Uncertainties and challenges in children's education: changes in family education perceived by kindergarten teachers

Cristina Rocha and Manuela Ferreira
Faculdade de Psicologia e Ciências da Educação (Portugal)

Abstract

Drawing on Sociology of Family and Sociology of Childhood this paper aims to reflect on changes in family education, particularly in what concerns the adults and children social status in the last thirty years in Portugal. These changes were perceived through kindergarten teachers' discourses with extensive professional experience in public kindergartens located in an urban historical centre. The use of interviews allowed to capture and highlight the most remarkable changes and in what way it affects their work nowadays. Analyses of experienced situations with children and their families by these professionals, and by them outlined as problematic, such as those involved in feeding, allows to identify changes within the relationship between parents and small children manifested in the i) dismissal of adult's educative orientation towards children; ii) maintenance of children's state of functional dependence on adults; iii) avoidance of conflicts and confrontations with children by parents.

Keywords: Children, family education change, kindergarten teacher's professional experience, Portugal

1. Introduction

Whatever the social group, family living with parents and siblings remains as the natural frame of life for the majority of children in Portugal (Almeida and André, 2004).

Notwithstanding this statement, the consideration of childhood as a structural form (Qvortrup, 1994) which is affected in its nature by changes and arrangements occurring in society requires to go further and take into account the extension and intensification of their processes of educational institutionalisation: whether by the increasingly precocious inflow of young children in kindergartens and nurseries, where they remain longer in a daily basis; or by the increasing lengthening of compulsory education years, which makes their lives elapse more and more time in the education system.

Thus, the social construction of the child as a pupil, even if a pre-school one, set in motion and, in the same orbit, interdependent relationships between two instances of socialization mutually implicated - school and family (Perrenoud and Montandon, 1987) – instituting in the generational order of societies (Qvortrup, 1994; Alanen, 2003; 2009; Mayall and Zeiher, 2003; Mayall, 2009) children as a social category both distinct and dependent of adults. At the same time, it also triggered another movement between two social conditions associated with childhood - children as children and children as pupils - instituting as one of the structural features of contemporary childhood the subsumption of children's lives to their dominant experience as pupils; therefore, the words "children" and "pupil" are often used synonymously.

To the increasing importance of the interdependencies between the dual social role assigned to children, of son/daughter and of pupil (Perrenoud 1995, Edwards, 2001; Brannen and O'Brien, 1996) it is also noted, in contemporary childhood, the radicalization of debates about their presumed innocence or social, moral and sexual perversity (Gittins, 1998; Kehely, 2004); a general consensus that recognises their social competence and sophistication by the uses they make from products of material and symbolic culture for childhood, sometimes acting as producers of children's peer cultures (Corsaro, 1997), or as consumers and as informed consumers possessing a high power to influence both in its advertising towards other children and in adult's decision making (Oliveira, 2005; Ponte, 2012)

On the other hand, in the process of the accelerated individualization childhood and of the centrality of children in social life, moral panic concerning their vulnerability before street dangers, paedophilia, kidnapping, sexual abuse and intra-familial negligence or school bullying settles down, and simultaneously children are exalted as citizens with rights that far beyond protection and provision include their participation in decisions that affect their lives (Recommendation from European Union Commission, 2013).
The importance of psychological concepts of needs and development (Dencik, 1988) gives place to the emphasis on children's agency on the institutions that socially frame their lives (James and Prout, 1990; Corsaro, 1997) such as advocated by Sociology of Childhood. It is in this context, and most particularly, in relation to the value of equality as a value to promote and assume the participation of children, either when considering family or school democracy, that problematic reflections arise about the relations of authority between adults and children within family and school life (Renaut, 2004).

