** 5,000 to 6,500 words of text, including title, abstracts, charts and references.
- **Reviews:** 6,000 to 7,000 words of text, including charts and references. Justified references, would be specially valued. (current and selected from among 70 works)

"Universitas" has a biannual periodicity (20 articles per year), published in March and September and counts by number with two sections of five articles each, the first referring to a **Monographic** topic prepared in advance and with thematic editors and the Second, a section of **Miscellaneous**, composed of varied contributions within the theme of the publication.

3. Presentation, Structure and Submission of the Manuscripts

Texts will be presented in Arial 10 font, single line spacing, complete justification and no tabs or white spaces between paragraphs. Only large blocks (title, authors, summaries, descriptors, credits and headings) will

be separated with a blank space. The page should be 2 centimeters in all its margins.

Papers must be submitted in a Microsoft Word document (.doc or .docx), requiring that the file be anonymized in File Properties, so that the author / s identification does not appear.

Manuscripts must be submitted only and exclusively through the OJS (Open Journal System), in which all authors must previously register. Originals sent via email or other interfaces are not accepted.

3.1. Structure of the manuscript

For those works that are empirical investigations, the manuscripts will follow the IMRDC structure, being optional the Notes and Supports. Those papers that, on the contrary, deal with reports, studies, proposals and reviews may be more flexible in their epigraphs, particularly in material and methods, analysis, results, discussion and conclusions. In all typologies of works, references are mandatory.

1) Title (Spanish) / Title (English): Concise but informative, in Spanish on the first line and in English on the second. A maximum of 80 characters with spaces are accepted. The title is not only the responsibility of the authors, changes being able to be proposed by the Editorial Board.

2) Full name and surnames: Of each of the authors, organized by priority. A maximum of 3 authors will be accepted per original, although there may be exceptions justified by the topic, its complexity and extent. Next to the names must follow the professional category, work center, email of each author and ORCID number. It is mandatory to indicate if you have the academic degree of doctor (include Dr./Dra before the name).

3) Abstract (Spanish) / Abstract (English): It will have a maximum extension of 230 words, first in Spanish and then in English. : 1) Justification of the topic; 2) Objectives; 3) Methodology and sample; 4) Main results; 5) Main conclusions. It must be impersonally written "This paper analyzes ...". In the case of the abstract, the use of automatic translators will not be accepted due to their poor quality.

4) Descriptors (Spanish) / Keywords (English): 6 descriptors must be presented for each language version directly related to the subject of the work. The use of the key words set out in UNESCO's Thesaurus will be positively valued.

5) Introduction and state of the issue: It should include the problem statement, context of the problem, justification, rationale and purpose of the study, using bibliographical citations, as well as the most significant and current literature on the topic at national and international level .

6) Material and methods: It must be written so that the reader can easily understand the development of the research. If applicable, it will describe the methodology, the sample and the form of sampling, as well as the type of statistical analysis used. If it is an original methodology, it is necessary to explain the reasons that led to its use and to describe its possible limitations.

7) Analysis and results: It will try to highlight the most important observations, describing, without making value judgments, the material and methods used. They will appear in a logical sequence in the text and the essential charts and figures avoiding the duplication of data.

8) Discussion and conclusions: Summarize the most important findings, relating the observations themselves with relevant studies, indicating contributions and limitations, without adding data already mentioned in other sections. Also, the discussion and conclusions section should include the deductions and lines for future research.

9) Supports and acknowledgments (optional): The Council Science Editors recommends the author (s) to specify the source of funding for the research. Priority will be given to projects supported by national and international competitive projects. In any case, for the scientific evaluation of the manuscript, it should be only anonymized with XXXX for its initial evaluation, in order not to identify authors and research teams, which should be explained in the Cover Letter and later in the final manuscript.

10) The notes (optional) will go, only if necessary, at the end of the article (before the references). They must be manually annotated, since the system of footnotes or the end of Word is not recognized by the layout systems. The numbers of notes are placed in superscript, both in the text and in the final note. The numbers of notes are placed in superscript, both in the text and in the final note. No notes are allowed that collect simple bibliographic citations (without comments), as these should go in the references.

11) References: Bibliographical citations should be reviewed in the form of references to the text. Under no circumstances should references not mentioned in the text be included. Their number should be sufficient to

contextualize the theoretical framework with current and important criteria. They will be presented alphabetically by the first last name of the author.

3.2. *Standards for references*

PERIODIC PUBLICATIONS

Journal article (author): Valdés-Pérez, D. (2016). Incidencia de las técnicas de gestión en la mejora de decisiones administrativas [Impact of Management Techniques on the Improvement of Administrative Decisions]. *Retos, 12*(6), 199-2013. https://doi.org/10.17163/ret.n12.2016.05

Journal Article (Up to six authors): Ospina, M.C., Alvarado, S.V., Fefferman, M., & Llanos, D. (2016). Introducción del dossier temático "Infancias y juventudes: violencias, conflictos, memorias y procesos de construcción de paz" [Introduction of the thematic dossier "Infancy and Youth: Violence, Conflicts, Memories and Peace Construction Processes"]. *Universitas, 25*(14), 91-95. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n25.%25x

Journal article (more tan six authors): Smith, S.W., Smith, S.L. Pieper, K.M., Yoo, J.H., Ferrys, A.L., Downs, E.,... Bowden, B. (2006). Altruism on American Television: Examining the Amount of, and Context Surronding. Acts of Helping and Sharing. *Journal of Communication, 56*(4), 707-727. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00316.x

Journal article (without DOI): Rodríguez, A. (2007). Desde la promoción de salud mental hacia la promoción de salud: La concepción de lo comunitario en la implementación de proyectos sociales. *Alteridad, 2*(1), 28-40. (https://goo.gl/zDb3Me) (2017-01-29).

