

## THE TRADE OF TEACHING A TRADE: NARRATIVES AND PRACTICES IN TRAINING FOR WORK

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Reception date: August 31<sup>st</sup>, 2020.

Acceptance date: October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

### ABSTRACT

The research was aimed at describing the particularities acquired by the work of trainers in trades, in relation to the characteristics of non-formal contexts, the teaching and learning processes of work and the skills that are socially built in these areas. A multiple case study was conducted with an ethnographic approach. Four cases were considered: the workshops of the bakery and pastry and social makeup training and the trainers of the shoe repair and refrigeration workshops. The results obtained allow us to recognize the importance that personal learning trajectories acquire in the job proposals that trainers offer in job training spaces. Teaching a trade is a complex task, which involves the collaborative construction of socio-emotional skills, professionals specific to each trade and adaptation. It is considered necessary to generate training proposals for trades trainers.

KEY WORDS: Nonformal education; informal learning; education and employment; apprenticeship.

### RESUMEN

La investigación se orientó a describir las particularidades que adquiere la labor de los formadores en oficios, en relación a las características de los contextos no formales, los procesos de enseñanza y aprendizaje del trabajo y las habilidades que se construyen socialmente en estos ámbitos. Se realizó

un estudio de caso múltiple con un enfoque etnográfico. Se consideraron cuatro casos: las talleristas de las capacitaciones en panadería y pastelería y maquillaje social y los formadores de los talleres en reparación de calzado y refrigeración. Los resultados obtenidos permiten reconocer la importancia que adquieren las trayectorias personales de aprendizaje, en las propuestas de trabajo que los formadores ofrecen en los espacios de capacitación laboral. Enseñar un oficio es una labor compleja, que implica la construcción colaborativa de habilidades socio-emocionales, profesionales específicas de cada oficio y de adaptación. Se considera necesario generar propuestas de capacitación destinadas a formadores en oficios.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Educación no formal; aprendizaje informal; educación y empleo; aprendizaje (oficios).

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This study is part of a larger investigation, linked to the personal and contextual aspects that participate in the construction of the engagement to learning trades<sup>1</sup>. Although the subject of learning trades has gained relevance in the field of Educational Psychology in recent years, research from the field of Didactics continues to be scarce, focused on the study of training in learning contexts that exceed the school system regulated. As a result of what has been said, the problem presented on this occasion is limited to the study of the particularities acquired by vocational training in non-formal learning contexts.

The investigation is structured in four sections. In the first, various theoretical constructs are presented on the main aspects addressed in the study: learning of work in non-formal and informal contexts, learning and teaching the trade and the collective construction of socio-emotional and professional skills in job training areas. In the second section, the methodological aspects of the study are mentioned. In the third, the results obtained are recovered and described, in relation to: training paths for trainers in trades and job proposals offered in job training spaces. Finally, in the fourth section, some reflections are presented in relation to the various aspects that participate in vocational training, general guidelines and future lines of action suggested by the study are presented.

## 2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Various theoretical constructs allow us to think and conceptualize the processes of training in trades. In this writing, with the intention of delving into the particularities acquired by the work of trainers in trades, we will first define the non-formal and informal contexts of job training. Next, we will address the teaching and learning processes of trades in these contexts. Finally, we will refer to recovered research on the study of socio-emotional and professional skills that are co-constructed in these areas of job training.

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<sup>1</sup> The current research is entitled: "Influences in the construction of the engagement to learning in non-formal contexts of job training." This research is carried out by Lic. Agustina Manavella, within the framework of a CONICET Research Grant, with a workplace at the Academic Pedagogical Institute of Social Sciences of the National University of Villa María (Argentina).

## 2.1. Learning from work in non-formal and informal contexts

Non-formal and informal contexts become relevant in learning work. Regarding *non-formal learning contexts*, from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), non-formal education has been defined as:

An alternative or a complement to the formal education of people within the lifelong learning process. It is often posed as a way to guarantee the right to education for all. It caters for all age groups, although it is not necessarily structured as a continuous path. Non-formal education can be short in terms of duration or intensity and is usually delivered in the form of short courses, seminars or workshops. In general, it does not lead to certifications recognized by the competent national or sub-national authorities, as equivalent to those granted by formal education. Sometimes it does not grant any certification. Non-formal education includes programs that can contribute to the literacy of young people and adults, to the education of out-of-school children, as well as programs aimed at imparting basic life skills, occupational skills, or programs aimed at social or cultural development. (UNESCO, 2012, p. 13-14)

Non-formal learning contexts are distinguished by being flexible in terms of teaching programs and methods and by promoting issues related to social and productive relationships in the participants (Trilla *et al.*, 2003; Smither, 2006; Martín, 2019). In this writing, emphasis will be placed on those functions of non-formal contexts related to work, since the spaces for training in trades promote the learning of skills and the construction of skills within a given occupation (Trilla *et al.*, 2003).