School still remains a consistent educative process (Vincent, 1994); however, family and childhood still show evidences of significant changes since the 60s. Regarding family, these changes are visible in their structures and their dynamics, such as those resulting from the social fragmentation in risk society (Beck, 1992), from values and practices based on privatisation (Kellerhals et all, 1984 , Kaufmann, 2004; Hirigoyen, 2007), in intimacy (Guidens, 1995), in individualism (Singly, 2006, 2000a, b, 1996) and in equality (Renaut, 2002); all of them converging towards the deinstitutionalisation of family (Roussel, 1989), to changes in its structure (Beck-Gernsheim, 2003) and to the crisis of identity within it (Dubar, 2006). In particular, the extension in time for having children and the demographic contention (Almeida, 2003), oblige to consider the place of children as son/daughter (Cunha 2007) and family planning for his/her birth and the intra-familial relationship between adults and children as a rare good, expensive and emotionally priceless (Zelizer, 1985), shared by family and educational institutions. However, the presence of women in the labour market together with the state's supply of educational institutions, led to the adoption of the kindergarten as a naturalised way of guarding and educating children during their socialisation process, since the decade of 1980 in Portugal (Vilarinho, 2012).

2. Families, children and education: processes of familialisation, institutionalisation and individualisation of childhood

If family life with parents remains the environment of most children and young people in Portugal and Europe (Torres, Mendes, Lapa, 2006), the truth is that attending public

kindergarten occupies a large portion of children's lives from 3 to 6 years old: from Mondays to Fridays, between the 9.00am and 3.30pm, for much of the three years that precede their entry into primary school are spent there, interacting with peers and adults kindergarten teachers and auxiliary staff[1]. Shared daily by family and kindergarten, children's life pendulum is denotative of the processes of *familialisation*, *educational institutionalisation* and *individualisation* of the relational family (Singly: 2005) that structure the contemporary childhood (Näsman, 1994, Edwards, 2002).

The assumptions that children's lives are increasingly familialised and institutionalised, and also that they are seen as individuals, are taken as theoretical references to discuss the relations of differentiation vs. interdependence between the processes of familialisation, educational institutionalisation and individualisation of childhood and to explore the possibilities of its connections with the positions of continuity and/or change which are translated in the way families structure themselves and relate within it.

In order to promote *individualisation* "family" (independently of its shape or structure) has the role of (trying to) continuously consolidate the "I" of adults and children "(Singly, 2000a: 14). For children, it is understood that their own identity and autonomy should be encouraged and safeguarded. This is expressed by the recognition of children *per se*, both as a *member* of the family group and as a *member* of the peer group in kindergarten.

Familialisation processes emphasise family as the natural frame of children's life where parents are seen as the main responsible for caring, setting and regulating their physical, mental, social and moral life (Edwards, 2002: 4-5; Brannen and O'Brien, 1996), doing justice to the idea that "children *expressis verbis* are, more or less, the property of their parents or, in less dramatic terms, at least of parental responsibility and in principle their sole responsibility" (Qvortrup, 1993: 17; 2001)[2].

Educational institutionalisation through kindergarten occurs because this is the space socially instituted for the educative differentiation of early childhood. In its form and social function of provision and protection, it is presented as structured and organised according classificatory criteria of age and infant ability and under supervision by educational professionals, the kindergarten teachers (cf. Näsman, 1994; Brannen and O'Brien, 1996; Edwards, 2002). In this perspective the early educative institutionalisation of children also anticipates the construction of the social status of young children as pupils (Aries, sd; Hendrick, 1990; Sirota, 1993; Sarmento, 2000; Sacristan, 2003/2005).

---

[1] To the usual 5 hours of permanence at the Kindergarten, it should be added the hours spent prior to 9am and those between the 3.30 pm and 7.30pm, given the work schedule of parents.

[2] It should be noted that, according to the author, it isn't parents that are also forced to experience the same structural constraints as their children, but the ideology of the family that, in its anachronism, acts a barrier against the interests and well-being of children (cf. Qvortrup, 1993: 17). Hence, society and state institutions only interfere and are constitutionally obliged to intervene in exceptional cases: when children are identified as being in danger by being the target of family abuse.

3. Methodological introduction and validation

Communication parents-teachers-parents is an explicit professional assignment, having its own moments to approach issues as learning and behaviour. However, in everyday life, this communication is practiced informally and from occurring incidents.