BOOKS AND BOOK CHAPTERS

Full books: Cuéllar, J.C., & Moncada-Paredes, M.C. (2014). *El peso de la deuda externa ecuatoriana*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Chapter of book: Zambrano-Quiñones, D. (2015). *El ecoturismo comunitario en Manglaralto y Colonche*. En V.H. Torres (Ed.), Alternativas de Vida: Trece experiencias de desarrollo endógeno en Ecuador (pp. 175-198). Quito: Abya-Yala.

DIGITAL MEDIA

Pérez-Rodríguez, M.A., Ramírez, A., & García-Ruíz, R. (2015). La competencia mediática en educación infantil. Análisis del nivel de desarrollo en España. Universitas Psychologica, 14(2), 619-630. https://doi.org.10.11144/Javeriana.upsy14-2.cmei

It is prescriptive that all quotations that have DOI (Digital Object Identifier System) are reflected in the References (can be obtained at http://goo.gl/gfruh1). All journals and books that do not have DOI should appear with their link (in their online version, if they have it, shortened by Google Shortened: http://goo.gl) and date of consultation in the format indicated.

Journal articles should be presented in English, except for those in Spanish and English, in which case it will be displayed in both languages using brackets. All web addresses submitted must be shortened in the manuscript, except for the DOI that must be in the indicated format (https://doi.org/XXX).

3.3. Epigraphs, Figures and Charts

The epigraphs of the body of the article will be numbered in Arabic. They should go without a full box of capital letters, neither underlined nor bold. The numbering must be a maximum of three levels: 1. / 1.1. / 1.1.1. A carriage return will be established at the end of each numbered epigraph.

The charts must be included in the text in Word format according to order of appearance, numbered in Arabic and subtitled with the description of the content.

The graphics or figures will be adjusted to the minimum number required and will be presented incorporated in the text, according to their order of appearance, numbered in Arabic and subtitled with the abbreviated description. Their quality should not be less than 300 dpi, and it may be necessary to have the graph in TIFF, PNG or JPEG format.

4. Submission Process

Two files must be sent through the OJS system of the journal:

1) Presentation and cover, in which the title in Spanish and English will appear, names and surnames of the authors in a standardized form with ORCID number, abstract in both Spanish and English, descriptors and ke-

ywords and a statement that the manuscript is an Origina lcontribution, not sent or in the process of being evaluated in another journal, confirmation of the signatory authors, acceptance (if applicable) of formal changes in the manuscript according to the rules and partial transfer of rights to the publisher (use official cover model).

2) Manuscript totally anonymized, according to the norms referred in precedence.

All authors must register with their credits on the OJS platform, although only one of them will be responsible for correspondence.

No author can submit or have in review two manuscripts simultaneously, estimating an absence of four consecutive numbers (2 years).

NORMAS DE PUBLICACIÓN EN «UNIVERSITAS»

1. Información general

«Universitas» es una publicación científica bilingüe de la Universidad Politécnica Salesiana de Ecuador, editada desde enero de 2002 de forma ininterrumpida, con periodicidad fija semestral, especializada en Ciencias Sociales y Humanas y sus líneas interdisciplinares como Sociología, Antropología, Psicología Social, Desarrollo Social, Comunidades, Estudios Latinoamericanos, Estudios Políticos, entre otras.

Es una revista científica arbitrada, que utiliza el sistema de evaluación externa por expertos (*peer-review*), bajo metodología de pares ciegos (*doble-blind review*), conforme a las normas de publicación de la American Psychological Association (APA). El cumplimiento de este sistema permite garantizar a los autores un proceso de revisión objetivo, imparcial y transparente, lo que facilita a la publicación su inclusión en bases de datos, repositorios e indexaciones internacionales de referencia.

«Universitas» se encuentra indizada en Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) de Web of Science, el catálogo LATINDEX, Sistema Regional de información en Línea para Revistas Científicas de América Latina, El Caribe, España y Portugal, forma parte del Directory of Open Access Journals-DOAJ, pertenece a la Red Iberoamericana de Innovación y Conocimiento Científico, REDIB, Red de Revistas Cientificas de America Latina y el Caribe,España y Portugal, REDALYC, además conforma la Matriz de Información para el Análisis de Revistas, MIAR y está siendo evaluada en mediano plazo para pasar a formar parte de SCOPUS.

La revista se edita en doble versión: impresa (ISSN: 1390-3837) y electrónica (e-ISSN: 1390-8634), en español e inglés, siendo identificado además cada trabajo con un DOI (Digital Object Identifier System).

2. Alcance y Política

2.1. Temática

Contribuciones originales en materia de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, así como áreas afines: Sociología, Antropología, Psicología Social, Desarrollo Social, Comunidades, Estudios Latinoamericanos, Estudios Políticos, y todas aquellas disciplinas conexas interdisciplinarmente con la línea temática central.

2.2. Aportaciones

«Universitas» edita preferentemente resultados de investigación empírica sobre Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, redactados en español y/o inglés, siendo también admisibles informes, estudios y propuestas, así como selectas revisiones de la literatura (*state-of-the-art*).

Todos los trabajos deben ser originales, no haber sido publicados en ningún medio ni estar en proceso de arbitraje o publicación. De esta manera, las aportaciones en la revista pueden ser:

- **Investigaciones:** 5.000 a 6.500 palabras de texto, incluyendo título, resúmenes, descriptores, tablas y referencias.
- **Informes, estudios y propuestas:** 5.000 a 6.500 palabras de texto, incluyendo título, resúmenes, tablas y referencias.
- **Revisiones:** 6.000 a 7.000 palabras de texto, incluidas tablas y referencias. Se valorará especialmente las referencias justificadas, actuales y selectivas de alrededor de unas 70 obras.