For their part, *informal learning contexts* refer to those areas in which learning occurs undifferentiated and subordinate to other social processes. Informal learning is a life-long process in which people acquire and build knowledge, skills, and attitudes through everyday experiences and their relationship with the environment (Trilla *et al.*, 2003; Martín, 2019). Through participation in informal contexts, people learn activities related to work, family or leisure and build social skills (Martín, 2019).

## 2.2. Learning and teaching the trade

The term trade is defined as a set of knowledge that is acquired through experience. People who perform a trade are characterized by their ability to solve specific problems in their work area, through practical knowledge, ingenuity, manual skill, the use of tools and skills acquired from experience in the field, which are transmitted and recognized by their colleagues (Alliaud & Lezub, 2012; Freitag, 2014; Soto, 2012).

In the study of the teaching and learning of trades, the contributions of Lave and Wenger (1991) gain relevance. These authors carried out a series of ethnographic investigations, from which they observed and studied the labor practices of the Mayan midwives of Yucatan in Mexico, of the Vai and Gola tailors in Liberia, the work of the navigators of the United States Navy, the non-drinking alcoholics of Alcoholics Anonymous, and the supermarket butchers of the United States.

In their writings, Lave and Wenger emphasize that job learning occurs in work settings and that people learn the trade without receiving direct instruction, being evaluated, and performing copying and automated activities. For these authors, work learning is socially constructed, based on the interaction between apprentices -rookie- and teachers -experts in practice-. The experts are in charge of introducing the apprentices to the various activities of the job. In this way, rookies approach work practices first from the periphery, doing simple jobs and observing teachers, day laborers and other apprentices in parallel. Later, apprentices acquire legitimacy in practice, until finally, once they have acquired the expertise in the activity, they begin to carry out tasks that require greater complexity. In learning work, people construct the knowledge related to the trade from their participation and action in daily work practices, by means of the development and knowledge domain of skills and ability.

Subsequently, Chaiklin, Lave, Wenger and collaborators continued to delve into the subject. In this way, Snyder, Wenger and de Sousa Briggs (2004) carried out various studies on governmental communities of practice. They worked with four communities linked to: placement of rough bands to prevent car accidents, design of electronic systems for online communication, innovative practices for the reduction of armed violence and for the professional development of company leaders. From the studies developed, the authors note that communities of practice provide an ideal context for experienced professionals to pass on their knowledge and be support when active community members need help. These learning spaces through practice promote coordination, teamwork, the exchange of knowledge, tools and methods among their participants and the passion of the members for the acquisition of the community's own domains.

After the aforementioned studies, Collins and collaborators (Collins, Brown and Newman, 2009; Collins and Kapur, 2014) continued to study the teaching and learning processes of work. In this way, Collins and Kapur (2014) affirm that learners acquire the practice domain from a sequence of activities. Firstly, rookie approaches the work from the repeated *observation* of the expert developing his work. Next, the *training* phase continues, in which the expert observes the work done by the apprentice, offering his close support to help him complete the activity. Finally, and as the learner develops various skills, the teacher reduces his help in *engaging the rookie's practice*, until finally his help wears off altogether.

Collins and Kapur (2014) distinguish the particularities acquired by the learning of trades in work environments -informal learning contexts-, from those learning of work that occurs in non-formal contexts. Traditional or informal learning takes place in the workplace, in such a way that the problems and activities assigned to the apprentice do not arise from pedagogical concerns, but from the requested work demands. While in non-formal job training contexts, experts choose and select the activities and problems to be worked on and

solved by the apprentices, as well as the techniques to be taught and the skills to be transmitted, in such a way that rookies can apply what they have learned to the variety of contexts and tasks demanded (Manavella, Martín & Donolo, 2020).

### 2.3. The co-construction of socio-emotional and professional skills in job training areas

In the job training spaces, learning activities related to the specific and practical knowledge of each trade are developed. In these contexts, job training also contemplates the processes of collaborative construction of socio-emotional and professional skills. Although the state of the art on the subject has acquired great scope in recent years, for the purposes of this study, the contributions of Bar-On (1997), Martín, Paoloni and Rinaudo (2019), Corradini, Martín and Paoloni (2016) and Sennett (2008).

Bar-On (1997) defines emotional intelligence as: “a set of non-cognitive capacities, competencies and abilities that influence the ability to face daily demands, challenges and pressures” (Bar-On, 1997, p.14). Within the socio-emotional skills, this author recognizes empathy, interpersonal relationships and social responsibility. Non-formal learning contexts are constituted on the basis of the interpersonal relationships that are gestated there, being the emotional experiences that occur in these spaces -affects, empathy, moods and feelings of belonging-, one of the main aspects that maintains united and promotes the participation of trainers and apprentices in these training spaces (Martín, Paoloni and Rinaudo, 2019). Particularly, the skills co-constructs in job training spaces are those that are not limited exclusively to the technical content of a job, but refer to the way of working, the attitude towards work and towards others, the quality and quality of established social relationships and flexibility and capacity to adapt to the context (Corradini, Martín and Paoloni, 2016).