Sharing children's education with parents on a daily basis, kindergarten teachers are continually faced with a series of ideas and practices of parents regarding the education of their children, which has reflections in the educative action of the kindergarten and into their own professional practice leading them to question the changes they face.

In fact, in the inextricable social condition of son/daughter and of pre-school pupil, family life and life in the kindergarten reflect and implicate each other mutually. This makes kindergarten an "open door" to the private and confidential sphere of family, available to observe family and for kindergarten teachers as privileged observers to detect changes in the social construction of childhood in contemporary society, particularly those concerning the family education and changes in the status of children and adult inside the family.

Therefore, in the context of a broader qualitative study still at an exploratory stage, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with three kindergarten teachers whose professional experience is triggered simultaneously with the creation and institutionalisation of the public Kindergarten in Portugal - in this case in urban civil parishes, two of them in an historic centre. The selected kindergarten teachers have i) a professional experience of 25 years or more, ii) started working in the late 70s, between 1978/9-1983/4 and are still working and iii) have been for a long period of time in the same social context of the Kindergarten.

These dimensions converge to state that the selected kindergarten teachers constitute competent and privileged interlocutors to capture the changing processes regarding i) the social construction of contemporary childhood; ii) the educational impact that attending kindergarten had in that process, iii) the family as a structure and as a dynamic; iv) the social status of children and adults inside the family. The interviews were transcribed and subjected to qualitative content analysis.

4. Perceived changes in family education

The observations of kindergarten teachers send us back to a very recent past of Portuguese society when values and practices of democratic societies based on policies promoting social welfare, whether in public or in private, were adopted.

Beyond time, the social space of the kindergarten where teachers have developed with high continuity their professional practice interferes greatly in what is observed: co-existing with fringes of urban petty bourgeoisie employed in the services sector, the majority of the population that inhabits the historic city centre is dominated by poverty, addiction, marginalization and unemployment. In the 90s, unemployment plagues families and many of them survived at the expense of state subsidies.

The analysis of kindergarten teachers' speeches allowed to identify two orientations converging to the same purpose: i) changes observed in the family structure and in the

social condition of childhood and ii) changes observed in family interactions and in the social status of adult/child.

4.1. Observed changes in family structure and the social condition of childhood

Family life with parents and sometimes with siblings, constitutes part of the overall children's experience. The increasing nuclearisation of the family's structure stands out as familiar reality in the nuclei of children's of the historical centre, despite the prevalence of single-parent nuclei with great continuity until present. Both in the past and present children live primarily with their mothers and siblings:

> *"(...) In 1979 (...) the historical center (...) was an extremely poor environment (...) the work was very, very precarious, there was a lot of unemployment (...) this children lived on the street with grandparents or neighbors watching over them. (...) They still are very large families, of many children. Therefore, when children go to kindergartens they will, somehow, be more protected as they are not on the street (...), and there can have lunch, you know?, for parents this is a boon! The children are protected all day; children are not in the street... and eat!" (ET)*

In the past, at the beginnings of their professional activity as kindergarten teachers, these family nuclei included children and mothers, especially prostitute women.
The maternal figure was often backed by an older woman, a grandmother, a former prostitute, who welcomed kids from different mothers under her custody and supervision. This grandmother was assisted by a thick network of other neighbour women.

The absence of the biological father, his punctual presence or his "replacement" for a possible mother's partner is a trait that, in many families, and often in several generations in the same family, extends over the 80s, but now mainly due to drug addiction and imprisonment.

Children were numerous, phratries were extensive. Being brothers or neighbours all of them had the street as the real and common space of life. This public site, meeting point for children and adults "as if they all belonged to each other" allows them to dodge the smallness, the unsanitary and overcrowded accommodation during long hours of the day and night.
Relatively undifferentiated from adults, most children of this region where poverty and privations prevailed, were early independent and autonomous, and experienced by attending kindergarten an institutionalization of a differentiated childhood, protected and involved in a particular educational intention.
Today, this framework is fragmented by the diversity that was now installed:

> *"(...) Families are no longer so numerous, for there is family planning, (...) and by protecting children's health there was an improvement in the living conditions (...). For having fewer children, people now have access to more things ..." (EA)*