«Universitas» tiene periodicidad semestral (20 artículos por año), publicada en los meses de marzo y septiembre y cuenta por número con dos secciones de cinco artículos cada una, la primera referida a un tema **Monográfico** preparado con antelación y con editores temáticos y la segunda, una sección de **Misceláneas**, compuesta por aportaciones variadas dentro de la temática de la publicación.

3. Presentación, estructura y envío de los manuscritos

Los trabajos se presentarán en tipo de letra Arial 10, interlineado simple, justificado completo y sin tabuladores ni espacios en blanco entre párrafos. Solo se separarán con un espacio en blanco los grandes bloques (título, autores, resúmenes, descriptores, créditos y epígrafes). La página debe tener 2 centímetros en todos sus márgenes.

Los trabajos deben presentarse en documento de Microsoft Word (.doc o .docx), siendo necesario que el archivo esté anonimizado en Propiedades de Archivo, de forma que no aparezca la identificación de autor/es.

Los manuscritos deben ser enviados única y exclusivamente a través del OJS (Open Journal System), en el cual todos los autores deben darse de alta previamente. No se aceptan originales enviados a través de correo electrónico u otra interfaz.

3.1. Estructura del manuscrito

Para aquellos trabajos que se traten de investigaciones de carácter empírico, los manuscritos seguirán la estructura IMRDC, siendo opcionales los epígrafes de Notas y Apoyos. Aquellos trabajos que por el contrario se traten de informes, estudios, propuestas y revisiones podrán ser más flexibles en sus epígrafes, especialmente en Material y métodos, Análisis y resultados y Discusión y conclusiones. En todas las tipologías de trabajos son obligatorias las Referencias.

1) Título (español) / Title (inglés): Conciso pero informativo, en castellano en primera línea y en inglés en segunda. Se aceptan como máximo 80 caracteres con espacio. El título no solo es responsabilidad de los autores, pudiéndose proponer cambios por parte del Consejo Editorial.

2) Nombre y apellidos completos: De cada uno de los autores, organizados por orden de prelación. Se aceptarán como máximo 3 autores por original, aunque pudieren existir excepciones justificadas por el tema, su complejidad y extensión. Junto a los nombres ha de seguir la categoría profesional, centro de trabajo, correo electrónico de cada autor y número de ORCID. Es obligatorio indicar si se posee el grado académico de doctor (incluir Dr./Dra. antes del nombre).

3) Resumen (español) / Abstract (inglés): Tendrá como extensión máxima 230 palabras, primero en español y después en inglés. En el resumen se describirá de forma concisa y en este orden: 1) Justificación del

tema; 2) Objetivos; 3) Metodología y muestra; 4) Principales resultados; 5) Principales conclusiones. Ha de estar escrito de manera impersonal "El presente trabajo analiza…". En el caso del abstract no se admitirá el empleo de traductores automáticos por su pésima calidad.

4) Descriptores (español) / Keywords (inglés): Se deben exponer 6 descriptores por cada versión idiomática relacionados directamente con el tema del trabajo. Será valorado positivamente el uso de las palabras claves expuestas en el Thesaurus de la UNESCO.

5) Introducción y estado de la cuestión: Debe incluir el planteamiento del problema, el contexto de la problemática, la justificación, fundamentos y propósito del estudio, utilizando citas bibliográficas, así como la literatura más significativa y actual del tema a escala nacional e internacional.

6) Material y métodos: Debe ser redactado de forma que el lector pueda comprender con facilidad el desarrollo de la investigación. En su caso, describirá la metodología, la muestra y la forma de muestreo, así como se hará referencia al tipo de análisis estadístico empleado. Si se trata de una metodología original, es necesario exponer las razones que han conducido a su empleo y describir sus posibles limitaciones.

7) Análisis y resultados: Se procurará resaltar las observaciones más importantes, describiéndose, sin hacer juicios de valor, el material y métodos empleados. Aparecerán en una secuencia lógica en el texto y las tablas y figuras imprescindibles evitando la duplicidad de datos.

8) Discusión y conclusiones: Resumirá los hallazgos más importantes, relacionando las propias observaciones con estudios de interés, señalando aportaciones y limitaciones, sin redundar datos ya comentados en otros apartados. Asimismo, el apartado de discusión y conclusiones debe incluir las deducciones y líneas para futuras investigaciones.

9) Apoyos y agradecimientos (opcionales): El Council Science Editors recomienda a los autor/es especificar la fuente de financiación de la investigación. Se considerarán prioritarios los trabajos con aval de proyectos competitivos nacionales e internacionales. En todo caso, para la valoración científica del manuscrito, este debe ir anonimizado con XXXX solo para su evaluación inicial, a fin de no identificar autores y equipos de investigación, que deben ser explicitados en la Carta de Presentación y posteriormente en el manuscrito final.

10) Las notas (opcionales) irán, solo en caso necesario, al final del artículo (antes de las referencias). Deben anotarse manualmente, ya que el sis-

tema de notas al pie o al final de Word no es reconocido por los sistemas de maquetación. Los números de notas se colocan en superíndice, tanto en el texto como en la nota final. No se permiten notas que recojan citas bibliográficas simples (sin comentarios), pues éstas deben ir en las referencias.

11) Referencias: Las citas bibliográficas deben reseñarse en forma de referencias al texto. Bajo ningún caso deben incluirse referencias no citadas en el texto. Su número debe ser suficiente para contextualizar el marco teórico con criterios de actualidad e importancia. Se presentarán alfabéticamente por el primer apellido del autor.