Sennett (2008) defines skill as a specialized practice that is construct in community. For this author, the skills linked to a certain craft or trade are transmitted and developed from the cooperation between apprentices, through the obedience of certain rules established by the teachers and the identification of the rookie with experts in the field. Sennett (2008) warns that workshops promote teamwork, through face-to-face practices. These spaces constitute favorable environments for the collective construction of skills. The workshop, understood in terms of social and training space, promotes personal relationships that transcend the construction of skills linked exclusively to learning a trade or craft.

## 3. METODOLOGÍA

Qualitative methods allow the collection of descriptive data, considering the words and behaviors of the people involved in the research and allowing a phenomenological study of social life to be carried out (Taylor and Bogdan, 1986). With the intention of delving into the particularities acquired by the teaching of trades in non-formal learning contexts, a multiple case study was carried out with an ethnographic approach (Stake, 1998). The ethnographic approach supposes an immersion of the researcher in the site, from where it reveals social relationships and begins to discover the meanings present in the socio-cultural skein (Ameigeiras, 2006). The work with an ethnographic bias allowed the analysis and

understanding of the phenomenon of teaching trades, particularly by studying the training trajectories and teaching practices of four training workshops in various trades.

In the present work, four cases are considered: the workshops of the bakery and pastry and social makeup training and the trainers of the shoe repair and refrigeration workshops. The four trainings were offered in Community Integration Centers of two cities in the south of the province of Córdoba (Argentina), between the years 2016, 2017 and 2018. These workshops were developed within the framework of an agreement between the National University of Villa María and the Municipalities of Villa María and Villa Nueva. The choice of training was made taking into account certain criteria related to: number of enrolled, training most demanded by residents of both communities, gender that was primarily convened and variety with respect to handcrafted, traditional and current trades.

Ethnographic studies require extensive and prolonged observation and participation of the researcher in the context that is being studied, as well as the recording of the practices that take place there (Ameigeiras, 2006). For data collection, two interviews were carried out with each of the mentioned workshops, as well as observations of the interactions between participants and workshops in WhatsApp groups and field notes on the exchange instances that occurred within the framework of the panel "Experiences in training spaces for work"<sup>2</sup>, in which the four mentioned workshops participated as speakers.

The first interviews with the workshops were conducted at the beginning of the workshops, which allowed us to know the educational trajectory of the trainers, their experiences in teaching and in the trade. The second round of interviews was carried out the days prior to the end of each training, in order to know the perceptions of the trainers regarding the particularities that the teaching and learning processes acquired in each of the training in trades.

For the presentation of the results of the study, the narratives of the workshops are recovered. Taking as reference the contributions of Suárez (2016) and Andino and Varela (2017), it is considered that recovering the narratives of the trainers allowed to know the meaning that their learning trajectories acquired and the professional identity that they were building collectively in relation to the trade, as well as re-signifying and describing learning, work practices, emotions and concerns that became relevant in job training contexts. Taking up the contributions of Larrosa (1995), it is argued that the approach to the study from recovering the narratives of the trainers, contributed to construct a certain idea of education, teacher and apprentice in this unique context of training labor.

#### 4. RESULTS

The analysis of the data emerges from the narratives of the workshops, in relation to their trajectories and practices related to learning the trade and the role they play as trainers,

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<sup>2</sup>The panel was developed within the framework of an outreach activity carried out at the National University of Villa María (Argentina), coordinated by Dra. Magallanes, Graciela; Dr. Martín, Rocío and Lic. Manavella, Agustina. The objective of the proposal was to share experiences of learning trades and discuss perspectives of analysis of the teaching and learning trades processes, with an emphasis on the education-work relationship.

in job training contexts. Two dimensions are considered for the data analysis, namely: 1-trajectories of training of trainers in trades and 2-job proposals offered in job training spaces.

#### 4.1. Trajectories of training of trainers in trades

In this category, allusion will be made to the importance acquired by informal contexts and the link with an expert in the trade, for the first approaches to the practice of work, the various learning experiences through which the trainers went through and the multiplicity of tasks that implies the exercise of the job. Through the interviews carried out and the stories shared by the workshop participants in the panel, the importance that their first work experiences acquired for learning the trade is recognized.

My uncle, who was a shoemaker, rescued me. At the age of nine he taught me to shine shoes and to wear them and with that I earned the tip (...) Later, in the '70s, I was in a shoe factory.

That factory was my school, there they taught me everything. The boss rescued me, he taught me to make molds, shoe scales, to glue, to remove seeds, to nail heel shoes, to deflect.