> *"There are children who live with both parents, but at this point,*
> *we must stress that there are many single-parent families" (EA)*

> *"(...) there are some families with remarriage." (EZ)*

The decrease in size of phratries almost to the depletion of the only child, reinforcing children and their well-being and individualization; the deinstitutionalization and denuclearization of marriage with emphasis on monoparental homes of mothers, and the dynamics of rebuilding and joint guard resulting of separation, constitute the major changes observed regarding the past, and still ongoing. Nevertheless, lines of continuity with the past still remain. Even today grandparents, maternal or paternal, nannies and neighbours are yet very present in the daily lives of children and their parents:

> *"(...) Many families have the support of grandparents (...) there is*
> *still, like 30 years ago, neighbourhood support. Neighbours will*
> *even get children to kindergarten and remain with them until their*
> *parents arrive" (EA)*

This intergenerational sharing of children updates and maintains lively ties of kinship or neighbours as well as continually feeds feelings of belonging in the neighbourhood, the street and the family environment of childhood especially in the historic centre.

However, this is also the perspective in which uncertainties and doubts emerge and are managed in the level of family interactions, and that arrive into the daily lives of teachers in kindergartens of the three parish. Indeed, this intergenerational sharing of children that extends and makes the complex ties that binds the child to, among others, their parents and their grandparents, is not free of conflict and family discomfort. What are the limits and the educational prerogatives of the two adult generations (parents and grandparents) for the child? When does the supplementary function ends and the educational function begins? What is the price that the couple, or the father or the mother, has to pay for seeking the help of the maternal or paternal grandmother? What is the action of the child in this dispute of influence? In short, what is the degree of privatisation, of freedom to build family relationships, marital and parental relations, when the previous generation is still present and functional?

4.2. Perceived changes in the statutes of adult /children interactions in families

In kindergarten, in addition to children participating in educational activities, *strictu sensu*, activities inherent of the human being are also carried out. The changes most reported by kindergarten teachers are situations that collide, interfere and exceed to what they consider to be the scope of their professional practice, or that in their point of view, cancel their work for the functional autonomy of children. This is the case of basic activities related to personal hygiene, eating, sleeping or clothing. Practices regarding food were chosen because they allow to identify three fundamental axes that although interdependent we stress *per si*:

i) the maintenance of a state of functional dependency of the child by adult:

"(...) Today child arrive at kindergarten not knowing how to eat with a fork, not eating solid food, it not knowing yet how to eat solid food (...) There were children who barely sat at the table, [hands] were under the table, waiting for someone to feed them (...)" (ET)

"(...) at home they still eat on the sofa with their mom shoving up soup with the spoon and cartoons playing and their mothers doing who knows what, for mothers make a little soup with everything so that the child doesn't need to eat anything else (...) the bottle is used sometimes up to 8 years old because it is easier to stick a bottle in the morning with them half asleep – and breakfast is given. Eating diversified food also isn't an option (...) most children do not eat, then they eat in kindergarten because they even like and also because there they are equal to everyone, I mean, really it is easier there, isn't it?" (ET)

"(...) and that boy (...) he brought lots of cookies, those little packets of fruit that appear in advertisements: "Essential to your children, "Essential [hums the announcement on TV] (...)". (EZ)

At issue is the observation of the growing but unexpected lack of autonomy and independence of some children to meet on their own needs as basic and essential as eating or to even endeavour the most basic gestures and movements such as chewing. The state of physical inertia and immobility of children is assisted by the food industry, who stand for the renewed invention of products "ready to eat" and that participate in the "infantilisation of childhood, and whose target is often parents", to which some parents adhere expressing a *dismissal of normative guidance of parents towards the child.*

ii) the dismissal of normative guidance of parents towards children

The parental resignation regarding food education, often translated in the speeches of the kindergarten teachers' as "no rules", "no limits" and "lack of authority" is portrayed by them in episodes such as:

"Many children bring, many brought lots of inadequate food (...) - So what did he eat? [the kindergarten teacher asks] ',' Oh, he eats nothing, he could not eat anything! [the mother replies]',' - So why? [the kindergarten teacher asks]"- Because he only likes certain things ...! [answers the mother]" (EZ)

"(...) Parents complained that "- they do not eat fruit! No! They don't want crusty bread, just soft bread - it has to be white bread without crust ... [because then] they eat" (...)". (EZ)

"Children are babies, it extend because it is easier to take care of them like that then to face the difficulties that they may or may not

have (...) they can't face predicament. It is not a concern that they should eat, that they eat [by themselves] a variety [of food] I think he (the child) ate variety of things because I put them all together ... the baby's jar!" (ET)

The inhibition of parental determination towards their children's food habits is observed by the submission to the child in two ways: i) for the primacy of the authority of their *taste*, as if it were inherent to the child, constituting an authorised expression by adult of the individualization of the child, ii) for the rule of child's inaction. In both cases the action of the adult succumbs to the child whenever they have to face an otherness which require from them a specific educative intervention. Therefore dissolving and disguising (as the foods that were mixed in the jar) consummated in an attitude of absolute respect for the child in which any critical mind, intent or visible parental educational project, is neglected, based on an:

iii) avoidance of conflicts and confrontations with children by parents and the education delegated to the kindergarten teacher;

"We realise that [the mother] doesn't want to have conflicts with him [the son, regarding food]" (EZ)

"Right now, children are still the ones who rule. They command, decide, make many outbursts with parents. (...) There are children who do not like to be contradicted. They are able to cry, for example, because the mother didn't gave them a treat or something else. (...) That difficulty in dealing with the annoyance of simple problems is daunting (...) I think it's a little dictatorship of children" (EA)

"Now inside the house? indoors there are terrible difficulties (...) in the kindergarten they eat with knife and for, they eat vegetables, they eat everything, they eat meat, they eat fish, they eat fruit and mothers and fathers don't know [how to teach] (...) I mean, they really end up [realizing that] "my son will grow up there" and so they deliver and expect that in kindergarten [be taught how to eat] (ET)

How to make children functionally autonomous without coming into (educational) confrontation with the child, requiring their effort and collaboration? How to conciliate obedience with the primacy children's happiness? How to conciliate the free expression of childhood's nature with the constraint that the educational relationship implies when the affective and material gratification is not present? How to conciliate love and affection which govern the relationship with children with the child's submission to the will of the adult education if it generates conflicts? Why face these challenges if family time is so scarce?

5. Final considerations

Parental dismissal of its educational function and its transfer to "significant others", associated with the avoidance of confrontations and conflicts with the children in the family seems to corroborate the thesis that children have become an affective asset, with rights and their own voice, and that this status is at the heart of the individualization processes of children in the contemporary family. However, since there isn't a family for children and another for adults, one and the other are affected by the same individualization and sentimentalisation processes that affect private life.

If this is true as a general framework, these conclusions cannot make the economy of the coordinates of time and space that underlies the professional experience reported. Having many of these parents been socialised in a context of poverty, deep social inequality, and affective indifferentiation, they accomplish themselves as parents and undertake their children's childhood through the constant gift of things, precarious, ephemeral ..., which fulfil another function, the subjective function of equality and of overcoming the social inferiority.... *to give what one never had*[3], either through a relationship based on immediate gratification that transfers conflict to other adults, or by is taking gratuities for themselves as an adult. So, when we look more closely at the parenting strategies for dealing with children's topics and the difficulties they impose on them, we realise that their behaviours are also functional to adults as individuals, for by transferring the family educational job to the early teacher not only they save time for themselves as they gain a family life without conflict, preserving the parental relationship as a rewarding and emotional relationship with the child. Indeed, the daily interaction of the child with her parents, on working days of the week, is limited to the beginning and end of the workday, tense and stressful moments of family life because they involve compliance to schedules and fatigue.