3.2. Normas para las referencias

PUBLICACIONES PERIÓDICAS

Artículo de revista (un autor): Valdés-Pérez, D. (2016). Incidencia de las técnicas de gestión en la mejora de decisiones administrativas [Impact of Management Techniques on the Improvement of Administrative Decisions]. *Retos, 12*(6), 199-2013. https://doi.org/10.17163/ret.n12.2016.05

Artículo de revista (hasta seis autores): Ospina, M.C., Alvarado, S.V., Fefferman, M., & Llanos, D. (2016). Introducción del dossier temático "Infancias y juventudes: violencias, conflictos, memorias y procesos de construcción de paz" [Introduction of the thematic dossier "Infancy and Youth: Violence, Conflicts, Memories and Peace Construction Processes"]. *Universitas, 25*(14), 91-95. https://doi.org/10.17163/uni.n25.%25x

Artículo de revista (más de seis autores): Smith, S.W., Smith, S.L. Pieper, K.M., Yoo, J.H., Ferrys, A.L., Downs, E.,... Bowden, B. (2006). Altruism on American Television: Examining the Amount of, and Context Surronding. Acts of Helping and Sharing. *Journal of Communication, 56*(4), 707-727. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00316.x

Artículo de revista (sin DOI): Rodríguez, A. (2007). Desde la promoción de salud mental hacia la promoción de salud: La concepción de lo comunitario en la implementación de proyectos sociales. *Alteridad, 2*(1), 28-40. (https://goo.gl/zDb3Me) (2017-01-29).

LIBROS Y CAPÍTULOS DE LIBRO

Libros completos: Cuéllar, J.C., & Moncada-Paredes, M.C. (2014). *El peso de la deuda externa ecuatoriana*. Quito: Abya-Yala.

Capítulos de libro: Zambrano-Quiñones, D. (2015). *El ecoturismo comunitario en Manglaralto y Colonche*. En V.H. Torres (Ed.), Alternativas de Vida: Trece experiencias de desarrollo endógeno en Ecuador (pp. 175-198). Quito: Abya-Yala.

Medios electrónicos

Pérez-Rodríguez, M.A., Ramírez, A., & García-Ruíz, R. (2015). La competencia mediática en educación infantil. Análisis del nivel de desarrollo en España. Universitas Psychologica, 14(2), 619-630. https://doi.org.10.11144/Javeriana.upsy14-2.cmei

Es prescriptivo que todas las citas que cuenten con DOI (Digital Object Identifier System) estén reflejadas en las Referencias (pueden obtenerse en http://goo.gl/gfruh1). Todas las revistas y libros que no tengan DOI deben aparecer con su link (en su versión on-line, en caso de que la tengan, acortada, mediante Google Shortener: http://goo.gl) y fecha de consulta en el formato indicado.

Los artículos de revistas deben ser expuestos en idioma inglés, a excepción de aquellos que se encuentren en español e inglés, caso en el que se expondrá en ambos idiomas utilizando corchetes. Todas las direcciones web que se presenten tienen que ser acortadas en el manuscrito, a excepción de los DOI que deben ir en el formato indicado (https://doi.org/XXX).

3.3. Epígrafes, tablas y gráficos

Los epígrafes del cuerpo del artículo se numerarán en arábigo. Irán sin caja completa de mayús-culas, ni subrayados, ni negritas. La numeración ha de ser como máximo de tres niveles: 1. / 1.1. / 1.1.1. Al final de cada epígrafe numerado se establecerá un retorno de carro.

Las tablas deben presentarse incluidas en el texto en formato Word según orden de aparición, numeradas en arábigo y subtituladas con la descripción del contenido.

Los gráficos o figuras se ajustarán al número mínimo necesario y se presentarán incorporadas al texto, según su orden de aparición, numeradas en arábigo y subtituladas con la descripción abreviada. Su calidad no debe ser inferior a 300 ppp, pudiendo ser necesario contar con el gráfico en formato TIFF, PNG o JPEG.

4. Proceso de envío

Deben remitirse a través del sistema OJS de la revista dos archivos:

1) Presentación y portada, en la que aparecerá el título en español e inglés, nombres y apellidos de los autores de forma estandarizada con número de ORCID, resumen, abstract, descriptores y keywords y una declaración de que el manuscrito se trata de una aportación original, no enviada ni en proceso de evaluación en otra revista, confirmación de las autorías firmantes, aceptación (si procede) de cambios formales en el manuscrito conforme a las normas y cesión parcial de derechos a la editorial (usar modelo oficial de portada).

2) Manuscrito totalmente anonimizado, conforme a las normas referidas en precedencia.

Todos los autores han de darse de alta, con sus créditos, en la plataforma OJS, si bien uno solo de ellos será el responsable de correspondencia. Ningún autor podrá enviar o tener en revisión dos manuscritos de forma simultánea, estimándose una carencia de cuatro números consecutivos (2 años).

GUIDELINES FOR EXTERNAL REVIEWERS OF «UNIVERSITAS»

The **Council of External Reviewers of «Universitas»** is an independent collegiate body whose purpose is to guarantee the excellence of this scientific publication, because the blind evaluation - based exclusively on the quality of the contents of the manuscripts and carried out by experts of recognized International prestige in the field - is, without a doubt, the best guarantee for the advancement of science and to preserve in this header an original and valuable scientific production.

To this end, the **Council of External Reviewers** is made up of several scholars and international scientists specialized in **Education,** essential to select the articles of the greatest impact and interest for the international scientific community. This in turn allows that all the articles selected to publish in **«Universitas»** have an academic endorsement and objectifiable reports on the originals.

Of course, all reviews in **«Universitas»** use the internationally standardized system of double-blind peer evaluation that guarantees the anonymity of manuscripts and reviewers. As a measure of transparency, the complete lists of reviewers are published on the official website of the journal (www. http://Universitas.ups.edu.ec/) los listados completos de los revisores.