(Excerpt from the first interview with a workshop assistant from the shoe repair training)

From the recovered fragment, it can be seen that the first approaches and learning about the shoemaker's trade took place in informal contexts, particularly, when observing working, helping other people to carry out their work and when carrying out their first practices in shoe repair. For her part, during the panel instance, the bakery and pastry training workshop instructor also describes her first work experience in the trade that she currently performs and teaches:

I started in this teahouse when I was 17 years old, I finished the internships and they hired me. It was very productive for me, that's when I finished confirming that this was what I liked. I felt a great affinity with the owner, she was very aware of me, I felt her restraint, she taught me and protected me from my companions. And also because she took me into account for all her projects, every time she wanted to change something, add a new recipe, she consulted me. (Narrative of the training workshop in bakery and pastry)

The stories retrieved allow us to recognize that these learning experiences at work were significant for the trainers in trades, not only because they were their first approaches with the work they currently perform, but also because of the closeness, the bond that was construct with who taught them the trade and through the spaces for participation that were generated in these work environments.

Regarding the training experiences of those who currently work as workshops for the various training in trades, it is considered pertinent to mention that the workshop assistant

for the training in bakery and pastry, after finishing her secondary studies, began to study at a school of gastronomy. For her part, who works as a trainer in the trade of social makeup artist, after studying initial education, she took a professional makeup course at a beauty, aesthetics and hairdressing school. Whoever works as a shoe repair workshop trainer, learned the trade from his various work experiences. While the refrigeration workshop worker, he completed his secondary studies at a technical school, where he obtained a refrigeration and air conditioning technician degree. It is noted that the experiences and careers of training in trades of those who work as workshops in training spaces for work are very varied. However, all of them attach great importance to their various informal learning experiences, recognizing that the trade has been learned in their workplaces:

When there was nothing more to squeeze there, I went to work in a bakery. And there were many things with which I had to start from scratch: new recipes, which also form you, because there are many things that you learn when you do different jobs (...) I take on the challenges now, I work in my house, because I am about to dedicate myself to making themed cakes for events. (Excerpt taken from the second interview with a workshop instructor from the bakery and pastry training)

The interview fragment allows us to recognize the self-taught profile of those who work as trainers in trades. In the case of the workshops with whom this study was approached, all of them began practicing the trade in a situation of dependency, in work environments that were characterized by being small or in family-type companies, learning the work from a close and meaningful relationship with their bosses, whom they remember as “their teachers”. In their first work experiences, the workshops learned the basics of the trade, approaching the work tools necessary for the development of their work and the realization of genuine practices. After having acquired knowledge, experience and practice in the job, they decided to change their workplace, in such a way as to continue constructing knowledge, skills and abilities in the trade, starting from the realization of various activities.

Currently all of these workshops carry out their work independently, starting from their own undertakings, where they carry out more complex jobs, which require more time and multiple elements and tools for their development. The jobs they do today are related to their tastes, interests and preferences, with respect to the various activities that can be carried out in the trade. Also in relation to the training trajectories, it is worth mentioning that the workshop leaders continue to train and specialize in the various activities in the trade in which they work:

I took courses in aesthetics of all kinds: waxing, makeup, hand and foot beauty, manicure, I studied hairdressing, artistic makeup, body painting (...) The training broadens your

knowledge, every year I train, I treat it to innovate in terms of the products I use. (Narrative of the social makeup training workshop)

From the workshop's account, one can see the multiplicity of activities that are linked to the exercise of a certain trade and the recognition of the advances and new developments involved in the exercise of the profession. The refrigeration training workshop specialist also recognizes the importance of specialization and updating instances in the trade:

I have done several courses of different trademarks. Then I had to take a course for enrollment (...) and always reading about new technologies or taking courses from different companies where they invite me, always pointing to new technologies applied to refrigeration. (Refrigeration training workshop narrative)

The narratives of both workshops allow us to recognize the learning of trades as a process of continuous and permanent construction. It is noted that the instances of updating and specialization in the trade allow generating knowledge in relation to the new ways of carrying out the work, as well as regarding technological innovations in terms of the application of various techniques and use of various materials and tools to carry out the work. These training instances allow those who exercise various trades to continue to stimulate their curiosity in relation to the work they do, invest in knowledge to improve their undertakings and carry out their work based on the new work modalities, currently in demand.