It is this preservation of dependence of the child towards their parents and the their dismissal that invades the professional action of early childhood educators, by imposing professional constraints to them such as adding "attending" tasks around what are the basic functions (food, hygiene, sleep, etc.) of the child as a living human, that limit their educational work for the creativity, playing and development of children. Maybe that's why these changes have been highlighted by the early childhood educators. The episodes evoked by the educators do not overlie all types of family interaction that they face, but only those who are negatively retroactive for their work. Hence, the analysis of episodes allows us to reflect that the statutes of adult and children are a social construction in progress, whose implications are felt in the relationships that children and adults establish with one another, although differently according to educational contexts and notions of child and adult which underpin the adult educational activities.

References

Alanen, Leena (2003), Childhoods: the generational ordering of social relations, in Mayall, Berry; Zeiher, Helga (ed.) (2003) *Childhood in generational perspective.* London, University of London, Institut of Education, pp: 27-45

3

483

Alanen, Leena (2009) Generational Order, *in* Qvortrup, Jens, Corsaro, William, Honig, Michael-Sebastian (ed), *Handbook of Childhood Studies*, London, Palgrave, pp: 159-174

Almeida, Ana Nunes de, André, Isabel Margarida (2004). *O país e a família através das crianças - ensaio exploratório. Revista de Estudos Demográficos*, 35, 5-36.

Almeida, Ana Nunes de (2003), "Família, conjugalidade e procriação: valores e papéis". in J. Vala, M. V. Cabral e A. Ramos (Orgs.), *Valores sociais: mudanças e contrastes em Portugal e na Europa*. Lisboa, ICS, pp. 47-93.

Ariès, Ph. (s/d), *A criança e a vida familiar no Antigo Regime*. Lisboa, Relógio D' Água

Beck, Ulrich (1992), *Risk Society. Towards a New Modernity*. Londres, Sage Publications

Beck-Gernsheim, Elisabeth (2003), *La Reinvención de la Familia. Em busca de nuevas formas de convivência*. Barcelona, Buenos Aires, México, Paidós

Brannen, Julia and O'Brien, Margaret (1996), *Children in families, policy and research*. London, Falmer Press.

Corsaro, William (1997), *Sociology of Childhood.* London, Pine Forge

Cunha, Vanessa (2007), *O Lugar dos Filhos. Ideais, práticas e significados*. Lisboa, ICS

Dencik, Lars (1988), Grandir Aujourd'hui. Etude des contextes et modalités de socialisation du point de vue du jeune enfant, in Durning, Paul (1988) *Education Familiale. Um panorama des Recherches Internationales*. Vigneux, Matrice

Dubar, Claude (2006), *La crise des identités*. L'interprétation d'une mutation. Paris, PUF

Edwards, Rosalind, et al (2000), A typology of parental involvement in education centring on children and young people: negotiating, familisation, institutionalisation and individualization. *British Journal of Education*, 21, nº 3, pp.435-455

Edwards, Rosalind (Ed.) (2002), *Children, home and school, regulation, autonomy or connection?*. London, Falmer Press

Erickson, K. and Larsen, G. (2002) Adults as resources and adults as burdens: the strategies of children in the age of school-home relations. in Edwards, Rosalind (Ed.) (2002), *Children, home and school, regulation, autonomy or connection?*. London, Falmer Press, pp: 92-10

Oliveira, Maria das Dores (2005), *Consumidores de palmo e meio, a criança e a família perante o consumo*. Vila Nova de Famalicão, Edições Magnólia

Giddens, Anthony (1995), *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies*. Stanford University Press

Gittins, Diana (1998), Children's sexuality: why do adults panic? *In* Gittins, Diana, *The child in question*. London, Macmillan Press, pp: 173-201

Hendrick, Harry (1990) Constructions and reconstructions of british childhood: an interpretative survey, 1800 to the present, *in* James, Allison and Prout, Allan (org), *Constructing and reconstructing childhood, contemporary issues in the study of childhood*. London: The Falmer Press: 35-96.