1. Criteria for acceptance/rejection of manuscript evaluation

The editorial team of «Universitas» selects those that are considered more qualified in the subject of the manuscript from the list of reviewers of the Council of Reviewers. While the publication requires the maximum collaboration of reviewers to expedite the evaluations and reports on each original, acceptance of the review must be linked to:

a. **Expertise.** Acceptance necessarily entails the possession of competences in the specific theme of the article to be evaluated.
b. **Availability.** Reviewing an original takes time and involves careful reflection on many aspects.

c. **Conflict of interests.** In case of identification of the authorship of the manuscript (despite their anonymity), excessive academic or family closeness to their authors, membership in the same University, Department, Research Group, Thematic Network, Research Projects, joint publications with authors ... or any other type of connection or conflict / professional proximity; The reviewer must reject the publisher's invitation for review.

d. **Commitment of confidentiality.** Reception of a manuscript for evaluation requires the Reviewer to express a commitment of confidentiality, so that it cannot be divulged to a third party throughout the process.

In the event that the reviewer cannot carry out the activity for some of these reasons or other justifiable reasons, he/she must notify the publisher by the same route that he/she has received the invitation, specifying the reasons for rejection.

2. General criteria for the evaluation of manuscripts

a) Topic

In addition to being valuable and relevant to the scientific community, the topic that is presented in the original must be limited and specialized in time and space, without excessive localism.

b) Redaction

The critical assessment in the review report must be objectively written, providing content, quotes or references of interest to support its judgment.

c) Originality

As a fundamental criterion of quality, an article must be original, unpublished and suitable. In this sense, reviewers should answer these three questions in the evaluation:

- Is the article sufficiently novel and interesting to justify publication?
- Does it contribute anything to the knowledge canon?

• Is the research question relevant?

A quick literature search using repositories such as Web of Knowledge, Scopus and Google Scholar to see if the research has been previously covered, may be helpful.

d) Structure

Manuscripts that refer to «Universitas» must follow the IMRDC structure, except those that are literature reviews or specific studies. In this sense, the originals must contain summary, introduction, methodology, results, discussion and conclusion.

- The ***title, abstract, and keywords*** should accurately describe the content of the article.
- The ***review of the literature*** should summarize the state of the question of the most recent and adequate research for the presented work. It will be especially evaluated with criteria of suitability and that the references are to works of high impact - especially in WoS, Scopus, Scielo, etc. It should also include the general explanation of the study, its central objective and the followed methodological design.
- In case of research, in the ***materials and methods,*** the author must specify how the data, the process and the instruments used to respond to the hypothesis, the validation system, and all the information necessary to replicate the study are collected.
- ***Results*** must be clearly specified in logical sequence. It is important to check if the figures or charts presented are necessary or, if not, redundant with the content of the text.
- In the ***discussion,*** the data obtained should be interpreted in the light of the literature review. Authors should include here if their article supports or contradicts previous theories. The conclusions will summarize the advances that the research presents in the area of scientific knowledge, the future lines of research and the main difficulties or limitations for carrying out the research.
- ***Language:*** It will be positively assessed if the language used facilitates reading and is in favor of the clarity, simplicity, precision and transparency of the scientific language. The Reviewer should not proceed to correction, either in Spanish or English, but will inform

the Editors of these grammatical or orthographical and typographical errors.

- Finally, a thorough **review of the references** is required in case any relevant work has been omitted. The references must be precise, citing within the logic of the subject at study, its main works as well as the documents that most resemble the work itself, as well as the latest research in the area.

3. Relevant valuation dimensions

«Universitas» uses an evaluation matrix of each original that responds to the editorial criteria and to compliance with the publication normative. In this sense, the reviewers must attend to the qualitative-quantitative assessment of each of the aspects proposed in this matrix with criteria of objectivity, reasoning, logic and expertise.

RESEARCHES	
Valuable items	**P.**
01. Title and abstract (clarity and structure)	0/5
02. Thematic relevance 03. Originality of the work 04. Review of the literature	0/10
05. Structure and organization of the article 06. Argumentative capabilities 07. Redaction	0/10
08. Methodological rigor 09. Research instruments	0/10
10. Research results 11. Advances 12. Discussion 13. Conclusions	0/10
14. Quotations (variety and richness) 15. References	0/5
Total	50

If the original is a review of the literature (status of the subject) or other type of study (reports, proposals, experiences, among others), the Editorial Board will send to the reviewers a different matrix, including the characteristics of Structure of this type of originals:

REPORTS, STUDIES, PROPOSALS, REVIEWS	
Valuable items	**P.**
01. Title and abstract (clarity and structure)	0/5
02. Thematic relevance	0/10
03. Review of the literature	0/10
04. Structure and organization of the article 05. Argumentative capabilities and coherence 06. Scientific redaction	0/10
07. original contributions 08. Conclusions	0/10
09. Quotations 10. References	0/5
Total	50

4. Ethical Considerations

a) Plagiarism: Although the journal uses plagiarism detection systems, if the reviewer suspects that an original is a substantial copy of another work, he must immediately inform the Editors citing the previous work in as much detail as possible.

b) Fraud: If there is real or remote suspicion that the results in an article are false or fraudulent, it is necessary to inform them to the Editors.

5. Evaluation of the originals

After the quantitative-qualitative evaluation of the manuscript under review, the reviewer may make recommendations to improve the quality of the manuscript. However, the manuscript will be graded in three ways:

a. **Acceptance without review**
b. **Conditional acceptance** and therefore review (greater or lesser). In the latter case, it is necessary to clearly identify which review is necessary, listing the comments and even specifying paragraphs and pages suggesting modifications.
c. **Rejection** due to detected deficiencies justified and reasoned with quantitative and quantitative assessment. The report should be longer if a score of less than 40 of the 50 possible points is obtained.