#### 4.2. Job proposals offered in job training spaces

In this section, to describe the various activities that were proposed in the vocational training workshops, the co-construction of socio-emotional and professional skills will be addressed, as well as the traits acquired by the learning instances developed in these job training spaces. Regarding the co-construction of socio-emotional skills, based on the in-depth interviews carried out with the trainers in trades and through the experience of the panel, it is recognized that during the instances of training in trades, the trainers try to recreate with the apprentices the significant bond and closeness they had with those who taught them the trade:

My teacher, when you did a job badly, he did not challenge you: he came, explained to you and taught you how to do it (...) What I try is that the group does not have doubts, that if they have to come to me home to the workshop, I have no problem that they come to explain to them and thus they are saved from making any mistake (...) we have a WhatsApp group, so

when they get a job they send me a photo, they ask me: how I can do it? (Excerpt from the first interview with a workshop assistant from the shoe repair training)

The story of the shoemaker allows us to recognize that the bond that is generated in these areas of job training, transcends the space of training. In the case of the shoe repair workshop, the participants attended the home of the trainer to continue learning, either from the use and manipulation of tools not available in the workshop, as well as to carry out more complex work, which they were demanded by their first customers.

WhatsApp groups were created in the four training workshops. This social network became a medium that made possible instances of learning and permanent interactions between those who were trained in the trade and the expert in the job. It is noted that the topics addressed from the WhatsApp group were varied. In some circumstances, these interactions referred to the trade and consisted of inquiries about what had been worked in previous classes, doubts regarding certain questions that the participants encountered on the Internet, domestic practices on the trade, as well as sharing images and experiences of their first jobs in the trade. In other circumstances, the participants and trainers of the training shared jokes, photographs of their children, questions related to their health, and holiday greetings -birthday, friend's day, teacher's day, new year's greetings-.

In these training spaces for work, the co-construction of skills is linked to the functions that the apprentices assign to the training space. In the work training contexts studied, the interactions between the workshop leader and apprentices transcended issues related to learning the trade: “many times you are a psychologist for them: they come with problems from home and you support yourself with the need of the other, many need you to listen to them ”(Narrative of the training workshop in bakery and pastry). The recovered narrative allows us to recognize that in job training the knowledge of the trade and socio-emotional skills are socially co-constructed. Next, a fragment of the workshop in social makeup is quoted, which gives an account of what was expressed:

I had two little sisters who went to the workshop, they were from a nearby town. They drove themselves and saw how to get there: sometimes on foot, other times a neighbor took them, other times by finger, there was no control or care for these girls and they were teenagers. One does not have to think only about teaching the profession, you also have to think about all these things and be prepared for these situations. (Narrative of the social makeup training workshop)

From the expressions recovered, it is noted that in job training spaces, the development and co-construction of socio-emotional skills, linked to empathy, interpersonal relationships and social responsibility assumed by the workshop participants, become relevant -not only in relation to the teaching of the trade, but also with respect to the care and

protection of underage participants-, as well as aspects that are related to the support, accompaniment, listening and containment towards those who participate in the training.

As mentioned above, in this section mention will be made of the way in which the workshop participants approached the collaborative construction of professional skills in the training spaces. The trainers of the trainings, together with the apprentices of the workshop, were co-constructing the specific professional skills of each trade, in relation to: the functions that the participants gave to the training space, the work with own and specific contents of each trade, teaching based on genuine practices, which implied the manipulation and creation of work tools and instruments. Adaptive skills were constructed socially from the interactions between workshop leaders and participants, based on the personal demands of the learners, from the jobs that they began to request from the participants in their first experiences work and the elements and possibilities offered by the learning context, where weekly trainings was developed. Each of the above skills will be described below.

Regarding the specific professional skills of each trade, the refrigeration training workshop leader proposes that the training in trades should be based not only on the teaching of work, articulating theoretical and practical aspects related to the trade, but also on the collaborative construction of certain skills, necessary for the exercise of the profession:

My teacher taught me the theory of refrigeration equipment, but permanently in comparison and next to the practice. With him I learned this by disarming, breaking and paying attention to it. But more than anything, in that first job they trained me as a technician, as a person and to be responsible with respect to work, and that is what I try to apply and teach in my course.

(Excerpt from the second interview with the refrigeration training workshop)

In the case of the training in bakery and pastry, the workshop leader mentions that, in addition to the preparation of various recipes, during the course of the training she emphasizes issues related to bromatology, safety and hygiene in food handling, highlighting that these aspects They are not contents that are found in the course curriculum, but that it considers essential that the participants learn, so that they can recognize when a product is in poor condition, as well as know the times and conditions of conservation of each food that elaborate.

In each of the training spaces for work, specific skills from each job were co-constructed, linked to the practices and singularities of each trade. It is considered pertinent to mention that professional skills were collectively constructed through work with genuine tasks and the manipulation of tools and materials typical of the exercise of each trade. These work instances promoted that, through interactions between participants and workshops, the problematic situations presented in the training instances were resolved.

The importance acquired by the practices that the apprentices carried out at home and their first work experiences acquired. The bakery and pastry training workshop instructor mentions that a good pastry chef is one who has the ability to be neat and agile in their jobs.