Hirigoyen, Marie-France (2011), *Les Nouvelles Solitudes*. Paris. La Découvert

James, Allison; Prout, Alan and Jenks, Chris (org) (1990), *Constructing and reconstructing childhood. Contemporary issues in the study of childhood*. London, The Falmer Press

Kaufmann, Jean-Claude (2004), *L'invention de Soi*. Paris. Armand Colin

Kehily, Mary Jane and Montgomery, Heather (2004), Innocence and experience: a historical approach to childhood and sexuality, in Kehily, Mary Jane (ed) *An Introduction to Childhood Studies*. London, Open University Press, pp: 56-74

Kellerhals, Jean, Troutot, P.Y., Lazega, E. (1984), *Microsociologie de la famille*. Paris, PUF

Mayall, Berry; Zeiher, Helga (ed.) (2003), *Childhood in generational perspective*. London, University of London, Institute of Education

Mayall, Berry (2009),Generational relations at family level. *in* Qvortrup, Jens, Corsaro, William, Honog, Michael-Sebastian (ed), *Handbook of Childhood Studies*. London, Palgrave, pp: 175-186

Montandon, Cleopatre and Perrenoud, Philippe (1987) *Entre parents et enseignantes: Un dialogue impossible?*. Berna, Peter Lang

Näsman, Elisabeth (1994), Individualization and institutionalization of chilldhood in today's Europe. in Qvortrup, Jens et all. (Eds), *Childhood matters: social theory, practice and politics*. Aldershot, Avebury, pp: 165-188

Perrenoud, Philip (1995). *Ofício de aluno e sentido do trabalho escolar*. Porto. Porto Editora

Ponte, Cristina (2012), *Crianças e media, pesquisa internacional e contexto português do século XIX à actualidade*. Lisboa, ICS.

Qvortrup, Jens, et all. (1994) (edt) *Childhood Matters: social theory, practices and politics*. Aldershot, Avebury

485

Jornal Oficial da União Europeia L 59/5 RECOMENDAÇÃO DA COMISSÃO de 20 de Fevereiro de 2013 Investir nas crianças para quebrar o ciclo vicioso da desigualdade (2013/112/UE) Acedido em *eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2013:059* em 24/06/2013

Renaut, Alain (2004), *La Fin de l'autorité*. Paris, Flammarion

Renaut, Alain (2002), *La Libération des Enfants. Contribution philosophique à une histoire de l'enfance*, Paris, Calman-Lévy. Paris, Flammarion

Roussel, Louis (1989) *La Famille Incertaine*. Paris, Odile Jacob Roussel

Sacristan, Gimeno (2003), *O aluno como invenção*. Porto Alegre, Artmed (2005).

Sarmento, Manuel J. (2000), Os ofícios da criança, *Actas do "Congresso Internacional – Os mundos sociais e culturais da infância"*. II volume. Braga, CESC e IEC da Universidade do Minho, pp: 125-145

Singly, François de (1996) *Le soi, le couple et la famille*. Paris, Nathan

Singly, François de (org) (2000a), *Família e Individualização*. Editora FGV, Botafogo

Singly, François de (2000b) *Libres Ensemble*. Paris, Nathan

Singly, François de (2005), *Sociologie de la famille contemporaine*. Paris, Armand Colin

Singly, François de (2006), *Uns com os outros: quando o individualismo cria laços*. Lisboa, Piaget

Sirota, Régine (1993), Le métier d'élève, note de synthèse. *Revue Française de Pédagogie*, nº 104, Juilliet-Aôut-Septembre, pp: 85-108

Torres, Anália, Mendes, Rita, Lapa, Tiago (2006) "Famílias na Europa". *in* Vala, Jorge and Torres, Anália (orgs) *Contextos e Atitudes Sociais na Europa*. Lisboa, ICS, pp 97-146

Vilarinho, Maria Emília (2012) "*Estado e terceiro Sector na Construção das Políticas Educativas para a Infância: o caso da Educação Pré-Escolar (1995-2010)*". Tese de Doutoramento em Ciências da Educação, área de conhecimento de Política Educativa. Instituto de Educação da Universidade do Minho

Vincent, Guy (Org.) (1994), *L´éducation prisonnière de la forme scolaire?* Lyon. PUL

Zelizer, Vivian (1994) *Pricing the priceless child. The changing social value of children*. Princeton University Press