INDICADORES PARA REVISORES
EXTERNOS DE «UNIVERSITAS»

El **Consejo de Revisores Externos de «Universitas»** es un órgano colegiado independiente cuyo fin es garantizar la excelencia de esta publicación científica, debido a que la evaluación ciega –basada exclusivamente en la calidad de los contenidos de los manuscritos y realizada por expertos de reconocido prestigio internacional en la materia– es la mejor garantía y, sin duda, el mejor aval para el avance de la ciencia y para preservar en esta cabecera una producción científica original y valiosa.

Para ello, el **Consejo de Revisores Externos** está conformado por diversos académicos y científicos internacionales especialistas en **Ciencias Sociales,** esenciales para seleccionar los artículos de mayor impacto e interés para la comunidad científica internacional. Esto permite a su vez que todos los artículos seleccionados para publicar en **«Universitas»** cuenten con un aval académico e informes objetivables sobre los originales.

Por supuesto, todas las revisiones en **«Universitas»** emplean el sistema estandarizado internacionalmente de evaluación por pares con «doble ciego» (doble-blind) que garantiza el anonimato de los manuscritos y de los revisores de los mismos. Como medida de transparencia, anualmente se hacen públicos en la web oficial de la revista (www. http://Universitas.ups.edu.ec/) los listados completos de los revisores.

1. Criterios de aceptación/rechazo de evaluación manuscritos

El equipo editorial de **«Universitas»** selecciona del listado de revisores del Consejo de Revisores a aquellos que se estiman más cualificado en la temática del manuscrito. Si bien por parte de la publicación se pide la máxima colaboración de los revisores para agilizar las evaluaciones y los informes sobre cada original, la aceptación de la revisión ha de estar vinculada a:

a. **Experticia.** La aceptación conlleva necesariamente la posesión de competencias en la temática concreta del artículo a evaluar.
b. **Disponibilidad.** Revisar un original exige tiempo y conlleva reflexión concienzuda de muchos aspectos.

c. **Conflicto de intereses.** En caso de identificación de la autoría del manuscrito (a pesar de su anonimato), excesiva cercanía académica o familiar a sus autores, pertenencia a la misma Universidad, Departamento, Grupo de Investigación, Red Temática, Proyectos de Investigación, publicaciones conjuntas con los autores… o cualquier otro tipo de conexión o conflicto/cercanía profesional; el revisor debe rechazar la invitación del editor para su revisión.

d. **Compromiso de confidencialidad.** La recepción de un manuscrito para su evaluación exige del Revisor un compromiso expreso de confidencialidad, de manera que éste no puede, durante todo el proceso, ser divulgado a un tercero.

En caso que el revisor no pueda llevar a cabo la actividad por algunos de estos motivos u otros justificables, debe notificarlo al editor por la misma vía que ha recibido la invitación, especificando los motivos de rechazo.

2. Criterios generales de evaluación de manuscritos

a) Tema

La temática que se plantea en el original, además de ser valiosa y relevante para la comunidad científica, ha de ser limitada y especializada en tiempo y espacio, sin llegar al excesivo localismo.

b) Redacción

La valoración crítica en el informe de revisión ha de estar redactada de forma objetiva, aportando contenido, citas o referencias de interés para argumentar su juicio.

c) Originalidad

Como criterio de calidad fundamental, un artículo debe ser original, inédito e idóneo. En este sentido, los revisores deben responder a estas tres preguntas en la evaluación:

• ¿Es el artículo suficientemente novedoso e interesante para justificar su publicación?

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- ¿Aporta algo al canon del conocimiento?
- ¿Es relevante la pregunta de investigación?

Una búsqueda rápida de literatura utilizando repositorios tales como Web of Knowledge, Scopus y Google Scholar para ver si la investigación ha sido cubierta previamente puede ser de utilidad.

d) Estructura

Los manuscritos que se remiten a **«Universitas»** deben seguir obligatoriamente la estructura IMRyD, excepto aquellos que sean revisiones de la literatura o estudios específicos. En este sentido, los originales han de contener resumen, introducción, metodología, resultados, discusión y conclusión.

- El *título, el resumen y las palabras clave* han de describir exactamente el contenido del artículo.
- La *revisión de la literatura* debe resumir el estado de la cuestión de las investigaciones más recientes y adecuadas para el trabajo presentado. Se valorará especialmente con criterios de idoneidad y que las referencias sean a trabajos de alto impacto –especialmente en WoS, Scopus, Scielo, etc. Debe incluir además la explicación general del estudio, su objetivo central y el diseño metodológico seguido.
- En caso de investigaciones, en los *materiales y métodos,* el autor debe precisar cómo se recopilan los datos, el proceso y los instrumentos usados para responder a las hipótesis, el sistema de validación, y toda la información necesaria para replicar el estudio.
- En los *resultados* se deben especificar claramente los hallazgos en secuencia lógica. Es importante revisar si las tablas o cuadros presentados son necesarios o, caso contrario, redundantes con el contenido del texto.
- En la *discusión* se deben interpretar los datos obtenidos a la luz de la revisión de la literatura. Los autores deberán incluir aquí si su artículo apoya o contradice las teorías previas. Las *conclusiones* resumirán los avances que la investigación plantea en el área del conocimiento científico, las futuras líneas de investigación y las principales dificultades o limitaciones para la realización de la investigación.
- *Idioma:* Se valorará positivamente si el idioma utilizado facilita la lectura y va en favor de la claridad, sencillez, precisión y transpa-

rencia del lenguaje científico. El Revisor no debe proceder a corrección, ya sea en español o inglés, sino que informará a los Editores de estos errores gramaticales u ortotipográficos.