Although neatness was a recurring theme in training instances, agility and speed in food preparation was something that could not be exercised during the workshop, since two recipes were prepared in each class. However, through the daily interactions that the workshop participant had with the apprentices, she has been able to recognize that certain participants who were already practicing the trade, made more than nine cakes a day by hand, mentioning that said agility was constructed from practical exercise and reiterated the same recipes and the implementation of various techniques. The following is a fragment of the interview conducted with the social makeup training workshop, where she mentions the professional skills that certain trainees have co-constructed during the training session:

There are many of them who already see the person and do not doubt the color they are going to use for makeup, they look at a face and say: -ah, I have to correct this, this, this and that's it. I noticed that they were achieving it thanks to practice, I realized that there are many to whom I no longer have to go around saying: -look, this face is like that, the shape of the face is this, you have to correct it here. (Excerpt from the second interview with the workshop participant in social makeup)

In training such as bakery and pastry, social makeup and shoe repair, the workshops recognize professional skills issues related to the implementation and combination of various techniques, as well as aspects related to the creativity and imagination of the learner in exercise and training. resolution of job challenges. Next, a fragment of the interview carried out with the refrigeration training workshop is recovered, where he mentions the way in which professional skills were approached and co-constructed, during the instance of training in the trade:

The main skill that is needed to exercise this trade is the power of reasoning, basically. Because the theory part is quite complicated and dense, but you live it by applying it when you are repairing a device. The idea is that they see the equipment and with experience they can already hear the noise it makes and from there, recognize what is wrong. (Excerpt from the second interview with the refrigeration training workshop)

From the expression of the workshop, it is noted that in the exercise of the trade in refrigeration, other types of professional skills are valued, linked to reasoning and detection of equipment failures. All workshop leaders state that professional skills are construct from the practice and exercise of the profession, by working with genuine tasks. It is considered pertinent to mention that all the workshops encourage the participants of the trainings to continue training in the trade, in such a way as to continue constructing professional skills, making it more complex and incorporating new knowledge regarding the field:

I receive training from where I was trained and I pass it on to the girls, I tell them to go, I encourage them to continue studying to be better professionals, that they can improve themselves, that they do not get stuck only in the first thing they learned . (Narrative of the social makeup training workshop)

The tasks to be carried out in the training spaces were varied, of increasing complexity and implied the integration of the various contents addressed. In the case of training in shoe repair, the workshop operator comments that learning the trade is linked not only to the activities carried out within the framework of the training, but also to those jobs carried out independently by the apprentices:

This boy called me and said: I got 6 pairs of ankle boots to sew the sole, how can I do it? I explained: -that has to be sewn with a crochet needle. Since he didn't have a needle, he managed: he grabbed the rod of the windshield wipers, made the point with a file, and with that he sewed them. The boys were so happy that he later made all the classmates a tool. (Narrative of the shoe repair workshop)

The recovered narrative allows us to recognize that for the workshop worker, learning the trade is related to the creativity of the apprentice and the challenges that the apprentice assumes in their work practices. It is noted the importance that the interactions between the apprentice, the expert and other apprentices acquire in learning the trade. The development of the tools and work products is associated with the particularities that the trainers recognize in the population that attended these spaces. The bakery and pastry training workshop leader mentions that the main objective she assumed as a teacher is for the participants to learn to make food, without this implying a considerable expense of money for them. In the dictation of the training, she taught the participants with what elements they can replace the molds to make the alfajores tapas, what type of fibrones to use to replace the colorants, as well as which brushes to buy, without being the professionals for pastry.

In the case of the training in social makeup, the trainer taught the participants how to make eyeliners and lipsticks using pigments and decongestants, in such a way as to be able to obtain a variety of colors, with hypoallergenic properties, investing money in the smallest number of possible products. It is recognized that in the training for work, the experts not only teach the apprentices to carry out the various activities of the trade, but also transmit their experiences and knowledge, related to undertaking in the trade and obtaining earnings performing such work:

I have explained to them how to place the molds to make the rubber sheet work, how much they have to charge an arrangement so that they have a profit, depending on the expenses they

had to make the repair, how to store the glue so that it does not dry out. (Excerpt from the second interview with a shoe repair training workshop operator)

Based on the reports of the trainers and the description of the various learning activities developed in the job training spaces, it is noted that the specific skills, typical of each trade, are associated with the various functions that the participants assigned to the training space and genuine work, based on practices typical of the trade and the creation and adaptation of tools and work materials. The trainers were adapting the contents and activities, according to the particularities and needs of the apprentices, as well as according to the external work demands, linked to the trade:

My courses are in the installation of air conditioners, but today there are around 200 installers here, because it is something very simple (...) That is why I place a lot of emphasis on repair, which I think is what can give a tool or a job opportunity tomorrow, I try to give them something else, a plus so they can work on this. (Narrative of the refrigeration workshop)

As can be seen, the workshop leaders modified the planning of activities according to the needs of the learners. They incorporated as content of the training the development of work tools, issues related to professional skills of the trade, aspects related to how to undertake in the trade, as well as prioritizing certain content over others, according to the work demanded by society and the shortage of specialized people to meet these demands. In the case of the shoe repair workshop, although the training was designed to address only issues related to the composure of shoes, the expert also incorporated activities and content related to handicrafts, such as making key rings, souvenirs, as well as tasks related to changing zippers and seams on other items, such as bags, purses, and backpacks. The activities to be developed in the workshops were also modified according to the tastes, interests and motivations of the participants who attended the trainings:

I ask the girls if they want to learn something in particular. It happened with the recipes suitable for celiacs, there were girls who did not agree. Well, I have to take into account those people who are interested, because they have celiac relatives (...) I also give two recipes per class, so you give them options for them to choose. (Excerpt from the second interview with a bakery and pastry workshop)

The story of the bakery and pastry workshop allows us to recognize that the contents and recipes to be prepared in the training were modified and adapted according to the demands of the participants. It is considered pertinent to mention that at the beginning, the trainer proposed that each apprentice make two recipes per class. Then, seeing that some participants told her privately that they would not attend the training because they did not

have the money to buy the ingredients, she began to offer two job proposals, in such a way that each of the trainees chose which recipe to make. During food production, the participants shared ingredients, materials and work utensils. In some cases, the participants were grouped, made the two recipes and then took half of each elaboration made.

In the case of the refrigeration training, the training space was designed for the participants to learn how to install air conditioners and then work on the repair of various domestic, commercial and vehicular refrigeration equipment. The workshop worker consulted with the participants and, depending on the expectations of the apprentices, the contents and practices related to the installation and repair of air conditioners were exclusively addressed.

Also in relation to the work activities proposed in the framework of the trainings, it is pertinent to mention that the practices developed in the workshops were conditioned by the materials, tools and resources available in the rooms in which said training proposals were offered. Next, a fragment of the interview with the trainer of the training in bakery and pastry is recovered, which gives an account of what was expressed:

The girls here lack the comfort to work: hot water, refrigerator, oven and kitchen, which we do not have at our disposal planks, countertops ... because we have to be aware of what we are preparing, the girls work at very low, as children and do what you can. (Excerpt from the first interview with the bakery and pastry workshop)

In bakery and pastry training, the trainer discarded some recipes, such as cheesecake and tiramisu, which implied the use of the refrigerator for their realization. During the first months of the workshop, the room where the training was carried out did not have an oven, which is why the expert cooked the preparations in a nearby room. This oven was a conventional kitchen, for domestic use, so that only very few preparations could be cooked. As the environment where the oven was located was very small, the workshop leader could not show the apprentices how to bake their preparations, so most of the participants carried out this last stage at home, without the follow-up or instructions of expert. The room where the training took place did not have the tools, materials and utensils necessary for preparing food, which is why each participant, in addition to bringing the necessary ingredients to make each recipe, had to bring all the materials of work. Since the trainees did not have baking trays, molds or scales, the trainer brought these items to the training space on a weekly basis.

In the case of the training in social makeup, the workshop leader decided to extend the theoretical work instances, since the room where the training was taking place did not yet have mirrors or essential materials for makeup. In the refrigeration workshop, the teacher brought the various equipment to be repaired to the training space on a weekly basis, as well as the materials, tools and elements necessary to practice the trade. In the space where the shoe repair training took place, the participants carried out simple activities related to changing soles, closures, dyeing shoes and making key rings. The teacher was in charge of bringing all the tools and work materials to the training space. The objects that were repaired

in said space used to be works demanded of the expert or objects of relatives and acquaintances of the apprentices (such as bags, backpacks, shoes, sneakers). The most complex jobs, which required the use of the polisher, the sewing machine, the dies to place clasps and eyelets, as well as the finishing of the jobs, were carried out in the workshop that the trainer had at home.

Finally, the workshop leaders warn that activities exclusively related to the teaching and learning of trades are not carried out in work training spaces:

Some see it to train in an occupation and others as a space to take time for themselves, to meet other people, chat, rest from the usual ... Then they have children, that the father takes charge of going to look for them at the school ... as they organized themselves for that day to be able to take care of them, to get a little out of their daily routines and they disconnect from the world. (Narrative of the training workshop in bakery and pastry)

From the narrative of the trainer, it is noted that not all participants attend training in trades, in order to learn a job and obtain a job opportunity. It is recognized that the participants in job training assign various functions to these training spaces, linked to education, work and leisure. The description of the work modalities in each of the workshops in trades, allows us to recognize that the trainers, together with the participants of the training, were co-constructing adaptation skills, depending on the personal demands of the apprentices, of the practices requested in the context of work and the materials and tools available in the spaces where these trainings were carried out.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

This study invites us to reflect on the particularities of teaching trades, in non-formal contexts of training for work. The description and analysis of the work trajectories of the trainers allows us to recognize the importance that informal learning acquires in non-formal teachers. The bond they maintained with those who taught them the trade, as well as their first approaches to the tools, materials and work activities, constituted valuable work learning experiences for the workshop participants. These experiences permeate their daily work practices, allowing them to re-think the work proposals offered in the spaces for training in trades.