- Finalmente, se requiere una profunda *revisión de las referencias* por si se hubiera omitido alguna obra relevante. Las referencias han de ser precisas, citando en la lógica de la temática a estudiar, sus principales obras así como los documentos que más se asemejen al propio trabajo, así como las últimas investigaciones en el área.

3. Dimensiones relevantes de valoración

«Universitas» utiliza una matriz de evaluación de cada original que responde a los criterios editoriales y al cumplimiento de la normativa de la publicación. En este sentido los revisores deberán atender a la valoración cuali-cuantitativa de cada uno de los aspectos propuestos en esta matriz con criterios de objetividad, razonamiento, lógica y experticia.

INVESTIGACIONES	
Ítems valorables	**P.**
01. Título y resumen (claridad y estructura)	0/5
02. Relevancia de la temática 03. Originalidad del trabajo 04. Revisión de la literatura	0/10
05. Estructura y organización artículo 06. Capacidad argumental 07. Redacción	0/10
08. Rigor metodológico 09. Instrumentos de investigación	0/10
10. Resultados de investigación 11. Avances 12. Discusión 13. Conclusiones	0/10
14. Citaciones (variedad y riqueza) 15. Referencias	0/5
Total máximo	50

En caso de tratarse el original de una revisión de la literatura (estado de la cuestión) u otro tipo de estudio (informes, propuestas, experiencias, entre otras), el Consejo Editorial remitirá a los revisores una matriz distinta, comprendiendo las características propias de estructura de este tipo de originales:

ESTUDIOS, INFORMES, PROPUESTAS, EXPERIENCIAS	
Ítems valorables	**P.**
01. Título y resumen (claridad y estructura)	0/5
02. Relevancia de la temática	0/10
03. Revisión de la literatura	0/10
04. Estructura y organización artículo 05. Capacidad argumental y coherencia 06. Redacción científica	0/10
07. Aportaciones originales 08. Conclusiones	0/10
09. Citaciones 10. Referencias	0/5
Total máximo	50

4. Cuestiones éticas

a) Plagio: Aunque la revista utiliza sistemas de detección de plagio, si el revisor sospechare que un original es una copia sustancial de otra obra, ha de informar de inmediato a los Editores citando la obra anterior con tanto detalle cómo le sea posible.

b) Fraude: Si hay sospecha real o remota de que los resultados en un artículo son falsos o fraudulentos, es necesario informar de ellos a los Editores.

5. Evaluación de los originales

Una vez realizada la evaluación cuanti-cualitativa del manuscrito en revisión, el revisor podrá realizar recomendaciones para mejorar la calidad

del original. Sin embargo, se atenderá a la calificación del manuscrito de tres maneras:

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Call for the Dossier *"Uncertain transitions: crisis of the left, post-populism and neoliberal futures in Latin America"*

Dossier Coordinators

Franklin Ramírez Gallegos (FLACSO-Ecuador)
Fernando Mayorga (UMSS-Bolivia)
Soledad Stoessel (UNLP-Argentina)

Call for Papers

The political hegemony that Latin American progressive forces have conquered since the first years of the 21st century no longer defines the regional democratic process. Several voices have raised the idea of an "end of cycle", precisely, to allude to the loss of validity of the left at national and regional level. The recurring crisis of Maduro's Venezuela, in an environment of erosion of its democratic institutions and tendencies to political violence, affects the hemispheric board and is taken as the symptom par excellence of the obsolescence of the popular left. The "third populist wave" of Latin America would have been thus consummated in the midst of problems of political implantation -impossibility of securing presidential successions, dependence on "super leaders", weakness of official political parties/movements, loss of support in the middle classes, etc. -, of the severe dependence on development processes in relation to the international price of commodities and/or the loss of legitimacy amid corruption scandals. With more or less turbulence according to each country, the current moment opens the way to the reconfiguration of the power blocs amid a certain predominance of right-wing formations longtime adepts to pro-market policies. An erratic feeling of *déjà vu*, in reference to the 90s of domination of the orthodox agenda, crosses the continent. Is there something really novel in the return to the policies of adjustment, austerity, and market liberalization in the 21st century?

The feeling that the political pendulum is fully functioning has been spoiled, in any case, by the recent triumph of the Mexican left -the second regional power- and the difficulties that the liberal-conservative forces of the region have in dealing with the breakdown of political systems in Venezuela and Nicaragua. The validity of progressivism in countries such as Bolivia, Uruguay, El Salvador as well as the problems of consolidation and citizen support to neoliberal programs in other countries (Argentina, Hon-

duras) also open question marks on the correctness of the "end of cycle hypothesis". Indeed, there also seems to be a new cycle of social mobilization in resistance to austerity policies and anti-rights agendas led by new social and union movements with different to those witnessed during the 1990s (organizations of informal and precarious workers, the feminist movement, among others). At the same time, the incidence of corruption problems in right-wing governments (Peru, Colombia), the continuity of certain developmental and redistributive policies in different cases, the politicization of justice and lawfare (the case of Judge Moro in Brazil) and the dubious democratic quality of the post-populist transitions (Brazil, Ecuador) question the vigor of the theses on the opening of a new political moment in the region. Between the rupture and the continuity, between the democratic transitions and the institutional breaks, between the effective change and the catastrophic draw, in essence, the very character of the transitions is still open to dispute and interpretation from the social sciences. This call for papers by Universitas invites, precisely, researchers interested in the subject to send original works, preferably derived from empirically based studies, that contribute to social and academic discussion in one of the following fields:

Rise and decline of progressive governments: the crisis of the left and their options for the future.

Character, dynamics and coalitions of the transition: what changes? What coalitions (are) confronted (in) the transition? Is there an end to the political cycle?