The various learning spaces through which each of the trainers transit, allow us to conceive the trade as a work linked to the manual and artisanal and, at the same time, as a practice crossed by various innovations and specializations. The instances of permanent training are essential to learn new techniques and work tools, to construct various skills and acquire and incorporate new knowledge to the work carried out, in such a way as to meet the expectations and labor demands requested by society.

The teaching of trades involves much more than transmitting knowledge about a job activity. Teaching the trade implies an engagement on the part of the trainers with whom they

are learning. This engagement is manifest in the interpersonal relationships and in the empathy that are construct in these spaces and in the social responsibility that the trainer assumes. The teacher's engagement is reflected in the variety of activities offered, in the proposal of challenging practices and increasingly complex work, in leaving their own tools, materials and work elements at the disposal of the learners. The teaching of work is linked to sharing the “tricks of the trade”, the recognition of people in learning situations and the adaptation of training proposals.

The teaching of trades is linked to a close relationship between teacher and apprentices, to a knowledge about the work that is construct collectively, from interactions, dialogues, situated and shared practices. Teaching the trade implies co-constructing socio-emotional and professional skills, through processes of social interaction that allow the resolution of problems typical of said work. In the study carried out, it is recognized that professional skills are related to the particularities of each trade. In those jobs oriented to craft and manual practices, skills related to creativity, imagination and neatness are valued. In work related to repair, those skills related to agility, technique and reasoning power are valued.

Among the professional skills that were socially constructed in the training spaces studied, the following stand out: work based on genuine practices, the creation of tools, the performance of tasks and the exercise of diverse and increasingly complex activities, recognition and implementation of materials, tools, elements and work resources, various instances of training and improvement in the trade, the application of innovative techniques for solving problems. In these training spaces, social-emotional skills were collectively constructed, linked to: listening, containment, empathy, social responsibility, constructing interpersonal relationships, adapting teaching proposals based on the elements available, the tastes, needs, interests and demands of the apprentices and the functions that the novices assigned to the training spaces.

The teaching of the trade is recognized as a trade, since the trainer for the job is the one who thinks and produces the activities to be carried out, organizes the training space, stimulates and promotes instances of practice, of participation, of co-construction of knowledge and knowledge and all this, from the recognition of the human aspect and the immaterial nature that the work of teaching a trade implies (Soto, 2012).

Returning to the description that Alliaud and Vezub (2012) make about virtuous work, we argue that teaching a trade is a complex trade, since it is much more than transmitting a technique or specialized knowledge about a certain job; it is to be able to solve problems, collectively review and reconstruct the assumptions that sustain one's own work practices. Teaching the trade implies committing to what is done and fundamentally and be able to combine thought with practice.

To conclude this writing, it is considered pertinent to mention certain aspects related to the subject of vocational training, which it would be necessary to continue analyzing and addressing in future works. In recent years, the study of apprenticeships has gained relevance. From the field of Educational Psychology, in the third edition of the Handbook of Educational Psychology, Barron and Bell (2016) recognize certain learning processes that

take place in extra-school settings, making mention of work learning. However, from the field of Didactics, little has been investigated in relation to teaching processes in areas that exceed the school system; issues related to the specificity acquired by training for work in non-formal and informal contexts remain to be theoretically deepened.

As a result of the above, it is considered relevant to continue investigating the particularities acquired by the teaching of trades in non-formal learning contexts. The occupational training workshops teach the trade based on their trajectories, practices and previous learning experiences; co-constructing trade-specific professional skills and adaptive skills with apprentices. This is the reason why it is important to generate training proposals for trainers in trades, through instances that allow the workshop participants to recognize those emotional, pedagogical, didactic and entrepreneurial issues that are put into play in the training spaces for work. It would be important that the training proposals for trainers are not exclusively subordinated to the way of teaching the practice of a certain trade, but also articulate and recognize the social aspects linked to training for work, such that they allow them to recognize who are the subjects of learning, how they learn and what issues to prioritize in teaching the trade.

It is noted the importance of generating and offering training opportunities for trainees trainers, so that the workshops can co-build tools that allow them to recognize the needs and interests of the people who attend to the workshops, and based on them, adapt, re-think and co-construct the work proposals of the job training spaces. In this same line, the scarcity of studies that address from the field of Didactics, theoretical guidelines in relation to the particularities of the training processes in trades is recognized.

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