Democracy, authoritarianism and institutions in the transition: how was the change of governing coalitions led? Institutional rupture or popular will?

Emergency of the rights and matrices of government: Can austerity policies advance democracy? A neoliberal fascism in progress (Bolsonaro)?

New cycle of social mobilization? Social resistance to the neoliberal advance: role of trade unions and social movements in the face of austerity policies and anti-rights agendas.

State, power and regime of accumulation: the problems of post-neoliberal development of the left, the reconstruction of the neoliberal agenda.

Reconfiguration of the integration blocks and regional power: after UNASUR, what?

The deadline for sending articles through the OJS of the journal is May 25, 2019. http://revistas.ups.edu.ec/pdf/docs/universitas/NORMATI-VAUNIVERSITAS. pdf

Convocatoria del Dossier *"Transiciones inciertas: crisis de las izquierdas, post-populismo y futuros neoliberales en América Latina"*

Equipo coordinador del Dossier

Franklin Ramírez Gallegos (FLACSO-Ecuador)
Fernando Mayorga (UMSS-Bolivia)
Soledad Stoessel (UNLP-Argentina)

Convocatoria

La hegemonía política que las fuerzas progresistas latinoamericanas conquistaran desde los primeros años del siglo XXI ya no define el proceso democrático regional. Diversas voces han levantado la idea de un "fin de ciclo", precisamente, para aludir a la pérdida de vigencia de las izquierdas a nivel nacional y regional. La recurrente crisis de la Venezuela de Maduro, en un entorno de erosión de sus instituciones democráticas y tendencias a la violencia política, afecta el tablero hemisférico y es tomada como el síntoma por excelencia de la obsolescencia de la izquierda popular. La "tercera ola populista" latinoamericana se habría así consumado en medio de problemas de implantación política -imposibilidad de asegurar sucesiones presidenciales, dependencia de "súper liderazgos", debilidad de partidos/movimientos políticos oficiales, pérdida de respaldo en las clases medias, etc.-, de la severa dependencia de los procesos de desarrollo en relación con el precio internacional de los commodities y/o de la pérdida de legitimidad en medio de los escándalos de corrupción. Con mayor o menor turbulencia según cada país, el vigente momento abre paso a la reconfiguración de los bloques de poder en medio de cierto predominio de formaciones de derechas largamente adeptas a las políticas pro-mercado. Una errática sensación de *déjà vu*, en referencia a los años 90 de dominio de la agenda ortodoxa, recorre el continente. ¿Hay algo realmente novedoso en el retorno a las políticas de ajuste, austeridad, y liberalización de los mercados en el S. XXI?

La sensación de que el péndulo político funciona a cabalidad se ha visto estropeada, en cualquier caso, con el reciente triunfo de la izquierda mexicana -la segunda potencia regional- y las dificultades que las fuerzas liberal-

conservadores de la región tienen para lidiar con el descalabro de los sistemas políticos en Venezuela y Nicaragua. La vigencia del progresismo en países como Bolivia, Uruguay, El Salvador así como los problemas de consolidación y apoyo ciudadano a los programas neoliberales en otros países (Argentina, Honduras) abren también signos de interrogación sobre la justeza de la "hipótesis del fin de ciclo". En efecto, también parece abrirse un nuevo ciclo de movilización social en resistencia a las políticas de austeridad y las agendas anti-derechos protagonizado por nuevos movimientos sociales y sindicales con ribetes distintos a los presenciados durante los años 90 (organizaciones de trabajadores informales y precarizados, el movimiento feminista, entre otros). A la vez, la incidencia de los problemas de corrupción en gobiernos de derechas (Perú, Colombia), la continuidad de ciertas políticas desarrollistas y redistributivas en distintos casos, la politización de la justicia y el lawfare (el caso del Juez Moro en Brasil) y la dudosa calidad democrática de las transiciones post-populistas (Brasil, Ecuador) ponen en duda el vigor de las tesis sobre la apertura de un nuevo momento político en la región. Entre la ruptura y la continuidad, entre las transiciones democráticas y los quiebres institucionales, entre el cambio efectivo y el empate catastrófico, en suma, el mismo carácter de las transiciones queda aún abierto a disputa e interpretación desde las ciencias sociales. La convocatoria abierta por Universitas invita, precisamente, a investigadores interesados en el tema a enviar trabajos originales, preferiblemente derivados de estudios con base empírica, que contribuyan a la discusión social y académica en uno de los siguientes campos:

Auge y declive de los gobiernos progresistas: la crisis de las izquierdas y sus opciones a futuro.

Carácter, dinámicas y coaliciones de la transición: ¿qué cambia? ¿qué coaliciones (se) confrontan (en) la transición? ¿Hay un fin de ciclo político?

Democracia, autoritarismo e instituciones en la transición: ¿cómo se encaminó el cambio de coaliciones gobernantes? ¿ruptura institucional o voluntad popular?

Emergencia de las derechas y matrices de gobierno: ¿Pueden las políticas de austeridad avanzar en democracia? ¿Un fascismo neoliberal en curso (Bolsonaro)?

¿Nuevo ciclo de movilización social? Resistencias sociales al avance neoliberal: papel de los sindicatos y movimientos sociales frente a las políticas de austeridad y las agendas "anti-derechos".

Estado, poder y régimen de acumulación: los problemas del post-neo-liberalismo desarrollista de las izquierdas, la reconstrucción de la agenda neoliberal.

Reconfiguración de los bloques de integración y poder regional: luego de UNASUR, ¿qué?

La fecha límite para el envío de artículos a través del OJS de la revista es el 25 de mayo de 2019. http://revistas.ups.edu.ec/pdf/docs/universitas/NORMATIVAUNIVERSITAS.pdf

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